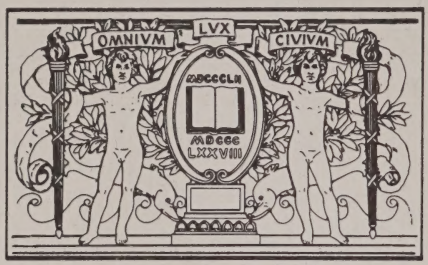
Boston Public Library
3 9999 10586 453 0



BOSTON
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

FITCHBURG PUBLIC LIBRARY
WITHDRAWN

R Library

THE

NORTH AMERICAN

REVIEW.

VOL. XLIX.

BOSTON:
FERDINAND ANDREWS, 4 WATER STREET.

1839.

051
N1-49

CAMBRIDGE:
FOLSOM, WELLS, AND THURSTON,
PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

CONTENTS

OF

No. CIV.

ART. PAGE

I. PRISON DISCIPLINE 1

1. Annual Reports of the Board of Managers of the Prison Discipline Society.

2. Annual Reports of the Inspectors of the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania. Nos. 1 — 9.

3. Report on Punishments and Prison Discipline, by the Commissioners appointed to revise the Penal Code of Pennsylvania.

4. A Defence of the System of Solitary Confinement of Prisoners, adopted by the State of Pennsylvania ; with Remarks on the Origin, Progress, and Extension of this Species of Prison Discipline. By GEORGE W. SMITH.

5. A Popular Essay on Subjects of Penal Law, and on Uninterrupted Solitary Confinement at Labor, as contradistinguished to Solitary Confinement at Night and Joint Labor by Day, in a Letter to John Bacon, Esquire, President of the Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons. By FRANCIS LIEBER.

II. KANT AND HIS PHILOSOPHY 44

Critick of Pure Reason ; translated from the Original of IMMANUEL KANT.

III. ENGLISH DISCOVERIES IN THE OHIO VALLEY . . 69

1. Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768. By J. CARVER.

2. CARVER's Travels in Wisconsin.

IV. ENGRAVING 118

Manuel du Graveur, ou Traité Complet de l'Art de la Gravure en tous Genres, d'après les Renseignemens fournis par plusieurs Artistes, et rédigé par A. M. PERROT, Membre de l'Athénée des Arts, de la Société Philotechnique, de celle de Géographie, de la Société d'Agronomie Pratique, etc.

V. Holbrook's North American Herpetology . . 145

North American Herpetology ; or a Description of the Reptiles inhabiting the United States. By John Edwards Holbrook, M. D., Professor of Anatomy in the Medical College of the State of South Carolina, Member of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, &c. &c.

VI. Davis's Memoirs and Journal of Burr . . . 155

1. Memoirs of Aaron Burr, with Miscellaneous Selections from his Correspondence. By Matthew L. Davis.

2. The Private Journal of Aaron Burr, during his Residence of Four Years in Europe, with Selections from his Correspondence. Edited by Matthew L. Davis.

VII. Self-Cultivation of the Christian Minister . 206

The Life and Character of the Reverend Samuel H. Stearns.

VIII. Bird's Adventures of Robin Day 220

The Adventures of Robin Day, by the Author of "Calavar," "Nick of the Woods," &c.

IX. Critical Notices.

1. Colman's Agricultural Address 238
2. Chandler's Law Reporter 243
3. Abbott's Teacher 244
4. The Moral Teacher 247
5. Sawyer's Mental Philosophy 249
6. Leonard's Practical Treatise on Arithmetic 251
7. Ellet's Characters of Schiller 257
8. Travels of Father Hennepin 258
9. Letters on Education in Kentucky . . . 262
10. Willis's A l'Abri 264

Note to Article I. of the present Number . . 264

Note to Article I. of No. C. 266

Quarterly List of New Publications 267

CONTENTS

OF

No. CV.

ART. PAGE

I. BORDER WARS OF THE REVOLUTION 277
Life of Joseph Brant [Thayendanegea]; including the Border Wars of the American Revolution, and Sketches of the Indian Campaigns of Generals Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne, &c. &c. By WILLIAM L. STONE.

II. CHATEAUBRIAND'S SKETCHES OF ENGLISH LITERATURE 317
Sketches of English Literature; with Considerations on the Spirit of the Times, Men, and Revolutions. By the Viscount de CHATEAUBRIAND.

III. MILNES'S POEMS 348
The Poems of RICHARD MONCKTON MILNES, Author of "Memorials of a Tour in Greece."

IV. SCHOOLCRAFT'S INDIAN TALES AND LEGENDS . . 354
Algic Researches, comprising Inquiries respecting the Mental Characteristics of the North American Indians. First Series. Indian Tales and Legends. In Two Volumes. By HENRY ROWE SCHOOLCRAFT, Author of a Narrative Journal of Travels to the Sources of the Mississippi; Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley; An Expedition to Itasca Lake, &c.

V. BRITISH AMERICAN POLITICS 373
1. Report on the Affairs of British North America, from the EARL OF DURHAM, Her Majesty's High Commissioner, &c. &c. &c.
2. Appendix to the Same. (A. B. C. D. and E.)
3. Copies, or Extracts, of Correspondence, relative to the Affairs of British North America.
4. A Narrative. By SIR FRANCIS B. HEAD, Bart.
5. The Bubbles of Canada. By the Author of "Sam Slick, the Clockmaker," &c. &c.

VI. Cooper's Naval History 432
The History of the Navy of the United States of America. By J. Fenimore Cooper.

VII. Ramshorn's Latin Synonymes 467
Dictionary of Latin Synonymes, for the Use of Schools and Private Students; with a complete Index. By Lewis Ramshorn. From the German, by Francis Lieber.

VIII. Life of General Van Rensselaer 478
A Discourse on the Life, Services, and Character of Stephen Van Rensselaer, delivered before the Albany Institute, April 15th, 1839; with an Historical Sketch of the Colony and Manor of Rensselaerwyck, in an Appendix. By Daniel D. Barnard.

IX. Critical Notices.
1. Gill's Mathematical Miscellany 484
2. Marshall on the Constitution 485
3. Fouqué's Undine 486
4. Kinne's Questions on Blackstone 487
5. Otis's Translation of the Tusculan Questions 488
6. The Token and Atlantic Souvenir 490
7. Beauties of Everett 491
8. Hale on Typhoid Fever 494

Note to Article V. 496

Quarterly List of New Publications 499

Index 509

FITCHBURG
PUBLIC LIBRARY

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CIV.

JULY, 1839.

ART. I. — 1. *Annual Reports of the Board of Managers of the Prison Discipline Society.* Boston. Nos. 1 — 13. pp. 1234.

2. *Annual Reports of the Inspectors of the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania.* Nos. 1 — 9.

3. *Report on Punishments and Prison Discipline, by the Commissioners appointed to revise the Penal Code of Pennsylvania.* Commissioners, Hon. JUDGE SHALER, Hon. JUDGE KING, and T. J. WHARTON, Esquire. 2d edition. pp. 77.

4. *A Defence of the System of Solitary Confinement of Prisoners, adopted by the State of Pennsylvania; with Remarks on the Origin, Progress, and Extension of this Species of Prison Discipline;* by GEORGE W. SMITH. Philadelphia. pp. 104.

5. *A Popular Essay on Subjects of Penal Law, and on Uninterrupted Solitary Confinement at Labor, as contradistinguished to Solitary Confinement at Night and Joint Labor by Day, in a Letter to John Bacon, Esquire, President of the Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons.* By FRANCIS LIEBER, Corresponding Member of the Society, and Professor of History in the South Carolina College. Philadelphia. 1838. pp. 94.

THE attention, which, within the last fifty years, has been given to the subject of prison discipline, affords cheering

evidence of the progress of the human race in civilization. Ever since the investigations of Howard, the condition of prisoners has been kept in view by the statesmen and philanthropists of Great Britain. It has, on various occasions, been made the subject of Parliamentary inquiry, and thus the public mind has been prepared for the necessary changes. The same spirit has, to a very laudable degree, diffused itself over some of her most important colonies. Within a few days, we have received from Calcutta the Report of the Committee of Prison Discipline to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated January 8th, 1838; a volume of one hundred and thirty-eight quarto pages, together with an Appendix of valuable statistical and illustrative papers. France is also engaged in the same good work. In the speech from the throne, of the last year, we find the following cheering announcement; "Our penitentiary system has long called for all the attention of my government, and you will have to examine a bill for its improvement." The same subject has also attracted the attention of the government of Prussia; but to what extent its labors have been carried, we have not at present the means of ascertaining.

It is gratifying to be enabled to add, that, at the present time, our own country seems to be taking the lead in this department of social benevolence. The volumes and pamphlets, whose titles stand at the head of this article, give evidence, that the American public is fully aware of its importance. Every one of these pamphlets contains valuable information, and most of them have been drawn up after diligent and laborious research. But, above all, the prisons in the larger number of our States have, within a few years, been greatly improved; in some other States, they are at present undergoing improvement; and even the most backward are inquiring for the best manner in which acknowledged evils may be remedied. Legislators are disposed to give to the subject a serious consideration. The people are willing to tax themselves, to any amount that may be necessary, to render prisons in reality schools of reformation, instead of being, what they formerly were, the abodes of horrible sin, and filthy, squalid, unalleviated misery. The State of Pennsylvania has appropriated to the building of one prison, the Eastern Penitentiary, the princely sum of $772,600. That we are not, to say the least, behind the most civilized nations

of Europe in the success of our efforts on this subject, is proved by the fact, that already several commissioners have visited us, for the express purpose of examining and reporting upon the condition of our penitentiaries ; and that, in every instance, they have recommended that our system, somewhat modified, should be adopted by their respective countries. Of these it will be sufficient to mention Mr. Crawford, commissioner from the Parliament of Great Britain, Messrs. Beaumont and De Tocqueville, from the French government, Dr. Julius, from the government of Prussia, and a commission from each of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. It is delightful to be able in this manner to return a grateful acknowledgment for the obligations which have been conferred upon us by the benevolence and civilization of our mother country.

The interest which is taken in this subject, both at home and abroad ; its manifest connexion with all efforts which may be made for the moral improvement of a people ; nay, the number of persons who must be affected for good or for ill, by the prison discipline of a civilized country, * present sufficient reasons, why we should devote a larger portion of our pages than usual, to a review of the origin, progress, and present condition of the penitentiary system of the United States.

As evil in practice is, generally, the result of error in theory, we are commonly obliged to explode the one, before we are able to eradicate the other. It is, therefore, important to remark, that the notions which, for ages before the time of Howard, almost universally prevailed with respect to prison discipline, and which, to too great a degree, prevail at this day, present a striking illustration of the inconsistency of public sentiment on all moral subjects. Any one, who will take the trouble to observe, will immediately perceive, that there exists, in the standard by which public opinion measures human guiltiness, a zero point, and a range of transgression both above and below it. This point is fixed, in the main, by legislative enactment. Let a man be ever so corrupt, let him be faithless, impure, dishonest, only let him keep *beyond* the reach of the law, and he will, too frequently, in the ordinary intercourse of society, share

* It is computed, that there are at least ten thousand persons, at the present moment, confined in prisons in the United States.

in every mark of conventional respect. He is a member, in good standing, of the body politic.

> "Well dressed, well bred,
> Well equipaged, is ticket good enough
> To pass us readily through every door."

We feel bound to sympathize in the sorrows of such an one, to rejoice in his successes, and, in the things in which he is faulty, to labor for his reformation.

But let a man be convicted of a transgression which brings him *within* the reach of the law; let a civil process be issued against him; let an officer take him into custody, and walk with him through the crowd of his silent, astonished, and unrecognising friends; let him but cross the threshold of a jail, and hear the harsh bolts of a dungeon grate upon his ear; let him be convicted by a jury, and sentenced by a judge, and abide for a longer or shorter period a term of confinement; and, moreover, let his manner be ill-bred, his appearance hirsute, his garments tattered, with not a lingering trace of the gentleman about him, and all his relations to society are instantly changed. It mattered not how many might be the circumstances extenuating his fault, whether the offence were the first or the fiftieth, nay, whether the culprit was young or old, ignorant or well informed; until very lately, his treatment was, in all cases, precisely the same. It seemed as if society could look leniently upon every thing else, but the infraction of her own laws; or, rather, as if we held, with the ancient Spartans, that crime did not consist in the act, but in its being detected. It had come to be believed, that, as soon as man became a convict, his very nature was changed, and all the relations of his fellow-men to him were changed also. Henceforth appeal to his reason or to his conscience was useless, and, like a brute, he could be influenced only by fear. Nay, it was worse than this. We address the *hopes* of brutes as well as their fears; but no one ever addressed the hopes of the wretch, on whom the hand of punitive justice had fallen. He had lost caste. No one cared what became of him. It mattered not how much he might be abused, what insolence of office he might suffer, or how deeply the iron in the dungeon might enter into his soul. If he repented, and was in heart a reformed man, no one would believe him; no one would employ him; and he was obliged to give proof of his moral improvement, by suffering starvation unto death.

FITCHBURG
PUBLIC LIBRARY

How benevolent and how thoughtful was that proof of discipleship which our Saviour enjoined, "I was in prison, and ye came unto me."

It is truly affecting to observe how universal, before the time of Howard, had become the neglect of every thing relating to prisons and prison discipline. Not only were prisons constructed without any regard to humanity, and without any design of promoting the reformation of prisoners, but it came to be the fact, that the whole economy of these moral charnel-houses was absolutely shut out from the thoughts of the happy and the virtuous. There was but one description of jail for the whole community, and into this were indiscriminately thrown debtors, thieves, murderers, persons detained for trial or as witnesses, lunatics, idiots, young and old, and frequently men and women, without classification and without constraint. If any solitary cells were to be found within these gloomy walls, they were generally under ground, dark, damp, chilly, and too filthy to be described; and in these the more furious maniacs were incarcerated for life. The facts might have been easily ascertained by any one who chose to inquire into them. They must, we presume, have been known, they certainly *ought* to have been known, to judges, to grand jurors, to sheriffs, and frequently to lawyers. Yet, before Howard, no one had ever thought of directing the public attention to this shocking inhumanity. It is humiliating to reflect, how easily we become accustomed to the most enormous cruelty, and by how slight a circumstance a human being may be shut out from all our kindly sympathies.

> "There is no flesh in man's obdurate heart;
> It does not feel for man. The natural bond
> Of brotherhood is severed, as the flax
> That falls asunder at the touch of fire."

It is the peculiar merit of Howard, that he unfolded to the civilized world the mysteries of the prison-house. It was his great object to lift the curtain, and reveal to mankind the atrocities which were perpetrated in the very bosom of society. His journals contain a full, an accurate, and an impartial disclosure of the condition of jails, prisons, penitentiaries, and hospitals, throughout Great Britain and the greater part of the continent. His labor was that of exploration. In this he was so completely successful, that it was impossible after-

wards for the subject to be wholly forgotten. His labors must always be the groundwork of all that shall ever be done for the improvement of prison discipline; and no one can henceforth treat upon the subject, without introducing his discourse with a eulogy upon the character and labors of John Howard, the Philanthropist.

But Howard confined himself, almost exclusively, to an exhibition of the evils which at that time existed; and to the repeated inculcation and illustration of the fundamental principle, on which all improvements in prison discipline are founded, namely, *There is nothing gained by the imprisonment of criminals, unless that imprisonment tend to reformation.* He declares, that all his experience might be summed up in this one maxim. It is found in all his reports; it speaks out in all his correspondence. To direct the minds of men to its importance, was a labor of which the value can scarcely be exaggerated. But, unfortunately, Howard did not live to see his principles carried into practice under his own direction. He never embodied his ideas in the form of a prison, which should become the model for general imitation. He was in a commission for erecting a penitentiary in the vicinity of London, but, from disagreement with his fellow-laborers as to its local situation, he abandoned the undertaking. While he, therefore, demonstrated the fundamental principle, he left the manner of its practical application to be invented by others.

The result was, as might have been expected; Howard was canonized, and worthily, but the prisoners were neglected, and were in danger of being forgotten; so much easier is it to eulogize philanthropy, than to be indeed philanthropists. Notwithstanding Parliamentary inquiry, prisoners in Great Britain remained for a long time very much as they had been. We presume, that Mrs. Fry found about as much misery and vice in Newgate, as Mr. Howard had found there fifty years before. If the writings of Mr. Dickens are pictures from life, we fear that things there are but little better now. With the exception of the prison at Gloucester, and perhaps a few others, we doubt whether, notwithstanding all the disclosures of Howard, any material improvement had taken place within the first thirty years after his death. Some efforts had been made to classify prisoners, and the treadmill (a punishment of doubtful utility) had been introduced into very common use; but, beyond this, we be-

lieve that very little had been effected. Within the last twenty years, however, a brighter era has dawned upon the prisons of Great Britain. The labors of the "Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, and for the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders," have been attended with cheering success; and there is now reason to hope, that every British prison will be hereafter constructed with the design of promoting the moral reformation of the criminal.

It is not remarkable that this country should, for a long time, have followed the example of Great Britain, in her system of prison discipline. It was natural, that our fathers should entertain the sentiments in which they had been educated; and that they should erect, in this country, such prisons as they had been accustomed to see at home. Such was the fact. Our penitentiary system inherited all the vices of the land of our origin. The following description of the Walnut-Street prison, in Philadelphia, in the year 1783, is a picture, by no means exaggerated, of very many of the prisons, both in this country and in Europe at that period. Such have many of them continued until within a very recent date. We extract it from the pamphlet of Mr. G. W. Smith.

"On the 20th of November, 1783, the supreme executive council of this State appointed a committee of their body to confer with a deputation of the Society, respecting the abuses in prison discipline. We would willingly draw a veil over the horrid transactions, which the Society were the instruments of Providence in discovering, exposing, and finally, in a great measure, preventing. The prison was a perfect pandemonium, rendered only the more conspicuous and revolting, from the contrast with the institutions of wisdom and benevolence, which everywhere surrounded it. It had degenerated from the imperfect condition of a workhouse, which it had been in the days of Penn, and for some time subsequently. The cruelty, the crimes, the misery, and nearly all the abominations, which prevailed in the prisons of America and Europe, were the constituent parts of our system."

"In this den of abomination, were mingled, in one revolting mass of festering corruption, all the collected elements of contagion; all *ages*, *colors*, and *sexes* were forced into one horrid, loathsome communion of depravity. Children, committed with their mothers, here first learned to lisp in the strange accents of blasphemy and execration. Young, pure, and modest females, committed for debt, here learned from the hateful society of abandoned prostitutes (whose resting-places on the

floor they were compelled to share) the insidious lessons of seduction. The young apprentice, in custody for some venial fault, the tyro in guilt, the unfortunate debtor, the untried and sometimes guiltless prisoners, the innocent witnesses, detained for their evidence in court against those charged with crimes, were associated with the incorrigible felon, the loathsome victim of disease and vice, and the disgusting drunkard (whose means of intoxication were unblushingly furnished by the jailer !) Idleness, profligacy, and widely-diffused contamination, were the inevitable results. The frantic yells of bacchanalian revelry ; the horrid execrations and disgusting obscenities from the lips of profligacy ; the frequent infliction of the lash ; the clanking of fetters ; the wild exclamation of the wretch driven frantic by desperation, the ferocious cries of combatants ; the groans of those wounded in the frequent frays (a common pastime in the prison), mingled with the unpitied moans of the sick (lying unattended and sometimes destitute of clothes and covering), the faint but imploring accents for sustenance by the miserable debtor, cut off from all means of self-support, and abandoned to his own resources, or to lingering starvation ; and the continual though unheeded complaints of the miserable and destitute, formed the discordant sounds heard in the *only* public abode of misery in Philadelphia, where the voice of hope, of mercy, of religion, never entered. In this nursery of crime, almost every species of profligacy was practised without punishment, and openly taught without any attempt at prevention ; — sins, to which the purity of Christianity has not attached even a name, were nightly perpetrated."

" In this abode of moral contamination and of suffering, a few were released from their misery by the lingering pains of hunger, of cold, and neglect ; several committed suicide ; and the frequent and fatal pestilence, — the inevitable consequence of filth and crowded apartments, — swept off multitudes, to whom the means of education, as well as the lessons of religion, had never been offered, — whose dying hours were unimproved, — whose beds were attended by no merciful minister of the gospel, urging them to repentance, and bearing the blessed hope of mercy and forgiveness. They departed, either unheeded, or surrounded by wretches on whom their awful example produced no reform ; from whom their sufferings received no compassion, nor any alleviation. The last sigh of the most hardened was breathed out in audacious and shocking defiance ; whilst brutal indifference, or agonizing despair, marked the dying moments of many of the tenants of a jail of a Christian community.

"Those of our citizens, who remember the former condition of the prison in Walnut Street, can testify to the correctness of this description. *It is no overcharged picture of the fancy.*" — *Defence of System of Solitary Confinement*, pp. 10 – 12.

Such is a faithful description of the prison in the heart of Philadelphia, a city renowned for her deeds of philanthropy. It is a melancholy illustration of the fact, that there is scarcely a conceivable degree of inhumanity, to which we may not become so accustomed as to survey it, for years together, with almost absolute indifference.

Shocking as is this description, it is sorrowful to add, that it too accurately portrays the condition of the greater part of the prisons in this country, and in Europe, at the time to which it refers, the year 1788 – 9. It is yet more painful to remark, that prisons of essentially the same character have, until very lately, existed in almost every State in the Union. The old State prison in New York, the old State prison at Charlestown, Massachusetts, the old New Jersey State prison, we have reason to believe, so far at least as moral contamination is concerned, but too nearly resembled the Walnut Street prison in Philadelphia. In respect to the prison at Charlestown, as late as 1826, Governor Lincoln, in his annual message, speaks as follows;

"So few are the cells, that, in many of them, from four to sixteen convicts are locked up together at night. In these emphatically committee-rooms of mischief, the vilest schemes of profligacy are devised, and the grossest acts of depravity perpetrated. Confederacies and combinations are here formed, by the practised veteran, with the noviciate in crime; and, to complete the infamy of the association, a horrible offence is here committed, between wretches who are alike destitute of moral sentiment, and without the reach of physical restraint. Nature and humanity cry aloud for redemption from this dreadful degradation. Better even that the laws were written in blood, than that they should be executed in sin." — *Message*, January, 1826.

The Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature, in their report on the state of this prison for the same year, assert, that "If the convict who is sentenced to the State prison, have any spark of virtue left when he enters its walls, he will soon learn to forget the distinction between virtue and vice, and assimilate himself to his companions."

Such was the condition of the principal prison of Pennsylvania in 1788 – 9, and of the State prison of Massachusetts in 1826. The condition of the State prison of Newgate, in Connecticut, was, if any thing, still more deplorable. We refer to these, especially, because no State in the Union holds a higher rank for benevolence and intelligence, than Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. If the condition of prisons was anywhere else more encouraging, it must have been owing to accident, and not to the superior virtue and wisdom of the community.

The fact then was, we fear, in few words, very much as follows. Throughout the whole of this country, prisons were erected for carrying into effect the enactments of criminal law, and at the same time for the confinement of debtors, and persons detained either as witnesses or on suspicion of crime. In the construction of these prisons, but one demand was ever made upon the architect, and that was, that he should render them secure. Provided they were strong, it seems to have been supposed, that nothing further could be required. It was not considered of the least importance to inquire, whether the convicts spent their time together or apart, either by day or by night; whether they were idle or industrious; whether the novice were separated from the old offender, or whether they all mingled together in one loathsome mass of moral putrefaction. Nor was this all. As prisons thus constructed, at variance with every principle of virtue or humanity, would, by necessity, call into action all the baleful passions of the human heart, it was to be expected, that they would be disorderly and liable to frequent insurrections. Such was the fact; and hence it became indispensable to invest the keepers with authority to inflict punishment to any extent, which might be requisite, to subdue the refractory. This power they were obliged very frequently to exercise. The prisoners were sometimes beaten with the lash; at other times confined in cold and dark dungeons, on a short allowance of meagre food; and, in general, the government of the prison was left, without much responsibility, to the warden and keepers. In other words these officers were required to govern men, placed under a system, of which the whole tendency was to render them as ungovernable as possible. That in this protracted struggle for supremacy, the heart of the keeper should become steeled, and all the fountains of his

sympathy dried up, was of course to be expected. It would be a miracle, were it otherwise. His will must become an iron will. His word must be law. His authority would be endangered by any manifestation of tenderness. Knowing that he has to do with men on whom, in their present situation, no moral or social motive would produce effect, he must govern by a perpetual appeal to personal fear. Now we do not ask, how Howard or Mrs. Fry would have governed a prison under such a system ; but we ask, Can any one doubt whether, with the degree of virtue which falls to the share of ordinary men, there is one out of a thousand, who would not, under such circumstances, become a tyrant ? Such, we fear, was the actual result. The discipline of prisons became, in general, unfeeling and severe, and the only motive brought to bear on reasonable and moral beings, was the fear of the lash, the dungeon, or the gallows.

The case, however, became still worse from accidental circumstances. A prison is, or at least was, a place which scarcely any one visited except on official business. Those who crossed that gloomy threshold unconvicted, were either persons interested in its management, or the near relatives of the condemned. The former would not be the first to complain of a system by which they obtained their bread, and for the establishment of which they were not responsible ; the latter, sensitive to the disgrace of being related to a State-prisoner, would always be reluctant to speak publicly of abuses. The criminals, who had suffered from ill treatment, would rarely publish their wrongs, for very few of them could write intelligibly ; and those, who were able to reveal what they had seen, would rather bury their disgrace in oblivion, than, by a publication of what they had seen, proclaim their infamy to the world, and thus engrave their shame upon an ever-during record.

The result of all this was, that a prison became a secret place, an *imperium in imperio*, governed by its own laws, or rather by its own precedents ; a cavern, whose gloom was never irradiated by a gleam of sunshine, and whose noisome miasma was never stirred by the breezes of heaven. Here every noxious plant vegetated in rank luxuriance, and here every obscene beast made his chosen habitation. So thick was the darkness which enshrouded these abodes of misery, that they might exist in the very midst of an enlightened and

philanthropic city, and yet not a man could be found who had any knowledge of what was transacted within their walls. Whatever might be the sufferings of the wretched inmates, they were all borne, so far as the community was concerned, in silence. No one would believe the narrative of a State-prison convict; or, if he believed it, no one would be easily convinced, that criminals could be governed by any thing better than starvation and cold, the lash, the dungeon, and the bayonet.

The effect of this treatment upon prisoners may be easily conceived. By the laws of our nature cruelty produces hatred, oppression creates resistance, injury awakens revenge, and combination is resisted by combination. The criminal believed himself to be treated with unfeeling harshness, and he hated the jailer who restrained him, but most of all society, by whose authority the jailer acted. He may have felt conscious of crime, but yet the very moral sense, which convicted him, taught him also, that it was lacerating injustice to consign him, with utter heartlessness, to so intolerable a doom. From this state of mind, the transition was inevitable, to that of a fixed resolution to be revenged on society for the injuries which he supposed himself to have suffered. Men agitated by such feelings, and enjoying every facility for unrestrained intercourse, would naturally combine against the laws which restrained them, and cherish a deadly hostility against the men by whom the laws were enacted. Thus it came to pass that every prison in the land was a hotbed of crime. Murders, thefts, robberies, were devised there day after day, and there were the instruments fabricated by which these crimes were to be perpetrated. Every human being, who came within the sphere of the influence of such a system, became, inevitably, more depraved. The very means for preventing crime became in fact the means, not only of multiplying it, but also of rendering it more cautious, more expert, more nefarious, and more systematic.

As an illustration of the nature and tendencies of the former, and to too great a degree the present system, of prison discipline, we would mention a case which occurred only a few years since, in one of the New England States. The only voucher for its accuracy, it is true, is the veracity of the sufferer himself; but the naturalness of the whole narrative

is such, that we have never doubted for a moment of its essential authenticity.

The young man to whom we refer was an orphan, left in mere boyhood to the care of an uncle, who taught him his own trade, that of a shoemaker. The uncle, however, absconded in debt, while our informant was still a youth, and he apprenticed himself to another person of the same occupation. The master was poor, and the apprentice, of course, still poorer ; the former failed, and was, we believe, sent to jail, and the latter, almost destitute of clothes, was again turned out, without a friend, into the street. His appearance was so squalid, that no respectable mechanic would employ him, and he wandered about the city for several days, cold and hungry, procuring barely enough to prolong existence, by doing little errands on a wharf.

In this condition, to cover his nakedness, he stole an old coat out of an entry. In one of the pockets, there was, unfortunately, a pocket-book, containing a considerable sum of money. This discovery alarmed the poor boy. To return it would have been to confess the robbery. To keep it was to render apprehension almost certain. While deliberating with himself what he should do, he was arrested, immediately convicted, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment in a common jail. Here he found himself consigned to the same apartment with three pirates, one of whom was afterwards executed, and the other two doubtless deserved execution. These wretches spent their time in instilling into the mind of this boy every sentiment of hatred against society. They taught him how to steal, and assured him, that the pleasantest life which he could choose was a life of dishonesty and robbery. They assured him, that he ought to make society pay for its cruelty to him ; that occasions for successful theft were of every day's occurrence ; and that he would thus become a gentleman more readily than in any other manner.

The poor child was too easily persuaded. He entered the prison, honest in principle. He left it, determined upon being a villain. For weeks he was prowling about the city in search of some opportunity of theft ; but he found these much less frequent than he had been led to suppose. He obtained, by doing odd jobs, barely sufficient to purchase food ; and slept on cellar-doors, or in any hiding-place which

the streets afforded. Having been in jail, he dared not apply to any respectable mechanic for work; and, as the cold weather approached, his situation became almost desperate. He was perfectly prepared to commit an offence which would send him to prison, "for then," said he, "I should be certain of having a place to sleep in at night."

In this state of mind, he was met by an old house-breaker, who immediately engaged him to rob a store. The robbery was successfully accomplished, and the booty secured. A reward was offered for the detection of the thief. A compromise was effected between the owners of the property, the managing robber, and the police officer; a large part of the stolen goods was returned, and the remainder shared between the old offender and an accomplice, while this young man, who had been merely a tool in the transaction, was delivered over to justice. We need not add, that he was speedily convicted, and sentenced for a term of several years to confinement in the State-prison.

Several of the first months of this confinement were passed in solitude. It was midwinter. The room to which he was consigned was unglazed; his bed was a bunk filled with straw, and his covering a single blanket. It happened, that, on several occasions, he awoke in the morning and found himself covered with snow from the open window. His food was insufficient in quantity and poor in quality; and his health soon began to decline. Frequently he was obliged to lie with his limbs folded together during the whole day and night, for the sake of husbanding the vital warmth, until, even after being taken out, he was for some time unable to stand upright. During this sad period, "My feelings," said he, "were continually vibrating between two extremes. Sometimes I felt myself injured; though I knew I had done wrong, yet I was conscious I did not deserve such protracted misery, and I could not help weeping over my situation. Then, again, I would feel that this was not manly, and I would brace myself to bear it without flinching, determined, that, if I ever was set at liberty, the world should pay dearly for its treatment of me." These latter feelings gradually strengthened with time, and at the close of the term of solitary confinement had formed themselves into a habit.

When this melancholy half year had elapsed, he was turned loose into unrestrained intercourse with men who had,

themselves, undergone a similar training. He described the prison at large as a perfect pandemonium, where every evil passion of the human heart was cultivated to terrible luxuriance. "I do not believe," said he, "that there was a man there, who would have hesitated for a moment to commit murder, were it not from the fear of detection. I myself have frequently been guilty of murder in my heart." The only feeling possessed by the convicts in common, was, hatred against society, and a determination to be avenged upon it, if ever they had again the opportunity. To accomplish this purpose, they were willing, at all times to combine together. Those who entered, were always ready to make known to those about to go out any peculiar facilities, with which they were acquainted, for depredation. They assisted each other in forming plans and in fabricating tools, and thus, on several occasions, it was commonly known in the prison, that a murder or robbery was to be perpetrated, some days before the occurrence took place. No one who knew of the existence of such designs dared to reveal them; for he was well assured, that, in case it were found out, he would inevitably be assassinated by some of the desperadoes by whom he was surrounded.

This was the manner in which, only a few years since, an enlightened community was laboring, at great expense, to diminish the amount of crime by which it was afflicted. The account above given is related from memory; but it is, in all its important features, presented as we received it. It had, at the time, every appearance of truth and naturalness; and we have had no reason, from any subsequent investigations, to question the veracity of our informant.

We need not ask, whether there can be any thing more weak or more wicked, than such a system as this. So far from having a tendency to *diminish* crime, its tendency is directly to *increase* it. Prisons, of every kind, were nurseries of vice; seminaries, in which criminals could select and educate their associates, and in which the whole society of criminals became bound to each other by a perverted moral sympathy, and by a language of words and symbols, known to themselves, but unknown to all the rest of the world. The weakness of such a system was paralleled only by its wickedness. What can be more inexcusably culpable, than for the intelligent, responsible citizens of a free country to suffer such abominations to go on, year after year, uncor-

rected? What can be more wantonly cruel, than, for a single and, it may be, a venial offence, thus to consign a fellow man, without the hope of forgiveness, to a mode of punishment, which, unless a miracle prevent, must "destroy both soul and body in hell"? We have all heard of the Spaniard, who, having disarmed his enemy, obliged him, on condition that his life should be spared, to renounce his religion and blaspheme his Redeemer, and then deliberately plunged his sword into his bosom, saying, that it would have been a poor revenge merely to put him to death; he had now insured his eternal damnation. We would, of course, by no means intimate, that sentiments thus vindictive have given rise to the old methods of prison discipline; but we do say, that, in result, the analogy between the two cases is much more exact than we wish it were. There is, at any rate, sufficient similarity to remind us, that the evils springing from want of consideration are frequently as great as those arising from deliberate wickedness.

The praise of making the first effort to arouse the public mind in this country to the enormity of this evil must, without doubt, be awarded to the citizens of Philadelphia, a city always forward in every effort to promote the happiness, or alleviate the sufferings of man. On the 7th of February, 1776, an association was formed, denominated "The Philadelphia Society for assisting Distressed Prisoners." During the American Revolution, when Philadelphia was in the power of the enemy, this society seems to have been suspended or dissolved. On the 8th of May, 1787, some of its surviving members formed another association, under the name of "The Philadelphia Society for alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons."

"This useful and unassuming body," says Mr. Smith, "is the parent of all the societies, which have since been formed for similar purposes, in Europe and this country. It has, perhaps, effected more for the *permanent* benefit of mankind, than any of the meritorious charities of this city of benevolence. It has the enviable fame of being the first to reduce the humane and philosophic theory of preventive and reforming punishments, by the *separate* confinement and *instruction* of prisoners, to the unerring test of successful experiment." — p. 7.

The labors of this Society have been principally confined to the State of Pennsylvania. It investigated the condition

of prisons throughout that State, laid them, from time to time, before the legislature and the public, and desisted not until it had procured the adoption of that system of criminal jurisprudence and prison discipline, which has since been known as the *Pennsylvania system.*

The other association, and that on which the greater share of the labor in this cause has of late years fallen, is the "Prison Discipline Society" of Boston. This society was organized in Boston, June 30th, 1825. Its first annual Report bears date June 2d, 1826. Since its formation, it has published thirteen annual Reports, forming together a volume of twelve hundred and thirty-four closely printed octavo pages. These Reports, we venture to say, furnish a mass of facts and statistics respecting prisons, and the various subjects connected with criminal jurisprudence, of greater value than can be found in any other works at present in the English language. By correspondence, it annually collects all the most important information to be gained on this subject; and, by means of its secretary, it visits frequently all the prisons in the northern and middle states. Indeed, when we consider the very small expenditure of the Society, and the improvements in prisons and prison discipline which it has originated, not only in the United States and the Canadas, but also in Europe, we look at it as a striking illustration of the power for good which Divine Providence has conferred upon man. This society has not expended more than about three thousand dollars per annum; and yet, besides stereotyping all its reports, sustaining its secretary, and assisting in the support of several State-prison chaplains, it has spread before every man in the community the means of forming a judgment on this important question, and has brought about a radical change in the management of prisons in about half of the States in the Union. Nor is all this the whole, or even the half, of the benefit which has thus been conferred upon the community. It is now universally *acknowledged*, that the treatment of prisoners is a matter into which every virtuous member of society is bound to make inquiry; that the attempt to reform criminals is not by any means hopeless; and that it is incumbent on every political society to form for itself a system of criminal jurisprudence, which, by laboring for the reformation of all classes of offenders, shall reduce the actual amount of crime within the narrowest possible limits.

And here it would be unjust to pass to a consideration of other topics, without adding a word respecting the labors of the Reverend Louis Dwight, the founder, and from its commencement the secretary and agent, of this society. Five years after closing his theological studies, this gentleman devoted himself to the cause of the prisoners in the United States. He has personally visited and inspected almost all the prisons in the land, examined convicts, conversed with officers, exposed abuses, encouraged well-doing, sought out plans for building, collected statistics, carried on a very extensive and frequently harassing correspondence, and, in a word, has given himself up, body and soul, to the cause of the lunatic, the debtor, and the criminal. And all this has been done with so little parade, that we presume a large portion of our readers have never yet heard the name of Louis Dwight. We mention these facts, by no means for the sake of lauding this gentleman, or those associated with him. They are very far above any such reward. We do it to show how much good can be effected at a very trifling expense, and without either agitation, vituperation, or abuse. This society has not existed in vain, if it has done nothing else than demonstrate the truth, that good may be done to mankind without calling to the aid of benevolence a single ferocious passion of the human heart, or gratifying in a single bosom the love of slander and detraction.

But to return. The first effort of both of these associations was, of course, to investigate the condition of prisons in this country. To the results of this investigation we have already alluded. The whole system was found too bad to be any longer tolerated. The first consequence of this exposure was, the universal conviction, in the breast of every thoughtful man, that a total change must, in some manner, be effected. We think that no one can have read even the few remarks on this subject in the beginning of the present article, without being persuaded, that a universal and radical reform in the treatment of criminals is the imperative duty of every community in which such abuses are even liable to exist. Let us then, if possible, illustrate some of the fundamental principles, on which any correct system of prison discipline must proceed.

It is granted on all hands to be unfortunately the fact, that no society has ever existed, for any considerable period

without suffering severely from the crimes of its members. Offences against persons and property are matters of constant occurrence; and that society is the furthest advanced in civilization, in which the arrangements are the most perfect for the prevention, the detection, and the punishment, of transgression. Crime must be arrested, or society could not exist. Did not the public undertake to do justice to the injured or defrauded, every man must either suffer from the infliction of unrestrained wrong, or else he must rely for protection and redress upon his own arm; that is, we must go back from the civilized to the savage state.

The innocent must, then, be protected, and wrongs must, as far as possible, be prevented and redressed; and this must be done, not by the injured individual himself, but by society, interposing in his behalf. But how far may society go, in this matter of prevention and protection? We answer, in the abstract, just so far as may be necessary to secure its own well-being. The existence of society must be preserved; for, society being abolished, the individuals would perish. Hence the authority of society to punish must be as great as the necessities of society may require. We see no other rule than this, which can be adopted. For, if the power of punishment is given to society for the purpose of preserving its own existence, all the power necessary to the securing of this result must be granted also.

But, while all this is true, it is also true, that every human being is an intelligent and moral creature of God, as capable as we of the highest mental developement, and of the most transcendent attainments in holiness. He was formed in the image of God; and, sadly as that image may have been defaced, it still is capable of being restored in all its primitive effulgence. And more than this; the vilest criminal is a brother, whom the God and Father of us all, has, on peril of his displeasure, commanded us to respect, to pity, and to love. No injury, which our fellow-man can inflict upon us, absolves us from the obligation to cherish towards him those sentiments, which are enjoined by the authority of our Father who is in heaven. Hence, in the treatment of our fellow-men, we are never allowed to cherish the least sentiment of vindictiveness, but are, on the contrary, commanded to act upon the principles of the highest benevolence, that so we may be the children of Him who causeth his sun to shine on the

evil and on the good, and sendeth his rain upon the just and upon the unjust.

Now this last principle evidently modifies the preceding. While, in the treatment of criminals, we have the authority to do whatever may be necessary to preserve the existence and well-being of society, we are yet under a solemn obligation to accomplish this purpose in such manner as shall consist with a perfectly charitable and merciful temper towards the offender. And hence the most perfect system of prison discipline must be that, which most successfully accomplishes both of these objects ; that is to say, which provides most carefully for the security of society, and, at the same time, most sedulously watches over the welfare of the criminal.

Now a system, which aims at the social and moral reformation of the criminal, actually fulfils both of these indications. In the first place, to a thoroughly vicious mind, no punishment is so dreadful as that inflicted by conscience ; and the bringing of a man within the teachings of conscience is the principal means on which we rely for accomplishing his reformation. Hence it is found, that no place is so much shunned, by a decidedly bad man, as a reformatory prison. And, on the contrary, if a criminal be not habitually vicious, but have been led astray by the violence of sudden temptation, this punishment will be comparatively light. In this manner, from the nature of the case, a system of gradation is adjusted in such a way, that the most guilty suffer most severely, while the comparatively innocent will suffer only in their due proportion.

But this is not all. By imprisoning a man, and degrading him, and riveting upon him every vicious habit, and then releasing him, what have we gained in the prevention of crime ? Merely this ; that, of the lawless ruffians who prey upon society, we detain in custody a small number, for a limited time, and then release them, at the expiration of their sentence, tenfold more wicked, more adroit, more resolute, and under better organization, than before. This, manifestly, has the *least possible* tendency, either to eradicate, or even to prevent crime. While, on the contrary, if we aim at reformation, if we render every man who is convicted of crime a better man, if we discharge every criminal with a better disciplined conscience, and more active social sympathies, than he

had before, the tendency clearly is, to the indefinite diminution of crime, if not to the eradication of it altogether. And, if this be so, it is evident, that that system of prison discipline will be the best, which the most successfully labors to reform the convict. It will best secure society from aggression ; and it must be admitted, that it is, without controversy, the most benevolent ; for its object is, to deliver the man from the greatest possible calamity, vicious habits and a vicious character.

But suppose it granted, that the reformation of criminals ought to be the paramount object in a system of prison discipline ; it is yet to be inquired, in what manner may we most successfully accomplish this object. Let us then ask, in the first place, What change do we desire to produce ? The answer is obvious; we wish to induce a fellow-man to break off from the practice of crime, and to do this from moral principle. This alone will enable us to rely, with confidence, upon the reformation which we may hope to have effected. What are the elements in the man's character, by operating upon which, we may hope to secure this result ?

1. The human being is endowed with self-love, by which he is inclined towards that which he sees to be for his own interest. He should, then, be distinctly taught that, by a life of crime, he injures himself, and that thus, on the ground of selfish calculation, a life of innocence is really to be preferred. Hence, the accommodations, provisions, attentions, &c. of a prison should not be so good as the same amount of labor would procure elsewhere. Whatever is necessary to maintain the "*mens sana in corpore sano*," but nothing, or very little more, should be provided. Were a prison rendered a *desirable* place, it could never be employed as a means of reformation. It is manifest, that any amount of intellectual cultivation, which would enable a criminal to perceive clearly his own interest, would conduce to the same result.

2. The man has a conscience, by which he becomes sensible to his obligations both to God and man ; by which also he is prompted to the right, and deterred from the wrong ; and by which, the doing of the one is a source of pleasure, and the doing of the other a source of pain. This monitor within his bosom has been so long neglected, that its voice is weak and its impulses intermittent. It is necessary that

it regain its rightful supremacy, so that it may promptly and efficiently teach the man to detest what is wrong, and to love what is right. In order to accomplish this in the most successful manner, several points must be attended to. In the first place, the man has probably been for years under the influence of passions rendered ungovernable by habitual intemperance and uninterrupted vicious association. He must, then, be removed as far as possible from every such excitement. His diet should be nutritious, but not stimulating. Nothing that can intoxicate, or that can recall the remembrance of intoxication (as tobacco for instance), should enter the walls of the prison. There should be no noise, no altercation, no loud speaking, no exhibition of excited passion; but all should be calm and voiceless as the movement of the spheres.

In the next place, since much of every man's wickedness is to be traced to intercourse with the wicked, this cause of contamination is to be removed. The prisoners, instead of being allowed to confer with each other on any subject whatever, should be kept in ignorance of each other's history, and be deprived of the opportunity of forming each other's acquaintance. But, inasmuch as reflection on moral subjects is always most effective and disciplinary in solitude, a considerable portion of every criminal's time, while in prison, should be spent in a solitary cell. Here memory must do its office; reason will make her voice to be heard; and instruction will be enforced with tenfold authority by the monitions of conscience, awakening remorse for the past, and pointing with awful distinctness to the retributions of the future.

But, were this all, only half of our work would be done. The man might be miserable, overwhelmed with anguish, and yet be unreclaimed. We are bound to give him all necessary means of spiritual consolation. The Bible should be placed in his cell, and a faithful, benevolent, and discreet religious teacher should be provided for him. Opportunities should be afforded him of conversing alone with his spiritual guide, and thus all the agencies should be employed, which we could in any case use, for restoring a fallen human being to virtue. It is needless to say, that, if he be ignorant, he should be instructed, at least so far as to read the Bible, and such works as may be put into his hands by those who are laboring for his good.

3. When we have convinced a man, that it is for his interest to be virtuous, and have also taught him to detest vice and to love virtue, his moral reformation is in fact completed. Still, in going abroad into the world, he is liable to temptations. We must strive, so far as may be in our power, to guard him against them.

The ever-acting and the strongest temptation that can assail a man, is that arising from physical want. Let a man be perishing with hunger, or, if not actually perishing, let him be suffering from want, and, still more, let his family be suffering with him, and let the means of relief be placed before him, guarded only by the moral principle within his breast, and the trial is commonly too severe for frail human nature. Especially may we suppose, that this will be the case, when, by former habit of crime, a man's moral principles have sustained a rude and lacerating concussion. Now, in order to save a man from so sore a trial, we must put it in his power, so far as we are able, to set absolute want at defiance. We do this when we teach him a trade, and by regular, daily labor, inure him to habits of industry and thrift. He who is able and willing to labor at any mechanical business, except from sickness or other providence of God, never need be in want. Against the dangers from intemperance and vicious associations, of course we cannot protect him. Here he must be left to himself, to work out his probation unassisted. But, in this respect, he is only in the same situation with others ; and, if we have placed him in as good condition for well-doing as his brethren, we have done all that either justice or benevolence can demand.

In order, however, to render the measure of our beneficence complete, we ought, perhaps, to proceed a single step further. When a man leaves a penitentiary, after a confinement of several years, he finds himself in a considerable degree a stranger, and especially a stranger among the virtuous. He can offer no recommendations except those from the prison, and such would commonly do him more harm than good. He may be at a distance from home, and it will cost more than he possesses to restore him to those who would take an interest in his future welfare. Under these circumstances, unable to obtain work, he is liable to become depressed in spirits, and to be driven almost immediately into the company of his former associates. This moral danger ought to be

provided for. In some prisons a suit of new clothes, and sometimes a small sum of money also, is given to the convict on his discharge. This is well, as far as it goes. But it is to be remembered, that two or three dollars is a very slender fortune to a degraded and isolated stranger. It is very desirable, that some provision be made for the employment of convicts, at reasonable wages, as soon as they leave the prison. They would thus have an opportunity, at once, of reaping the advantage of the habits of industry which they had acquired. They would thus taste, and many of them for the first time, the high consciousness of a virtuous independence. This one experiment would, in many instances, be decisive of character. It would stamp them resolutely virtuous men through life. Nor is this all. Men who would not employ a workman coming immediately from prison, would willingly employ him after he had spent a month or two in this sort of probation. The advantage would thus be manifold. Every convict would be enabled on his release to support himself, to show himself worthy to enter the society of the virtuous, and thus to regain the reputation which he had lost ; and, besides this, the course of every individual could be thus the more distinctly traced, so that the benevolent could the better follow him with their encouragements and warnings, and the legislator, by observing more accurately his subsequent life, would be able the better to modify the system of criminal law and of penitentiary discipline.

If such principles should direct us in the treatment of criminals, — and we see not how reasonable men can entertain a doubt on the subject, — it will follow, that arrangements should be made in every community for carrying them into practical operation. The subjects of prison discipline, amongst us, are debtors, children and youth, adult offenders, and discharged convicts. Let us briefly inquire, what arrangements the principles just unfolded would teach us to be necessary, in order to provide for the proper treatment of each of these classes of our unfortunate fellow-men.

1. A large portion of the unhappy inmates of our common prisons are debtors, held in bondage and in idleness for very small sums, and held there commonly from spite. It is not our intention, in this place, to discuss the subject of imprisonment for debt. We have not space to con-

sider it as its importance deserves. We will only say, that we presume there is scarcely an individual in favor of this relic of a barbarous age, who has ever made himself acquainted with the facts in the case. As a means of collecting debts it is manifestly almost wholly useless ; for those on whom it is inflicted, are commonly the abject poor. It deprives the laborer of the use of his time, and therefore plunges him more deeply in embarrassment. It accustoms him to the society of the vicious, and inures him to habits of idleness ; and is thus the fruitful parent of crime. In short, let the subject be considered dispassionately, in any view in which it can be presented, and we are sure, that every thoughtful person will earnestly desire the total abandonment of the system.

While we speak thus, we wish it to be understood, that we are moved to these opinions by no mawkish sensibility. We believe as much as other persons in obliging men to pay their debts. We will cheerfully uphold any system which really aids in the enforcement of contracts. But when a man has nothing to pay, of what use can it be to lock him up in idleness ? If the object be to reform him, what possible means are taken to accomplish such a result ? If he have property or friends, he can easily obtain the freedom of the limits, and is thus scarcely conscious of restraint ; while, if he be poor, forsaken, or friendless, he must bide, at the will of his creditor, the filthiness and vice and loathsomeness of a dungeon. We say again, if the morality of debtors requires to be quickened by penal law, let a law be devised that shall really meet the exigencies of the case ; but let us not, under cover of such intention, retain a system, by common consent, almost inoperative for the enforcement of contracts, and yet liable to be employed as an instrument of the most revolting tyranny and the most atrocious malice. At the present time, to suffer this subject to remain without examination is wholly inexcusable. Imprisonment for debt has been abolished in several States of the Union, and the statistics of commitments for debt are published. The results of the different systems can be very easily collated and compared. If, with all this information at hand, legislators are contented to suffer the evils of imprisonment for debt to exist within their jurisdiction, they must certainly stand convicted of a gross violation

of the obligations which they assumed when they accepted their official trust.

2. With these remarks we take leave of debtors, and turn our attention to those who are more properly criminals. Among these, the most obvious distinction which presents itself, is that between the sexes. Female convicts should manifestly be under the care of women. They should be placed under regulations, in many respects different from those to which the other sex is subjected; the discipline of their prison should be milder; and more should be left to the influence of personal kindness, than would be wise in the treatment of men.

3. The next important distinction between offenders is that of age. A large proportion of the crimes against society is committed by children and youth from eight to fifteen years of age. It is obvious, that the treatment proper for such offenders must be very different from that demanded by the hardened criminal.

Of the children and youth who have exposed themselves to the penalties of the law, a large number have been entirely destitute of all moral and religious instruction. Some of them have even been taught dishonest practices by their parents. Others are desperately poor, and have never enjoyed an opportunity of earning their own subsistence by becoming apprentices. Others again may have pilfered from mere recklessness, as a matter of foolish sport. Some, the children of honest parents, have been suffered to grow up in uncontrolled indulgence, and find their inclinations for the first time checked when the hand of the constable is laid upon their shoulder. No parent can for a moment doubt, that, of such young persons, a large proportion might, by a system adapted to their condition, be radically reformed. But it is obvious, that the system suitable for such offenders would be very different from that required for hardened criminals. It must be parental, flexible, educational, encouraging. It will, therefore, evidently demand an establishment for itself.

4. Adult offenders may be divided into two classes; those confined in county jails for detention, or lodged there as a punishment for minor offences; and those who, for graver crimes, are sent for longer periods to the State-prison, or general penitentiary. Although, from the necessity of the case, separate prisons are appropriated to these two classes

of persons, yet they are, in principle, so nearly alike, that they may be considered as substantially the same.

Besides these, as we have remarked, the necessities of criminals require, that there should be attached to each prison an establishment, at which the released convict might be provided with profitable labor, and through the medium of which he might be the more readily restored to a position in reputable society.

If the above remarks be correct, it will appear evident, that every community requires three classes of establishments for the treatment of criminal offenders. 1st. Houses of reformation for juvenile delinquents. Excellent institutions of this kind exist in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. 2d. Penitentiaries for the punishment and reformation of adult offenders; these are either county jails, or State penitentiaries. And, lastly, with these should be connected, as we have just remarked, workshops, at which the convict, upon his discharge, could immediately find profitable employment, and also be enabled to gain whatever reputation his character may deserve.

If it be said, that the expense of all this would be greater than the community would endure, we reply, that it is for its very economy that we recommend it. Should such a system prove as reformatory as we think there is reason to expect, though the whole expense were borne by the community, it would be a truly economical expenditure. But we do not believe, that a complete series of arrangements, such as we have suggested, would, together, cost any thing more than the first investment; nay, we believe, that the whole together would, if well managed, defray the interest on the capital employed in their erection. Penitentiaries, which used to be so great a public charge, can, it is well known, be made to support themselves, and at the same time the inmates be better provided for, more cheerful, and in better health, than formerly.

We grant, that the house of reformation for juvenile offenders would not pay its expenses, as the labor of children is of very small value. But the prisons for adults, and the establishments for employing convicts after their discharge, ought to do more than support themselves. There is surely no reason, why three or four hundred able-bodied men, kept diligently at work, should not, in this country, where wages are

so high, both support themselves, and also yield a handsome profit to their employer. The new State-prison at Weathersfield was first occupied October 1st, 1827. The cost of the buildings and grounds was $42,281·27. A second prison was erected in 1835, at a cost of $3,320·91; the total cost of both being $45,602·18. In ten years, this prison, besides paying for all its own expenses of management, subsistence, &c., has actually refunded to the State, or accumulated, the whole cost of these buildings and grounds, and had at the last-mentioned date, March 31st, 1838, $10,746·47, balance in its favor. We see, therefore, that the prison discipline of Connecticut, for the last ten years, has actually cost the State nothing, and will hereafter yield a handsome revenue. We are not informed, that there is any thing peculiarly favorable to profit in the situation of this prison. That the convicts are not overworked, is evident from the fact, that they are unusually healthy. We believe, that what is done there, may be done elsewhere. It always seems to us, that there must be something wrong, either in the construction or management of a prison, which does not more than support itself. A searching investigation into the condition of expensive prisons, has generally detected some fault capable of being remedied.*

We are inclined to believe, that the profits of the penitentiary would commonly be sufficient to support the house of refuge for juvenile delinquents. The labor of the old offender would thus defray the expense of the reformation of the youthful culprit. Were this insufficient, the sums collected from licenses for retailing spirituous liquors might be applied to the same purpose. It is surprising how little it costs to do good, if we really set ourselves to the work in the right way. When a series of establishments, such as we have mentioned, is provided and well conducted, then, and not till then, shall we be able to determine how nearly it is possible to approximate to the total suppression of crime in a civilized and Christian country.

---

* Under the old system of discipline, at the Newgate Prison, Connecticut, for the three years and a half next preceding 1827, the cost to the public of the concern, over and above all earnings, was . . $80,500·00
Profits of new prison for same space of time, . . . 51,333·63

The total saving to the State, in nine years and a half, by substituting a good for a bad system of prison discipline, $131,833·63

It would well repay the labor, could we enter at large upon the best method of conducting these different kinds of schools for reformation. It is possible, that, on some future occasion, we may lay before our readers a summary of what has been done for the reformation of juvenile delinquents, and what is necessary at present to be done for the reformation of county prisons, and the providing of places of labor for discharged convicts. A few reflections on the system of State-prison discipline must, however, close this article, already, we fear, too far extended.

It is necessary to remark, at the outset, that a difference of opinion has for some years existed, between the friends of the Philadelphia and Boston societies, as to the best method of accomplishing their common object. As this difference is so constantly adverted to by all the writers on this subject, and as many of the pamphlets, which are named at the head of this article, are written with special reference to it, it is necessary that we set before our readers such a statement of the facts and reasonings in the case, as may enable them, in the best manner, to form a judgment on the question for themselves.

In all the more important points, in the *theory* of prison discipline, the Philadelphia and the Boston societies perfectly agree. For instance, it is conceded by both, that the great object of any penitentiary system should be the reformation of the prisoner ; and that, in laboring for his reformation, we should make our appeal to his self-interest, and to his conscience ; that we should endeavour to give him such habits as will remove him as far as possible from temptation, and enable him most successfully to resist it, when it shall happen to overtake him. Thus it is granted, that the treatment of the prisoner should be kind, but strict ; that, being placed in solitude for a sufficient portion of the time, and at all times precluded from social intercourse with those who would corrupt him, conscience may be left to exert its full power over the mind of the criminal; that he should be instructed in his duty to God and man by a competent religious teacher ; that he should be taught some mechanical trade, by which he may always be enabled honestly to support himself; and that, finally, he should be dismissed under such circumstances, as will be most likely to encourage and sustain him in a course of well-doing. It is certainly

a great point gained when the friends of prison discipline are so heartily united on the whole theory of this important question.

These two societies, whether fortunately or unfortunately the event must determine, fell upon different plans for carrying into effect the same object. Both systems cannot, it is true, be the best, yet the public may derive an important benefit from comparing the results of both, and from being enabled to decide from the observation of two experiments instead of one.

The Philadelphia Society, aware of the sad effect of intercourse between prisoners, directed their attention mainly to the removal of this evil, absolutely and for ever; believing that, if this could be done, the reformation of the prisoner, if not perfectly certain, would be, at least, comparatively easy. With this view, they laid their plans of reform before the legislature of Pennsylvania, and procured their ultimate adoption. In accordance with their suggestions, two very extensive prisons were erected, the one at Pittsburg, called the Western, and the other at Philadelphia, called the Eastern Penitentiary. From the fact, that uninterrupted solitude was here first employed as a means of reformation, the system has been commonly known as the Pennsylvania system. In a few words it is simply this. Every prisoner is lodged in a separate cell, of comfortable size; and he remains in it, both day and night, during the whole period of his confinement. To some of the cells was at first attached a yard, in which the prisoner might take exercise in the open air, for an hour in the day; but we believe, that this part of the plan has been abandoned. The prisoner is furnished with work at any trade with which he is acquainted, and, if he is acquainted with none, he is immediately instructed. He is well supplied with food, clothing, and bedding; his cell is kept comfortably warm; and he is always furnished with a Bible. In addition to this, it is intended that the warden, or a religious teacher, shall frequently converse with him on his duties to God and man; but that no other person, except an inspector, shall ever see him or hold intercourse with him. He sees no other prisoner, and is seen by none. He is not to know even the occupant of the next cell; and thus, though he were confined with five hundred at the same time, there would be no more danger of his being misled by them during

his imprisonment or afterwards, than if they had never been within the prison walls together.

The other society, very soon after its organization, fell upon a different plan. This plan was, in this country, first put in practice in the State-prison at Auburn, New York; and hence has been frequently called the Auburn system.

In the Auburn system, the prisoners are all provided with separate cells, in which *they sleep and take their meals.* They are not allowed to speak, or to communicate by signs, with each other, although they work together during the day, under the care of their keepers. They meet in the chapel, in the morning and evening, for the daily reading of the Scriptures and for devotion, and spend the Sabbath day either in solitude, in Sabbath schools, in Bible classes, or in the usual services of religious worship. In other words, this system enforces solitude at night, and joint labor by day, yet labor in silence and without communication; and also allows the convicts to meet together for the purposes of religious instruction. Each society strenuously asserts that *its* mode is preferable. We propose to compare these systems in some of their most important particulars, giving the facts on both sides with all the impartiality of which we are capable.

The essential difference between these two systems is, that the one insists upon *total*, and the other upon only *partial* solitude; in the one case, the prisoners are *always* in the solitary cell, in the other they are there only *for the night.* The friends of the Pennsylvania system assert, that it is possible to construct prisons in such manner as to insulate men perfectly; and that prisons, constructed as they shall recommend, will so insulate them. This being taken for granted, they assert, that from this total insulation several important benefits follow, which are unattainable under any other system. Among these are the following;

1. By effectually preventing contamination within the prison, it enables the convict to return to society without having formed any new associates in crime;

2. By giving to the monitions of conscience and the advice of friends their full effect, it presents the best opportunity of reclaiming the criminal;

3. As it never requires the infliction of severe punishments, it is the more merciful;

4. It executes itself, and therefore its success does not so

much depend upon the character of the persons who may be chosen to administer it.

To this the friends of the other society reply, briefly, as follows ;

1. That the insulation, which the Pennsylvania system asserts to be necessary for the production of the above effects, is not attainable ; or, at any rate, has never yet been attained.

2. That, whether attainable or not, this system, in *its practical results*, in every point of view in which it may be examined, is inferior to the Auburn system ; and

3. That, even were its advantages superior, its expensiveness is so great, that there is no ground for hope that it will be universally adopted ; and they offer to decide the controversy by the facts in the case. And here issue is joined.

The first question to be considered manifestly is, the practicability of the system of entire insulation. It is, in fact, no other than this ; Has any mode of construction been thus far devised, which does effectually prevent convicts, confined in adjoining cells, from holding communication with each other ? Let us examine the evidence, on this, certainly a leading point in the case.

1. In respect to the *Western* Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, it is acknowledged by the Committee of the House of Representatives, so late as 1837, that " the defects of the construction of the prison were so great, as to admit of *almost unlimited communication between the cells.* Prisoners were, *in no instance* (when the committee asked the question) ignorant of the *name*, *crime*, *sentence*, *time of liberation* of each other, &c., and, in some instances, were even able to give other information, which it appeared highly *improper for them to possess.*" This evil, the committee say, can, at some expense, be remedied. (*Report of Committee*, p. 4.) Mr. Harvey Newcomb, who was an officer in the Western Penitentiary, from April, 1833, to August, 1835, in a letter in the Twelfth Report of the Prison Discipline Society remarks ;

" Until the convicts were introduced into their cells, *every one connected with the prison* esteemed the new system as approaching *to perfection ;* but the experiment proved, I believe, to the satisfaction *of all*, that the attempt to prevent the communication of sound was a complete failure. For myself, I consider it a physical impossibility so to construct a range of cells, as to answer the purpose of *constant confinement*, with

suitable apparatus for ventilation, heating, and cleanliness, without affording facilities for conversation between the prisoners ; and I believe this to have been the opinion of the warden and overseers at the time I was connected with that prison. For ventilation, there must be an opportunity for air to pass into the cells and to escape ; and where *air will pass, sound will pass.*"

The Western penitentiary was acknowledged to be defective, and it has been supposed that the errors in its construction were remedied in the construction of the *Eastern Penitentiary.* Yet this seems not to have been the case. In 1835, a committee of the legislature was appointed to visit this institution, and, in the report of the minority of that committee, the following statement is found ;

"In the course of the investigation, the committee observed an important defect in the construction of the sewer, or privy pipes, by means of which the convicts were enabled to communicate with each other. This defect was well nigh proving fatal to the institution, inasmuch as a *general insurrection* had been concerted by the convicts, and was *on the point of breaking out*, when it was discovered by the vigilance of the warden, and frustrated by his energy and decision."

It is evident from these facts, that there exists, at best, *great difficulty* in preventing communication between convicts in adjoining cells ; and it is reasonable to suppose, that the officers of these prisons were aware of this difficulty, and were anxious to remedy it. It seems, however, extremely doubtful, whether, as yet, their efforts have been crowned with success. In the appendix to the Thirteenth Annual Report of the Prison Discipline Society, we observe the testimony of Charles Robbins, Esquire, who visited several of these penitentiaries as lately as May, of the last year. His testimony is to the following effect. In the new (or Eastern) Penitentiary, "there *is no difficulty* in communicating, through the pipes. I was informed by the keepers, that they talk in this way frequently ; and also, by removing the plastering around the heated pipes, through the partition walls." "I asked the keeper what their conversation was ; he said it was *low, vulgar, obscene* language." Respecting the Pittsburg Penitentiary, the testimony is as follows. "I asked the keeper whether there was any communication between the prisoners. He said, 'Very little ; they talk together some-

times.' He said, it was almost impossible to prevent it, 'to build a cell so but what they would communicate.' They are punished for it, 'by being deprived of their meals, put into a *dark cell,* a *strait jacket*, or into a box just large enough to put a man in. The box stands on its end, and is so fixed that a man cannot lean one way or the other ; and, to *prevent their kneeling, there is a piece of hard wood or iron put through the box, to strike their shins.*" The *House of Detention in New York* was built, we understand, upon the Philadelphia plan, and was completed very lately. Mr. Robbins visited this ; and in reply to the question, whether there was any *doubt* about communication, the answer was, "*None at all. It is a total failure* in that respect. The keeper of this prison told me, that the prisoners made such a noise, the night previous, that he could not sleep. There is a continual noise he says, and no peace whatever." The whole of this testimony is very valuable, and deserves to be carefully studied by every one interested concerning this question.

We shall close our extracts on this point, by a quotation from the pamphlet of Dr. Lieber, a warm friend of the Pennsylvania system.

"I once found a prisoner in the Philadelphia Penitentiary, who told me, that it was music *to his ears* to hear *the shuttle* of his neighbour, and that, *without knowing who he was,* he used to vie with him in the swiftness of using it. I once heard, in visiting a cell, an indistinct knock against the wall, which came from the next cell. I asked what it was, and who was the neighbour ? The prisoner answered *he did not know, as was the fact ;* but, once in a while, his neighbour knocked, and he answered."

We cannot bring ourselves to adopt the persuasion of Dr. Lieber, that where shuttles could be heard so distinctly as to be made to vie with each other, the voice of a man could not be heard, nor can we rely with him upon the declarations of the convicts, that "*such is the fact.*" *Credat Judæus !*

So far, then, as the evidence on this subject has been presented, we are constrained to believe, that it is an extremely difficult undertaking, if indeed it be not actually impossible, to build cells in such a manner as to prevent communication. It seems to us, at best, very doubtful, whether any such cells have yet been constructed. The latest prison, on this

plan, is that at Providence, in Rhode Island. This is exceedingly well built, the partitions being of solid stone, about two feet in thickness ; but whether they will prevent communication cannot be decided, until a more complete experiment has been made. Inasmuch as the reasoning in favor of the Pennsylvania system all proceeds upon the supposition of the superior reformatory effect of *solitary* confinement, the argument is clearly inconclusive, until it can be shown, that it is practicable to render confinement solitary. If this be impossible, the whole system, so far as respects its distinctive excellence, fails.

But, supposing it possible absolutely to prevent intercourse between convicts, is perfect and unbroken solitude preferable to solitude by night and at meals, combined with joint labor by day ?

Were we about to construct a prison, without being able to avail ourselves of the results of previous experience, we should be obliged to decide this question by reasoning *a priori*. But, where two modes have been tried, and their results are before us, the appeal, with men of common sense, we think, must be to *the facts in evidence*. The question, then, so far as possible, must be decided on this ground. Let us ask, in the first place, Which is the more successful as a school of reformation ? In order to answer this question, efforts have been made to trace, by correspondence, the history of convicts after they have left the prison. This method has been attended with encouraging results ; but yet it is too often unsuccessful to be relied on in a general estimate. It has, therefore, been commonly conceded, that a system was to be tried by the number of recommitments which it recorded. The better and the more reformatory the system, the fewer convicts would manifestly return to require the benefit of its discipline.

Judging by this test, our decision would be rather in favor of the Auburn system. By a report of the committee of the legislature of Pennsylvania, dated February 5th, 1838, it appears, that from the erection of the Eastern Penitentiary to that time, four hundred and twenty persons had been discharged and pardoned ; and of these, forty-one, or one in ten and a fraction, had been recommitted. On the other hand, at Auburn, during a trial of twenty years, only one in twelve and a half has been recommitted. As the recommittals natu-

rally grow proportionally more numerous the longer the period we include, it is reasonable to infer, if the period was longer, to which the comparison was extended, it would be still more unfavorable to the Pennsylvania system. We have reason to believe also, that, for a very considerable portion of this period, the prison at Auburn has not been a very favorable specimen of the mode of discipline, to which it has given its name. Now the above is certainly a most important fact, and one, which, as it seems to us, pierces to the very marrow of the case. If the Pennsylvania system be not *more* reformatory than the other, what are its *peculiar* advantages? Its theory may seem more beautiful; but, if that theory be not conformable to the *facts*, the theory must be false. Its buildings may be more symmetrical, and its form more imposing; but if it accomplish not its object, all this merely signifies *money thrown away.*

But it is said, that the Pennsylvania system is more *merciful;* it never requires the use of severe punishments, while the other system cannot exist without them. This assertion, however, in neither point, is sustained by evidence. It is granted, that at Auburn and at Sing Sing great severity has, at times, been used. The convicts have been frequently flogged; we very much fear, so frequently as to show that there exists incompetency somewhere in the management of these institutions. At Weathersfield, however, the lash is very rarely used. The case, we believe, is the same in the prison at Charlestown, Massachusetts. Nay, more, this system *may* be conducted successfully without the use of stripes at all.

"The House of Correction at South Boston, contains two hundred and fifty prisoners. It has been in operation for five years, and, thus far, stripes have not been inflicted in a solitary instance. There are only nine keepers, including the master, clerk, and three matrons. There is neither gun, bayonet, sword, pistol, cowhide, cat, or whip of small cords, gag, restraining chair, hand-cuff, stocks, or any instrument of torture, restraint, or punishment, about the establishment." — *Prison Discipline Report, No.* 13.

On the other hand, we have seen, that resort has been had to severe punishments under the Pennsylvania system. We have seen (p. 34), a description of a machine which is used in the Western Penitentiary for punishment, and it is, by no

means, a *tender* mercy. At the same prison, the strait jacket, the dark cell, deprivation of meals, and the lash, are also used. In the Eastern Penitentiary, the punishments were, at one period, such as to call for legislative inquiry. In one case, a man had died under the infliction of the gag. Another had been seriously injured by the profuse dashing of water upon him in mid winter. Other cases existed of the excessive use of the strait jacket, of bruising, and confining prisoners in dark cells with only eight ounces of bread daily. These are sufficient to show, that the solitary system is, by no means, of necessity merciful.

The fact is, that either system may be conducted mercifully ; and either may be conducted brutally. Both require a man skilled in the government of men, a mild, firm, temperate, and benevolent, yet inflexible disciplinarian. Under such a man, there will be but little suffering in either. Without such a one, in either there will be much.

If the above remarks be true, it will be immediately seen, that neither system *executes itself ;* that both are liable, perhaps equally, to abuse ; and that either will be abused without vigilant inspection. Nay, if there be any difference in this respect, we fear it will be against the solitary system ; since, under this system, cruelty may be indulged with but few witnesses, and those altogether under the influence of the oppressor.

It has been urged by the advocates of the solitary system, that, as the prisoners did not know each other in prison, their self-respect would be preserved, and also that they would not be able to recognise each other after their liberation. This appears to us somewhat more specious than solid. In the first place, the fact of this insulation is disputed, if not disproved. In the second place, the inmates of penitentiaries have served a regular apprenticeship in crime ; they have been publicly arraigned, tried, convicted, and sentenced, over and over again, in the lower courts ; and are acquainted with all the men of their own profession in the district in which they live. There are, we know, exceptions ; but such is the common fact. We cannot make men forget public and notorious transactions. What is in all the newspapers, cannot surely be a secret. We cannot make the convict forget all his old associates. It seems to us, therefore, to be assumed, that solitude can do what is mani-

festly impossible to be done. All that can be done, in this respect, is, to prevent bad men from rendering each other worse, or from rendering the less wicked as bad as themselves. Whatever degree of solitude accomplishes this purpose, fulfils, so far as this view of the subject is concerned, all the practical indications of the case. And, besides, uninterrupted solitude, long continued, is certainly at variance with all the social instincts of our nature. The presumption is always against any system, to which the constitution of man is essentially adverse. On this point, we are, therefore, inclined to the opinion, that a system of uninterrupted solitude should not be adopted, unless it were proved necessary to reformation; inasmuch as it is at variance with the human constitution, and, in the circumstances of the case, cannot accomplish any point of special, practical utility.

Much has been said of the comparative healthiness of the two systems. It has been objected to the solitary system, that it must, of necessity, destroy the health and undermine the reason. Such was the opinion of Roscoe and Lafayette. What might be the effect of solitary confinement *without labor* we will not pretend to decide; but the danger of solitary confinement *with labor* has certainly been overrated. Still, on the score of health, the other prisons have the advantage. The percentage of deaths at the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, has been, on an average, for eight years, about $3\frac{1}{2}$; varying from $\frac{7}{8}$ of one to 6 per cent. The average of deaths at the other prisons, has been about one per cent. less, for the same time. In the report of the physician of the Eastern Penitentiary, for January, 1838, fourteen cases are recorded of *dementia*, from abuse of the person. To this vice, this mode of confinement would seem to be peculiarly liable. Just so far as this liability is greater under the solitary system than the other, it would, by so much, lead us to prefer the system of modified solitude.*

From this examination of facts, we are inclined to the opinion that, so far as the experiment has been tried, the Pennsylvania system can claim no superiority over the other. It is not *proved* to be either more reformatory, more humane, more easy of management, or more healthy. Indeed, so far

* The last and Tenth Annual Report of the New Penitentiary in Philadelphia is awful in its results. The average number of prisoners was 402; the deaths 26, or $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; the recommittals 23; and the cases of monomania, mania, hallucination, and dementia, 18.

as the results can be compared, it appears to be in most of these respects decidedly, though not greatly inferior.

We are next met by the question of expensiveness. Here there is nothing to be said by way of balancing arguments. The facts are, by confession, all on one side. The solitary system is vastly more expensive, whether we consider the original cost of the arrangements, or the amount required for the annual maintenance of the prisoners.

The cost of building the Eastern Penitentiary, estimated at the price *per cell*, was . . . . . $1,648·85*

At Pittsburg, ... 978·95

At Providence, (R. I.) 1,875

These are all on the Pennsylvania system.

On the other hand, the cost *per cell* of the prison at Charlestown was $286

At Sing Sing, ... 200

At Weathersfield, ... 150·86

At Baltimore, ... 146·32

The prison at Charlestown was made unnecessarily costly, the outside walls being nearly twice as thick as they need to be. The Eastern Penitentiary is also more costly in grounds, external wall, &c. than would commonly be deemed desirable. The prison at Providence was built on land unusually expensive ; and we are informed, that as good a prison might be built at the cost of $1200 per cell in another situation. The Pittsburg prison is, by all acknowledgment, very imperfect, and insufficient for the purpose of isolation. Taking twelve hundred dollars as the fair price for a good and secure cell on the Pennsylvania, and one hundred and fifty as the cost of a cell on the Auburn system, we have, probably, a fair estimate of the comparative expensiveness of the two systems, so far as the building is concerned. This makes the cost as eight to one ; and, if we make an allowance for error, of which, however, we are not aware, we cannot estimate the ratio lower than seven to one. When we consider that the same mode of building, if it be preferable, should also be introduced into the county jails and houses of detention, this amount of difference of expense, will make a very considerable item in the pecuniary burdens of a community.

On the question of subsequent economy, there is almost as

* The total of sums granted by the legislature for the erection of this prison is $772,600·69.

little room for argument as on that of the original cost of erection. We regret, that on this subject the information published by the Inspectors of the Pennsylvania prisons is extremely unsatisfactory. It seems, that the salaries of all the officers are paid by the State. How nearly the labor of the prisoners pays for their food and clothing, (the capital, we believe, is furnished by the State,) we do not know. Last year, an application for a loan of $ 10,000 was made to the legislature, for the Eastern Penitentiary alone. The New Jersey prison earned for the year 1837, $1,741·41, above its expenses; but, whether this was inclusive of the salaries of officers, or not, we do not know. So far as we can judge, a prison on this plan could do but very little more than pay the personal expenses of prisoners. The buildings and attendance must therefore be furnished at the cost of the community. The reason of this is obvious. At solitary labor, there can be but little use of machinery, and, of course, the wages of such labor will be at the lowest rate. What wages can a weaver earn, when he has to come into competition with a power-loom? In solitude, there can be but very little division of labor, and, on this account also, there will be but comparatively small remuneration due to the labor.

It is evident, then, that the prisons which allow of joint labor by day are much the more economical. The *Weathersfield* prison, as we have stated, has paid its own current expenses, including salaries of officers and every contingency, besides accumulating or refunding to the State the whole cost of its erection, and having, in its tenth year, a balance in its favor of $ 10,746·17. The *average earnings* of the State prison at *Charlestown* above its expenses, for four years preceding the year 1836, were $ 6,371·04. In that year, 1836, they were $ 13,428·25. The earnings above expenses, for the year 1837, were $ 806·81, and in the bill of expenses were included "food, clothing, medical attendance, salary of the officers, *transportation of the prisoners from the county prisons*, and a new *suit of clothes*, and from three to five dollars in money, on the discharge of each convict." This is a less favorable result than that of the preceding year, but it was a year of great commercial embarrassment, and was also the same year, in which the Pennsylvania Penitentiary required a loan from the State of $ 10,000, besides the payment of the salaries of all the officers.

We would by no means urge the consideration of expensiveness beyond its actual importance. It is, however, surely undesirable to oblige honest men to labor for rogues, any further than is absolutely necessary. It does also seem, that one or two hundred able-bodied men ought both to support themselves, and to pay for house-rent and necessary attendance. If this can be done consistently with every reasonable hope of reformation, it certainly should be attempted.

If, then, the solitary system can show no results more beneficial than the other (and, as far as we have been able to discover, it has not shown them) ; and if it be from seven to eight times as expensive in the outset, and no one knows how much more expensive in the annual outlay ; and, yet more, if its radical idea, isolation of the criminal, has not yet, with all this expense, been proved practicable ; the result, thus far, is surely in favor of the Auburn system. Which system will, in the end, prove the better, we need not predict. We decide from the facts and results before the public ; and we hesitate not to say, that we believe any unprejudiced person, who will read the evidence, will coincide with us in opinion.

We should not give so decided an opinion on a matter of this kind, were it not a question of much practical importance. Prisons are to be erected all over this country. They are costly structures at best. If they are very costly, and prove worthless, and are, besides this, a heavy annual bill of expense, there is reason to fear lest the people should tire of the whole subject, and their efforts be relaxed for the reformation of criminals. It is, however, proper to add, that, by far the greater number of those who have examined these systems, for practical purposes, have arrived at the same conclusion with ourselves. Most of the new penitentiaries in the United States have been constructed on the Auburn plan. The Committee of the legislature of Michigan have, in preference, and for reasons given, recommended its adoption in that State. The Commissioners of Upper and of Lower Canada have, after a full and mature comparison of both systems, done the same.

In conclusion, we beg leave to suggest a few remarks to the friends of reform in prison discipline in the United States.

The weak points of the Pennsylvania system are, its expensiveness, and the difficulty of effecting the actual isolation

of prisoners. The friends of this system should direct their attention to the removal of these difficulties. When prisoners can be confined in solitude at a reasonable expense, and are enabled thus to support themselves, a fair opportunity will be afforded for testing the superiority of the solitary system. In this connexion, however, it is right that we express our regret at the manner in which this mode of prison discipline has been defended. There has been too much reasoning *a priori;* too much of taking things for granted, and this when the facts were accessible; too much arraigning of the motives of opponents, to be in entirely good taste. When the testimony before the investigating committee of 1835 had been published, we see not any good reason for using Mr. Crawford's report to prove, that the prisoners did not communicate, or that there was, under this system, no necessity for severity in punishment. The financial part of the reports of these prisons is also lamentably deficient. We defy any one to find out, from any thing that has been published, to which we have had access, what is the state of the financial concerns of either of the Pennsylvania establishments. We wonder the legislature does not take the matter in hand.

The weakest point, as it seems to us, in the other system is the liability to intercourse between the prisoners, which we think must exist, in the workshops. This might, to a much greater degree, be remedied. The workshops seem not to be built with any special intention to prevent intercourse between the prisoners. This should manifestly be a main point in their construction. They should be smaller and more numerous, and arranged with a view to the most perfect supervision. The proportion of overseers should be greater. The trades should be, as far as possible, the most noiseless, so that conversation could be most easily detected. As a prison on this plan can more than support itself, we do not perceive in what manner its surplus earnings could be better appropriated, than in rendering its physical arrangements, and its means of moral and intellectual culture, as perfectly adapted to their design as human ingenuity can make them.

Where new prisons are to be built, we conceive that several important modifications might be beneficially introduced. The walls need not be so thick as they are commonly made. The windows in the external wall should be large, for the

purpose of securing more light and better ventilation. The door of the cell should be constructed so as to admit as much light as may be consistent with perfect security. The cell itself, it seems to us, should be larger than it is commonly made ; higher, wider, and longer, so as to admit of a little locomotion. As the labor of the prisoners will pay for house-rent, we think they should be furnished with a comfortable tenement.

Finally, it is of extreme importance for the community to be aware, that either of these systems is liable to the most serious abuses. A large number of our fellow-men are, from the necessity of the case, placed under the absolute authority of the officers of the prison. These officers must have the power to punish ; they may punish hastily, violently, tyrannically, cruelly. Much public property is placed under their control ; it may be wasted, squandered, or purloined. Nor is it enough that there be appointed inspectors over a prison. The inspectors and immediate officers may accommodate each other at the expense of the public. All these evils must be guarded against with sleepless vigilance, or a prison will become a cage of unclean birds.

To avert these evils, a few very simple measures might be adopted. For instance, every case of punishment should be recorded, the amount noted, and the reason given. This should be reported to the inspectors, and the book in which punishments are registered should be open to all the legal visitors of the prison, and capable of being used in evidence in a court of justice. This alone would be a great restraint on ill temper and tyranny. Again, the warden should be selected with great care. He should have been accustomed to the government of men, and be a man of known and tried integrity and kindness. The inspectors should be men of the highest rank in the community ; if in official station, so much the better, so that collusion with the officers would be morally impossible. There should be no entertainments, or festivities, at the prison. And still, all this will fail, unless there be provided a faithful, discreet, benevolent, religious teacher, to instruct the convicts in their duty, to warn them of the consequences of their sin, and elevate their hopes to holiness and to heaven.

ART. II. — *Critick of Pure Reason; translated from the Original of* IMMANUEL KANT. London: William Pickering. 1838. 8vo. pp. 655.

WE cannot believe, that it is possible to translate the writings of Kant, in a way that will make them intelligible to the English reader, however conversant he may be with ordinary metaphysical speculations, and little apt to be discouraged by the first sight of abstruse doctrine and uncouth phraseology. A compend, or general exposition of his system, may be attempted with some chance of success; but a literal version would probably be ten times more enigmatical than the original. The fact is, that Kant needs to be translated before he can be understood by the vast majority of his own countrymen; and though the eminent thinkers, who have stooped to this repulsive task in Germany, have succeeded in disentangling the main points of his system, and presenting to the popular view something like a connected whole, yet in the subsidiary portions, the filling up of the theory, a comparison of their respective works displays a mass of various and irreconcilable opinions. Kant aspired to invent a new science, and a new nomenclature for it, at the same time. Each is explicable only through the other; and the student is, consequently, presented at the outset with an alternative of difficulties. The system can be comprehended only by one who is acquainted with its technical vocabulary, and a knowledge of the terms employed can be derived only from a previous familiarity with the principal doctrines and divisions of the theory itself. The case, therefore, is very nearly as bad as that of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, — the unknown writing of an unknown tongue. Fichte seems to have had this fact in view, when he affirmed, that the works of his predecessor must be wholly unintelligible to those who did not know beforehand what they contained.

Other obstacles to the easy comprehension of Kantian metaphysics arise from defects of style, and the writer's inability, acknowledged by himself, to facilitate the study of his opinions by the clearness of their expression. The rambling and involved sentences, running on from page to page, and stuffed with repetitions and parenthetical matter, would frighten away any but the most determined student, at

the very threshold of his endeavour. Kant was an acute logician, a systematic, profound, and original thinker; but his power of argument and conception wholly outran his command over the resources of language, and he was reduced to the use of words as symbols, in which his opinions were rather darkly implied, than openly enunciated. The very extent of his innovations in the vocabulary of science showed his inability to make a proper use of the ancient stores of his native tongue. The coining of new terms is the unfailing expedient of those, who cannot make a right application of old ones. The difficulties thus thrown in the student's way, are still further enhanced by the absolute dryness of the speculations, and the want of any relief from ingenious illustrations, or excursions into the flowery regions of eloquence and imagination. His genius never unbends. The flowers, with which other philosophers have strewed the path of their inquiries, were either beyond his reach, or he disdained to employ them; and his writings accordingly appear an arid waste of abstract discussions, from which the taste instinctively recoils. Not one oasis blooms, not a single floweret springs, beside the path of the traveller, through this African desert of metaphysics. In this respect, how unlike the rich and fervid genius of Bacon, whose solemn and weighty teachings derive half their effect from the play of imagination, and brilliancy of wit, in which they are enveloped!

Before the system of Kant can become generally known, or rightly appreciated, out of the small circle of scholars, who, in France and Germany, have resolutely grappled with its difficulties, the same service must be performed for him, which the generous and clear-headed Dumont afforded to his English contemporary, Bentham. It is not enough merely to translate; the order of subjects must be changed, the course of argument and illustration arranged anew, and the whole work rewritten. The success of previous attempts at a close interpretation has not been such as to tempt further endeavour. The Latin version of Born, though executed under the eye of Kant himself, is not half so intelligible as the original. Indeed, the limited vocabulary of the Latin language formed an insuperable obstacle to the undertaking, though a vigorous attempt was made to conquer the difficulty by the introduction of barbarisms, that would have made "Quinctilian stare and gasp." Should another scholar meditate a version into

one of the ancient languages, we recommend to him to try the Greek, feeling quite confident, that, in such a case, he will at least equal in perspicuity some of the renowned fathers of Grecian philosophy. Futile as was this attempt to give universal reputation to the writings of Kant by translating them into the language of the learned world, the few writers, who, in France and England, have endeavoured to make the same works known in their vernacular tongue, have met, if possible, with still less success. In the latter country, indeed, little has been tried, and nothing effected. Among the countrymen of Locke, Hume, and Reid, the taste for metaphysical speculations has gradually died out; while they could not foster a philosophy of native growth, there was little chance of obtaining favor for an importation from Germany. Willich, a respectable German scholar, published a volume, entitled "Elements of the Critical Philosophy"; but it hardly deserved the name of an introduction to these elements. A few pages of the work on "Pure Reason" are literally translated, and an unsuccessful effort is made to explain a few of the most difficult terms in the Kantian vocabulary. Wirgman, in some essays published in the "Encyclopædia Londinensis," made greater pretensions, but supported them with far less ability. The introductory portion of the "Critique" is rendered into English with tolerable fidelity; but the original matter in the "Essays" only shows, that the writer was a weak and vain man, wholly unfitted for the task of comment and exposition. Before printing his work, he submitted it to Dugald Stewart, with the amiable intention of preventing that philosopher from wasting further labor on his inquiry into the faculties of the human mind, after he had been entirely forestalled by his German rival. When the Scottish sage returned the manuscript, with a coldly polite refusal of the proffered assistance, Wirgman, as if eager with Dogberry to write himself down an ass, had the folly to publish the correspondence. His lamentations upon such blind perversity on the part of Stewart and others make up the larger portion of the trash, with which he has enveloped his imperfect and jejune translation.

"They order these matters better in France." Of all living writers, perhaps, Cousin is best qualified for the task of interpreting and making available to common minds the dark sayings of the philosopher of Königsberg. His thorough acquaintance with the subject, attested by a copious in-

fusion of Kantianism into his own philosophical system, — the candor, learning, and ability, with which he has reviewed the labors of others, — and the admirable clearness of his style, are qualities, that would insure him a great measure of success in the undertaking. He has long since promised to the world an exposition of Kant, and we would gladly see the pledge redeemed, though at the expense of sacrificing some of the fruits of his original speculations. The necessity for such a work is not removed by the labors of some of his countrymen, who have preceded him in the same field, though they have done much to elucidate the subject, and to give a new direction to their own philosophical inquiries. The publication of Villers is the most important, in which, giving up all attempts at a literal version, he goes over the ground in his own way with great distinctness, though he sometimes unwittingly engrafts his own opinions upon those which he seeks to interpret. In an admirable sketch, published in the *Biographie Universelle*, Stapfer has given a lucid and succinct account of the Kantian system, leaving nothing to be desired by those, who wish only for a general view of its scope and leading peculiarities.

Those, who think the difficulties of the German language are the only obstacle to the right comprehension of Kant, may satisfy themselves by examining the volume, of which the title stands at the head of our article. The great work, containing the whole system of the Critical Philosophy, is here faithfully translated, sentence for sentence, and, — as far as the different nature of the two languages would permit, — word for word. The writer of it has thus ably executed the only task that he proposed to himself. The violations of English idiom are frequent, it is true, but no more so than was absolutely necessary in order to preserve the strictness of the original plan. And, while the object was merely to translate, not to rewrite and interpret, we are not sure, but that the wisest course was to follow this method in all its severity. A freer version might give false notions of the original, while the only fault of the present volume must be, that, for the most part, it gives no notions at all. A false light is worse than utter darkness. A dreary task must the translator have had of it; though we would rather engage in an undertaking like his, than in that of the student, who, without further aid than this work affords, should attempt to

master the thorny system of Kantian metaphysics. The book presents a more accurate image of its prototype, than it would do, if executed on a more liberal plan, and with greater attention to rhetorical embellishment. The English style, harsh, awkward, and involved as it appears, is a fair picture of the original diction; though the former is necessarily the more obscure, because, in German, far more frequently than in English, the composition of the technical terms indicates the precise shade of meaning attached to them. We have noticed a few wrong translations; but they are unimportant, and do not lessen the credit due to the translator for having executed a most repulsive work with remarkable care, patience, and fidelity.

But the question will surely be asked, Why spend so much labor on the interpretation of opinions, which the author has not cared, or has not been able, to make intelligible himself, and of which no practical application is possible? What hidden wisdom is there in the writings of Kant, to extract which the learned world must toil as painfully, as they have done in deciphering the hieroglyphics of Egypt, and perhaps to as little purpose? Why not leave his system in that obscurity, in which his uncouth style and barbarous nomenclature first enveloped it? We cannot be satisfied with the answer of the men who maintain, that the difficulties of this metaphysical theory do not arise from any defects in the exposition of it, but are fairly attributable to the ignorance, the want of acuteness, or the defective power of abstraction of those, who have tried in vain to comprehend it. The reproach is an infrequent one in the history of the higher philosophy. Why have not other writers on the same subject been exposed to it in an equal degree? The difficulty of reading a work on the higher mathematics is a different thing, for we know precisely in what it consists. No one complains of the obscurity of the *Mécanique Céleste*, though very few would attempt to peruse it in its primitive form with much chance of success. None but a mathematician of very respectable attainments would ever dream of such a task. It is well known, that La Place, addressing himself to a small circle of scientific men, wrote with the conciseness, which the comprehensiveness of his subject demanded, and that the difficulty of understanding his work proceeds mainly from this cause, and may be in great part removed by such a commentary as that furnished by our

distinguished countryman. But there is no intrinsic difficulty in the subject of metaphysics, to be removed only by a regular course of previous training and information. Except the recent German metaphysicians, who have wilfully "walked in darkness" by borrowing the phraseology of Kant, and we are acquainted with no work in the whole round of the science, which a person of ordinary capacity may not understand, if he chooses. He will meet with many abstract and wearisome discussions, with very unattractive reading; but with little or nothing, that cannot easily be understood. This fact is stated in the most unequivocal terms by D'Alembert. "Every thing we learn from a good book on mental science is only a sort of reminiscence of what the mind previously knew. Accordingly, we may apply to good authors in this department what has been said of those who excel in the art of writing; that, in reading them, every one is apt to imagine, that he himself could have written in the same manner."

We are not sure, that the obscurity of Kant's writings has not been one great cause of their celebrity. The oracular utterances of the sage of Königsberg were eagerly caught up by a class of scholars, very numerous in Germany, whom no prospect of intellectual toil could appal, while their vanity was gratified by forming an esoteric school of philosophy, and possessing doctrines incommunicable to the world at large. No country was ever visited with such a plethora of learned industry. When the stores of ancient erudition were exhausted, and the Latin and Greek classics would bear no further commentary, when Oriental literature was thoroughly elucidated, and no difficulty in the Sanscrit and Japanese languages remained to be overcome, the crowd of philologists, critics, and commentators pounced with eagerness on a publication in their own land, which promised them an inexhaustible field of labor for all time to come. The stores of transcendental wisdom must be precious, indeed, when so many difficulties obstructed the attainment of them. Forthwith, dictionaries, manuals, refutations, replies, and rejoinders were multiplied without end. The number and loquacity of the initiated daily increased, all busily employed, and jabbering in a dialect, that astounded the common people, while it reduced the neophytes well-nigh to despair. A good-sized library might now be formed entirely of works written in

Kantianese, and devoted more or less directly to commenting on the "Critical Philosophy."

We treat this matter lightly, though fully aware, that the extraordinary influence of Kant's writings cannot be explained from the single cause above mentioned. In truth, through all the defects of his style and doctrine, we perceive the workings of no ordinary mind. Uniting great learning to a vigorous and comprehensive intellect, delighting in the boldest and most original speculations, and especially distinguished for a systematizing spirit, which gave a formal unity and entireness to the mass of his opinions, he stands high among the small band of men, whose works have given a new impulse and direction to science, and whose lives form the great turning points in the history of philosophy. Fully aware of the greatness of his proposed task and his own abilities, he put forward his claims with a freedom and decision, which in other men would have savoured of arrogance, but in him marked only the self-reliance of genius. Occupying a new position in speculative inquiry, he declared, that the method of his predecessors was fundamentally wrong, that their conclusions were unfounded and contradictory, and that his own theory was not merely the only safe, but the only possible, foundation for all future systems of metaphysics. To adopt his own language, "all metaphysicians are therefore solemnly and rightfully suspended from office, until they shall have satisfactorily answered the question," on which, in his opinion, the possibility of their science depends. His own great work is not so much a new theory of the science itself, as an investigation of the grounds and nature of the problem proposed, and a scrutiny into the means and method to be adopted for its solution. All minds were naturally captivated by the boldness of pretension in these proposals. They felt the charms of a system, which promised to confute dogmatism on the one hand, and rebuke skepticism on the other, and to rescue the highest of all sciences from its previous uncertainties, waverings, and contradictions, and provide for it a sure method of future progress. The cumbersome apparatus, and the consequent tax on the patience of the learners, seemed pardonable, when they considered the difficulty of the problem and the magnitude of the end in view.

In any other country than Germany, the work would probably have fallen still-born from the press; for no one would

have had the courage to pierce through the tough and knotty envelope of the system, to ascertain how far it redeemed its magnificent promises. Even there, it was unnoticed for two years after its publication, and the bookseller was on the point of using the impression for waste paper, when the attention of the public was directed toward it by some articles in a leading journal, and the edition was eagerly bought up. From that time, its influence has been well-nigh unbounded. Some were attached to it, perhaps, from the very labor it had cost them to comprehend it, and because they were unwilling to confess, even to themselves, that they had lost their toil. Others, who were disgusted with the endless doubts, inconsistencies, and retrocessions of all former metaphysics, were attracted to this system by its formal and technical appearance and vast pretensions, which seemed to insure for the object of their pursuit a reality and stable foundation, like that enjoyed by the kindred sciences of logic and mathematics. Kant was thoroughly German in feeling and opinion, and his works were admirably well adapted to the national prejudices, — if we may call them such without offence, — and to the tendencies of the times. They fell in with the current of thought that marked the age, and their influence consequently was not confined to their proper subject, but covered the whole range of speculation, — not more apparent in metaphysics, than in morals, taste, and literary criticism. The nomenclature was widely adopted, and the spirit of the "Critical Philosophy" soon colored the whole web of German literature. And, when the prodigious literary activity of the nation began to attract the attention of foreigners, and the "Chinese wall," which had isolated them from the rest of Europe, was broken down, the phenomenon of this man's extraordinary power, so widely manifested, did not fail to excite curiosity in foreign countries. Madame de Staël, in her work, that may be said almost to have introduced the German literati to the European world, devoted several chapters to a brilliant, though superficial, consideration of the Kantian philosophy. Now that the people thus recently made known to us bid fair to affect French and English letters more widely and deeply than any foreign causes have done for ages, it becomes doubly important to gain correct notions of the philosophical theory, which is ingrained in their thoughts and language.

We have said, that much of the popularity of this system

at home was owing to its consonancy with the train of national opinions. We do not allude merely to the aliment, which its operose machinery afforded to the German appetite for toil. It was the state of religious opinions, with which the new philosophy harmonized in the greatest degree. More than fifty years ago, religious belief was dying out as rapidly in Germany as in France. Enthusiasm of faith had passed away with the theological wars, to which it had given rise. The Encyclopædists made converts to infidelity among the French, and Frederick of Prussia sought to extend their influence to his countrymen. He failed, because the characters of the two nations were so different, that the same course of argument and the same scheme of unbelief were not fitted for both. French skepticism, airy, shallow, and sensual, was not suited to the sobriety and thoughtfulness of the Germans. Equally or more prone than their neighbours to speculate on the highest topics, they could not do without a creed of some kind, but they wished for one of their own construction, — not dependent on revelation and the authority of Scripture, but worked out by their own minds, — curiously complex and elaborately wrought, — mystical in expression, though skeptical in tendency, — and more a subject of contemplation and argument, than belief. Their skepticism was to be arrayed in all the panoply of positive doctrine, — to be an elaborate scheme, not of doubt, but of absolute denial, — guarded by all the resources of reasoning, and appealing to the pride of human intellect, with all the pomp of demonstration and certainty.

Indeed, it is a curious fact, that peculiarities of national character are often more apparent in philosophical systems, than even in miscellaneous literature, matters of taste, forms of government, or domestic customs. Speculative theories result from the aggregate of character, and embody the whole mind of the people among whom they rise. From the extent and comparative vagueness of the subject, a greater scope is given for the expression of peculiar traits, which may appear either in the outward garb, the exterior accompaniment, of thought, or in the prevailing tendency of theories towards a certain point, or in the general fashion and arrangement of remark and argument. It is not that human nature, the great object of the study, differs in various countries, for the groundwork, of course, is everywhere the same. But it takes a different developement, has various and often

opposite tendencies, and produces very dissimilar results. We understand perfectly what is meant at the present day by the French, the German, and the English schools of philosophy; for no translation from the language of one into that of another can be so perfect as to obliterate all marks of origin. The wine will still have a tang of the cask. There is a vein of truth in the quaint saying, which gives to the English the dominion of the sea, to the French that of the earth, and to the Germans that of the clouds and the air. No matter whether Leibnitz, Kant, or Schelling be taken as the representative of the Teutonic race in speculation. There is a subtilty and over-refinement of thought, a boldness of hypothesis, an excessive display of learning, and haziness of expression, common to them all. Equally apparent in all the English school, in Hobbes, Locke, Hartley, and Reid, are plain common sense, sturdy resistance to all authority in matters of thought, and a disposition to espouse the popular belief, and to reconcile speculation with practice. France boasts of two great names, whose reputation belongs to the earlier period of her scientific history. But the life and situation of Descartes and Malebranche were in many respects peculiar. Individual influences operated upon them, to a great extent, to hide the qualities, which they had in common with their countrymen. The remarkable self-education of the former, his foreign travel and various experience of men, and the devotion of far the greater part of his life to physical science, — and the connexion of the latter with the priesthood, together with his enthusiastic religious faith, — prevented either from manifesting, in any great degree, the bias of national thought. Condillac is a far better representative of French philosophy. He has numerous points in common with those of his countrymen and successors, whose philosophical creed differs most widely from his own, and whose habits of thought even appear, at first sight, wholly unlike those of the great master of the Sensualist school. Cousin may be taken as an eminent instance. He is an Eclectic by profession. He has drunk deep at all fountains, — Greek, Scholastic, German, English, — mingling all the different waters for a single draught. Condillac, on the other hand, acknowledges no other master than Locke, and does not appear to have studied even him very faithfully. But he is not a more thorough Frenchman than the great Eclectic. He does not bring out

more strongly, more vividly, the national character. We find in the works of each the same transparency of diction united with real confusion of thought, the same dashing and brilliant, though shallow manner, generalizations equally bold and sweeping, and the same easy and confident tone of expression.

The writings of Kant gave utterance to the philosophical tendencies of his country and age, and the speculatists who succeeded him owe much of their success to a similar adoption of the prevailing sentiments of the thinking public into their respective systems. Under the guise of a new faith, they created a philosophy of unbelief; under a dogmatical mask, they proclaimed what was, at least in reference to revelation, a theory of total skepticism. This fact, though commonly admitted, so far as it relates to the opinions of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, is denied in respect to the creator of the transcendental philosophy. But the denial only shows how imperfectly, out of the limits of his own country, his system is understood. The speculations of Hume, as he repeatedly admits, gave the first hint for the formation of his new scheme of belief; "they first interrupted my dogmatical slumber, and gave a wholly different direction to my inquiries in the field of speculative philosophy." Though commonly understood as aiming at the refutation of his predecessor, he extended, in fact, the sphere of Hume's skeptical arguments, generalizing them so far that they covered the whole field of knowledge.

"I first inquired, whether the objection of Hume might not be universal, and soon found, that the idea of the connexion between cause and effect is far from being the only one by which the understanding, *a priori*, thinks of the union of things; but rather, that metaphysics are entirely made up of such conceptions. I endeavoured to ascertain their number, and when, guided by a single principle, I had succeeded in the attempt, I proceeded to inquire into the objective validity of these ideas; for I was now more than ever convinced, that they were not drawn from experience, as Hume had supposed, but that they came from the pure understanding." — *Prolegomena zu einer jeden künftigen Metaphysik. Vorrede*, p. 13.

That this expansion of Hume's principles, though conducted on a different method, leads to the same skeptical conclusions that he deduced from them, will be more clearly

seen in the developement of the theory. The impression, that it led to very different results, is founded on the arrogant pretensions of the new school, and the difficulty of analyzing the system far enough to detect its real character. The name of Transcendentalism seems to imply, that it is the scheme of a higher philosophy, rising above the objects of sense, and over-leaping the narrow limits within which the exercise of our faculties had formerly been confined ; when, in fact, its leading doctrine is, that our knowledge is necessarily restricted to objects within the domain of experience, — that all super-sensual ideas are to us characterless and devoid of meaning, and in attempting to *cognize* them the reason is involved in endless contradictions. We do not state this fact as in itself a reproach upon the speculations of Kant, but only to correct the unfounded notions, which most persons among us entertain, of their character and tendency. All innovations in the theory of science, all new views in philosophy, must stand or fall on their logical and intrinsic merits. There may be a presumption against them from the degrading conception which they offer of human nature ; but this is insufficient to justify their immediate rejection. Of two hypotheses, the more ennobling is not necessarily the true one, and too great advantage is given to the skeptic, by a hasty preference awarded to it, before the grounds on which it rests are satisfactorily determined. Our business is with argument, and not with declamation.

We obtain a clue to the labyrinth of Kantian metaphysics, as soon as we rightly perceive the point of departure selected for the system, and the new method on which he resolved to prosecute his inquiries. The three sciences, logic, mathematics, and metaphysics, distinguished from others by their purely intellectual origin and nature, have advanced with very unequal success. The first came nearly in a perfect form from the hands of its inventor, Aristotle, subsequent inquirers having done little but to pare off its redundancies and improve the modes of its application. The second, rising from small beginnings, has gone steadily on, every step being one of progress, till it now covers an immense domain, while we can hardly imagine any bounds to its future advancement. But the fate of the third of these sciences has been directly the reverse. Though older than the others, it has, from the earliest period of its history, presented little more than an

arena for endless contests, where philosophers might exercise their powers in mock engagements, but where no one could ever gain the least ground, or found a permanent possession upon his victory. For all this ill success, Kant supposed that the method of inquiry was in fault. On the old plan, it was presumed, that sensible things, outward objects, were known to us in all their relations ; — that the nature of mind was unknown, and must be studied through the effects produced within it by impressions from without. Kant reversed this process, and from the centre of the mind itself observed the action of our *cognitive* faculties on surrounding things. He looked upon the outward world as modified by our own mental constitution, and upon the mind as projecting, so to speak, its own modes of being upon the external creation. "It sounds strange indeed, at first, but it is not the less certain, when I say, in respect to the original laws of the understanding, that it does not derive them from nature, but imposes them upon nature." From effecting this change in the mode of inquiry, he compares himself to Copernicus, who, when he found that he could not explain the motions of the heavenly bodies by supposing the firmament to turn round the spectator, tried the opposite supposition, by leaving the spectator to turn, and the stars to be at rest.

The obvious consequence of this hypothesis is, that all our knowledge is subjective, that we can never know things as they are, but only as they appear to us when viewed through a false and deceptive medium. There is a deep gulf between the two sciences of psychology and ontology, and no human efforts can bridge over the chasm. Though the problem which Kant proposes should be solved, — though by a finer analysis we should separate the qualities really belonging to an object from those superadded by our manner of looking at it, — still we could never imagine how it would appear to us, if deprived of these subjective elements. Now our idea of truth is, the conformity of our representations with their archetypes ; and, as confidence in our perceptive faculties is the only way of assuring ourselves that such coincidence exists, the theory in question is certainly based on the most comprehensive skepticism. It declares, that truth is not only unattained, but unattainable. It assumes, that the world which we know, is a web spun by our own fancies on few and thin filaments of absolute being ; take away the imaginary warp,

and the texture cannot hold together. The world of things in themselves is incognizable and inconceivable.

> "——We receive but what we give,
> And in our life alone does Nature live,
> Ours is her wedding garment, ours her shroud."

By a full survey of the cognitive faculty of man, Kant sought to ascertain the number and character of those primitive elements of thought, which, being united with, or imposed upon, the impressions received from sense, constitute knowledge, or make experience possible. In this way he sought to finish the work commenced by Locke, — to discover the grounds and origin of human knowledge, and thence to deduce the conditions of its use, and to determine its extent and boundaries. Perhaps we may gain more accurate notions of the execution of this task, by going back for a time to the theory of his predecessor.

The change of a preposition is sufficient to reconcile the leading doctrine of Locke with the opinions of those philosophers, who have most distinguished themselves by the virulence of their attacks upon his system. The proposition, as he states it, that all our knowledge proceeds *from* sensation and reflection, as it implies that we are not to go behind these faculties in accounting for its origin, is faulty in itself, and at variance with his subsequent assertions. Had he asserted, that all truth is perceived *through* these faculties, or first known on occasion of their exercise, he would not merely have avoided misapprehensions and unfounded complaints, but have stated an undeniable fact, which not the most illiberal of his opponents could ever dream of controverting. The two worlds of matter and mind are the only possible objects of human cognition. We can know the one only through the functions of sense, and the other through the exercise of that faculty, — call it reflection, consciousness, or what you please, — by which we cognize objects of pure thought, or the immaterial creation.

But if we merely trace a given idea to sensation or reflection, we leave the matter short; we have not fully accounted for its origin. An impression is made on the senses, and a perception of the understanding immediately follows. Is there not an element in it, which is purely intellectual, and as such not *caused* by the action on the nerves, though this action may mark the *occasion*, on which it rises? The eye

gives us a perception of distance, though the impression on the optic nerve certainly transmits to the mind nothing but a sensation of various colors. The judgment immediately adds an estimate of the distance, at which the visible object is placed; and does this, from long practice, with such facility and quickness, that we confound the act with the sensation, and imagine that we *see* the separation of bodies in space. Thus we falsely attribute to the sensation more knowledge than really proceeds from it. Still, this is an instance not of original mental action, but of an acquired perception, founded on habit, and as such is noticed by Locke, as perfectly consistent with his hypothesis. But are there not other instances, where the tendency to add something to the sensible impression is original, instinctive, and acts with irresistible force; and where the addition made, or the subjective element as the Germans call it, is wholly unlike any quality existing in the outward thing, and can in no way be traced to its influence?

To answer this question, we take an example most familiar to metaphysicians. Two events happen in close connexion, and we immediately connect them by the supposed relation of cause and effect. The hand is held near the fire, and the sensation of pain follows. Heat is abstracted from water, and the fluid immediately congeals. Certain solid substances are thrown into water, and they straightway dissolve, the fluid remaining transparent as ever; other substances in powder are thrown in, the medium remains turbid for a time, and then the foreign matter sinks unchanged to the bottom. Now, in each of these cases, we immediately and necessarily suppose, that the first event is an efficient agent, and of its own power or force produces the second. But the senses tell us nothing of such a connexion. They only inform us of the two events themselves, and that they are contiguous in place and time. Nor can the judgment be attributed to reasoning, or a power of tracing the relations between ideas. For what resemblance is there between the ideas of heat and pain, between those of cold and solidity, between pounded sugar and transparency in water, or pounded alabaster and insolubility? None at all. Naturally and easily as we make the transition now from one of these related ideas to the other, had we no previous experience, — had we never seen the experiment or heard of its being tried, — we should no more have thought of connecting the two notions, than of tracing

an analogy between a thing a yard long and one that is red. The two ideas are wholly dissimilar.

The whole matter may be summed up as follows; that, having sensible evidence of two events happening in direct succession, we immediately connect with them the idea of power, or efficient agency. Whence comes this idea? Certainly not from sensation. We do not perceive the power of fire to melt lead or consume paper, just as we perceive its light and the flickering of its flame, merely by looking at it. We perceive the fact, indeed, that the lead is melted and the paper is dissipated; but the supposition, that the fire causes this result, goes beyond the perception, is extraneous to it, and, so far as the senses are concerned, is entirely gratuitous. Does it come from reflection then? This faculty denotes nothing but attention to the subjects of our consciousness, and we surely are not conscious of the powers of material things. Consciousness informs us, indeed, that the idea exists in the mind, but tells us nothing about its origin; nor can we trace any intellectual process, or train of thought, which seems to end in giving birth to this notion. The idea of power, therefore, is a fair instance of an element of knowledge, in itself universal and of primary importance, the origin of which cannot be ascribed either to external or internal experience.

Now, this instinctive yoking together of two events as cause and effect, or rather the universal judgment closely related to it, "that every thing, which happens must have a cause," is termed, in the elegant language of Kant, "a synthetical judgment *a priori*." Propositions are called analytical or synthetical, according as they are either merely explanatory, and add nothing to the sum of our knowledge, or as they have an amplifying effect, and actually enlarge the given cognition. In other words, the predicate of an analytical judgment affirms nothing but what was already contained in the idea of the subject. This is the nature of a complete or partial definition. Facts which we learn from experience are instances of synthetical judgments, the predicate going beyond the subject, and thus making a positive addition to our stock of previous knowledge. The proposition we have been considering at such length is evidently synthetical, for there is nothing in the very conception or idea of one event to create a necessity of its being preceded or followed by another of a different character. It is also called a judgment

a priori, because, as we have seen, it is not, and it cannot be, derived from experience. Then what is its real origin? How do we obtain it? This is Hume's problem. Make the question universal, state it in the broadest possible form, and we have the great problem of the transcendental philosophy; "How are synthetical judgments *a priori* possible?" The expression is not remarkable for perspicuity, but the meaning is this; How is it, that, independent of experience, we are able to know any thing with absolute certainty? To the consideration of this question, the "Critique of Pure Reason" is exclusively devoted.

We first seek for a criterion, by which we may securely distinguish *a priori* knowledge from that which is founded on experience. Kant finds such a test in the characteristics of universality and strict necessity, neither of which can be attached to any propositions of empirical origin. Human experience is never complete, — never exhausts the possible variety of cases; its judgments, therefore, are never universally true or demonstratively certain; but, founded on an inductive process, they are valid so far as our observation has extended. The contrary is always possible and conceivable. Not so with all the propositions of mathematics, with some axioms in physics, and with many other truths, that are implied in all the forms of speculative knowledge. These carry their own evidence along with them, the denial of them involving a contradiction or absurdity, and no case being supposable where absolute and universal certainty would fail to attend them. Therefore they are not derived from experience, and the question recurs with regard to their origin, Whence does the mind obtain them?

Kant defies the world to give any other answer to this query, than that which we have already stated as the foundation of his system; — that they are forms of the mind itself, — the colored medium through which we look out upon the universe of cognizable things. The material world is deaf and dumb to such truths. The mind does not derive them from without, but from its own stores, and by its own inborn energy imposes them as necessary and immutable laws upon the outward universe. Our perceptive faculties have a peculiar organization, and can act only within well-defined limits. Therefore we know *a priori*, that the information received through the senses must conform to this

organization, and receive certain changes from the passages, through which it is transmitted. In what manner objects would appear to beings of a different constitution and nature from ourselves, we cannot even conjecture. But we know how they *must* appear to us, and therefore, prior to experience, we can determine some particulars in relation to them with absolute certainty. To inquire into the actual constitution of things, — their real nature, as distinct from the *appearances* which they assume to us or to different orders of being, — is a hopeless endeavour. It is seeking to know, without using the only means of knowledge. It is a gross error, though a natural one, to consider our own modes of knowing as the modes of being inherent in outward things ; to give objective validity to subjective laws.

The theory is certainly ingenious and plausible, though it rests on a paradox. Empirical propositions, to which we give only a limited *comprehension* and a qualified assent, are not controverted. Universal and absolute convictions, in the reference which we instinctively make of them, are necessarily false. The non-existence of qualities is inferred from our inability to conceive of their non-existence ; they belong only to the mind, because we cannot even imagine their annihilation as attributes of things without us. Without questioning the reality of any "anticipated" knowledge, we inquire only into the sufficiency of those criteria, by which Kant seeks to distinguish it from truths empirically known. That in the information received through the action of the perceptive faculties there are some elements, which are necessary, or that cannot be got rid of, is a fact which betrays rather the limitation of our capacities, than the existence of a different and higher source of knowledge. The *necessity* in question may be only of a negative character, and then the truth which it characterizes may be of empirical origin. Some objects can be known only under certain relations ; some qualities cannot, in our conceptions, be abstracted from the substance in which they inhere. Enlarged means of experience, — the possession of an additional sense, for instance, — might do away with these impossibilities. The necessary character of the cognitions in such case, results rather from the limitations of experience, than from the existence of a higher faculty of knowing.

But without insisting on the insufficiency of these tests,

we remark further a monstrous gap in the reasoning adopted by Kant. From the necessary and universal recognition of an object or quality, he infers, that it cannot be objectively real. Thus he assumes, not merely that experience can lead us only to contingent, limited, and relative knowledge, but that it is the only trustworthy means of cognition. Whatever is known *a priori*, on his system, must be illusive ; it is subjective, or derived only from our own modes of being and knowing, though always falsely referred to things as they exist. In this way it is maintained, without the slightest proof, and in contradiction to an irresistible impulse of belief, that there is no harmony between our laws of thought and the real constitution of objects. The consciousness of necessity, which accompanies certain judgments, is held to prove their origin *a priori ;* and from this last fact is inferred their entire want of foundation in the absolute nature of things. We may admit the justice of the first inference, but wholly deny that of the second, which would be more properly styled a mere conjecture. For the whole course of Kant's arguments leads to the conclusion, that, from the constitution of a something in our conceptions, we are not entitled to form any belief respecting the constitution of that something without us. Yet, in direct opposition to this canon, from the *a priori* origin of our knowledge of a quality, he deduces the non-existence of that quality in the outward world. That is, he admits the rule, when it works in favor of his system, but repudiates it, when it makes against him. It is a good principle, when it leads to skepticism ; it is invalid, when it tends to restore confidence in the fidelity of our representative ideas.

Few words will suffice to apply these principles of the Transcendental philosophy to an explanation of the intellectual processes in the acquisition of knowledge. It is apparent from what has already been said, that each cognitive faculty has two functions ; — the one, *receptivity*, or the power of receiving impressions from without, the other, *spontaneity*, or the power of reacting upon and modifying these impressions. The first of these faculties, that of sense (*sinnlichkeit*), in which spontaneity exists in the lowest degree, furnishes *intuitions*, — the rude and unformed *matter* of all our knowledge. Two intuitions, those of space and time, are found to possess the marks of universality and necessity, and therefore have an *a priori* origin, and no objective reality,

or foundation in the real nature of things. Space is no empirical conception, derived from external experience, but the necessary prerequisite, or condition, of our ability to imagine any thing as existing out of our own minds. If from our conception of a material substance, we abstract every thing which is known empirically, as its color, hardness, weight, impenetrability, &c., still the space remains, which the body had occupied, as something that cannot be left out. We can imagine a void space, or one in which no substance is to be found, but we can form no idea of body as existing otherwise than in space. Again, space is an endless magnitude, no limits to it being conceivable ; and it is essentially *one*, for though we may speak of different spaces, we understand thereby only parts of one and the same all-comprehending extension. Similar arguments will be found to be applicable to our idea of time. On the subjective character of these two intuitions depends the possibility of the whole science of mathematics ; our absolute conviction of geometrical truths resting on the pure representation of space, while arithmetic derives its certainty from the "anticipated" idea of time.

We certainly have neither time nor space to consider the argument more particularly, but only to inquire, how far the theory, as thus explained, tends to the refutation of skepticism. To the first bewildered apprehensions of the student, it would seem to be difficult to frame a system, which should strike more effectually at the foundations of all belief. By denying the reality of space, "the great globe itself, with all that it inherit," passes away like a dream. By asserting that time does not exist out of our own fancies, memory appears a cheat, existence is contracted to a point, and the whole history of experience and events is rolled up like the morning mist.

> "Nothing is there *to come*, and nothing *past;*
> But an eternal NOW does ever last."

To assert, that these laws of thought have a subjective reality, sufficient for our purposes, and are rightly applicable to the phenomenal world, — the only one with which we are acquainted or have any concern, — is a contemptible evasion. The most audacious skeptic never denied, that we *believe* in the existence of matter and in the succession of events in time, or that this belief is imperative and necessary. At the same time, he maintains that it is illusive, and has no founda-

tion in the real nature of things. To go farther than this, would be the part, not of an infidel, but of a madman. It is true, that Kant professes to repudiate Berkleianism, and will not admit that his own system leads to any similar result. He maintains the existence of the outward world, though he denies the reality of that which, by his own principles, can alone make the conception of such existence possible. The originality, at least, of a system, that couples the refutation of idealism with a denial of the *objectivity* of space, cannot be disputed. External nature has a being independent of our ideas, though the manner of that being transcends the limits of all thought. Kant contented himself at first with a simple protest against the ideal theory ; but, when his opponents charged him with denying in words what was an unavoidable inference from his own system, in the *second edition* of the "Critique" he inserted a proof of the existence of matter. Of the validity of this proof, we say nothing, for we do not profess to understand it, and have great doubts whether the author understood it himself. It is an excrescence on the system, violating its unity, and contradicting what must be inferred from his doctrines as a whole.

The intuitions of sense form the groundwork of our cognitions, but in themselves are unformed and incomplete. Before they constitute knowledge, they must become objects of thought to the understanding, a faculty distinguished from that of sense, as its operations are independent of space and time. The latter represents the matter of things, as it is affected by them ; the former, exercising spontaneity in a higher degree, collects the variety of these materials into a whole. What the intuitions of space and time are to the functions of sense, the categories are to the understanding. They are forms of thought, under which intuitions are necessarily *taken in*, or *subsumed*, and thereby become *conceptions*, the legitimate products of the understanding. They are twelve in number, divided into four equal classes ; those of quantity, quality, relation, and modality. The nomenclature is obviously borrowed from that of the logician, and thus indicates the source of the theory, and the grounds on which it rests. Kant was early struck with the similarity between the first principles of logic and the necessary laws, to which, in an ontological point of view, all the objects of our perceptions appear to be subjected. Might not the similarity of appearance be founded

on the radical identity of the two classes? Every act of reasoning, considered abstractly, takes place under certain forms or laws, which have undoubted authority, and the number and reality of which may be determined with the utmost precision. Might not these forms be identical with the laws, which we fancy are drawn from the observation of nature, but which, on this hypothesis, must be considered as imposed on nature by our own intellectual activity? Kant answers this question in the affirmative, and, having remodelled and completed to his own satisfaction the table of categories, claims to have resolved by their means the problem respecting the possibility of *a priori* knowledge in the department of physics. To every conception or judgment that forms a part of our knowledge are applied at least four categories, taken respectively from the four classes into which these forms of thought have been divided. In other words, we must think of the object, in the first place, as being either *one*, *many*, or *all*; secondly, as *positive*, *negative*, or *limited*; thirdly, as *substance* or *accident*, *cause* or *effect*, or as placed in *reciprocity* with something else by the law of *action* and *reaction*; finally, as *possible* or *impossible*, *existent* or *non-existent*, *necessary* or *contingent*.

The categories are necessary conditions of thinking upon any object, but in themselves they do not enable us to know the object. To accomplish this purpose, real intuitions must be given, to which the categories may be referred; and since all intuitions come from sense, the office of the understanding extends only to sensible things. Beyond the operations of the senses, or the territory of experience, nothing is cognizable. This remark applies even to our own nature. Pure consciousness gives us assurance, that we exist; but, since there is no intuition of this fact, and it is thought upon only by the spontaneity of the understanding, so our own being cannot be known in itself, but only the manner of that being. Empirical consciousness of changes in our internal condition must be distinguished from pure consciousness of self-existence. Universally, therefore, the functions of the understanding are empirical, and not transcendental; they refer to objects as phenomena, and not as things in themselves.

Notwithstanding this necessary limitation of our capacities to a knowledge of objects within the domain of experience, the mind constantly strives to rise above the sphere of the senses,

and, as in the metaphysical systems of the older philosophy, fashions for itself a science of things in themselves, which are supersensual and unconditioned. An analysis of our intellectual faculties is incomplete, if it does not account for this effort, if it does not develope some deep-seated cause, which constantly impels us to a search after what is absolute and unlimited, and gives to the supposed knowledge of it a deceptive appearance of validity. Kant finds such a cause in the third cognitive faculty of man, denominated *par excellence* the Reason, — spontaneity raised to the highest degree, — the chief function of which is to support this unceasing but vain endeavour. As the power of sense has its forms, and the understanding its categories, so the reason has its *ideas*, created by adding to conceptions elaborated by the next lower faculty a notion of the infinite and the absolute. They are three in number; the idea of the absolute unity of the thinking subject, which is the aim of rational psychology; the idea of the absolute totality of phenomena, the universe, which forms the purpose of rational cosmology; finally, the idea of absolute reality, the highest *condition* of all things, the first cause, which is the object of rational theology. In other words, by a necessary impulse of our nature we must *assume* the unity of the soul, the existence of the universe, and the reality of a first cause. But these ideas enter not the field of positive knowledge. They constitute the possibility of metaphysics as an idea, but not as actual science. No proof of their objective validity can be furnished, for it is their essence not to be referred to corresponding objects cognizable through sense; they are derived subjectively from the reason. Yet they are not wholly without use, as they answer at least a regulative purpose. They urge our empirical inquiries onward to higher and nobler ends, than would otherwise be pursued; and, though the objects themselves are unattainable, the effort serves to give greater comparative unity and completeness to our system of knowledge.

The result of the theory may be given in Kant's own words. "All knowledge of things derived solely from the pure understanding, or from pure reason, is nothing but empty show; and truth is to be found only through experience." He expressly denies the validity of the *a priori* argument for the freedom of the will, the immortality of the soul, and the existence of a God; and rebukes the arrogance of the schools

for assuming to themselves higher grounds of conviction than are open to the vulgar. His aim is, not merely to show the futility of the proofs already advanced in support of these great doctrines, but to demonstrate the absolute impracticability of the attempt to establish them under any circumstances. The reason may and will exhaust itself by perpetual efforts to transcend the limits of possible inquiry, — erecting systems and almost in the same breath pulling them down again ; because urged on by an irresistible impulse, that prevents it from being taught wisdom by repeated failures, and from acknowledging that it has overtasked its powers and mistaken its prerogatives. The arguments relating to these sublime doctrines are summed up on either side, and found to be equally irrefutable, and therefore equally false. Then it is vain to argue either for or against them ; the supporter and the assailant alike are silenced.

Such a result of metaphysical inquiry as this, reminds one of Madame de Staël's remark on former skeptical systems ; that "they changed the light of knowledge into a devouring flame ; and Philosophy, like an enraged magician, fired the palace on which she had lavished all the prodigies of her skill." It should be observed, however, that Kant himself, alarmed by the sweeping skepticism of these conclusions, in his "Critique of Practical Reason," subsequently published, labors to do away with his own work, and to find in our moral nature what the speculative reason cannot afford, — a foundation for the belief in things unseen and eternal. The attempt forms a virtual acknowledgment of the necessity of those doctrines, which he had previously refused to legitimate ; they are introduced into the field of ethics as postulates, without which moral phenomena remain inexplicable.

Our outline of this celebrated system is necessarily very imperfect, but it may serve to correct some unfounded notions of its character and tendency. The authority of Kant as a teacher of opinions, even in his native country, has passed away ; and the result has come far short of justifying his boast, that he had given a new and sure basis to mental science, and fixed the principles and method of its progress. Speculation has broken the trammels, with which he would have limited its aberrations, and has pursued a course more erratic than ever. Opinions have varied as widely in the mass, and fluctuated as rapidly in the individual, as if he had

never determined "the only possible method" of avoiding hesitancy and confusion, and placing metaphysics on the same stable foundation with the other abstract sciences. But the indirect influences of his writings may be distinctly traced in the works of nearly all the speculatists, who have succeeded him, not only in Germany, but in France and England. While his innovations in the nomenclature have changed the whole garb of philosophy, and rendered the study of systems more abstruse, fatiguing, and repulsive, it must be confessed, that they have also removed some causes of ambiguity and mistake, and have pointed out the path for effecting a more systematic and beneficial reform. His example has also given a fresher impulse to the spirit of inquiry, increased the eagerness for the formation of new systems, and carried boldness of theorizing on all topics far beyond its ancient limits. His great demerit consists, in having effectually, though perhaps not intentionally, served the cause of infidelity, while professing to repair and extend the defences of belief. Had the real character of his doctrines been evident at a glance, their influence, whether for good or evil, could not have reached so far. But his disciples groped about in the intricacies of a system, which they could not fully master, and embraced opinions, of the nature and tendency of which they had but a blind conception. Thus, they were fairly enlisted on the side of skepticism, before they had thought of quitting the banners of faith. Once engaged in the work, they felt only the desire of surpassing their instructer in dogmatism of manner, rashness in forming novel hypotheses, and general license of speculation on the most sacred subjects. As his theory extended over the whole territory of knowledge, almost every science has in turn been infected with the wild and crude imaginings of his followers. It is this general effervescence of thought and reasoning, which has brought a reproach on the very name of philosophy, and, through the mournful perversion of terms which it has occasioned, has given too good cause for regarding a system of philosophical radicalism as a mere cover for an attack on all the principles of government and social order, and for considering a philosophical religion as atheism itself. Under such circumstances, we can hardly wonder, that many reflecting persons have conceived a distrust of the consequences of such free inquiry, and do not suppress either alarm or contempt at the bare mention of German metaphysics.

ART. III. — 1. *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, in the Years* 1766, 1767, *and* 1768. By J. CARVER, Esquire, Captain of a Company of Provincial Troops, during the late War with France. The Third Edition. To which is added, some Account of the Author, and a Copious Index. London: printed for C. Dilly, H. Paine, and J. Phelps. 1780.

2. CARVER'S *Travels in Wisconsin.* From the Third London Edition. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1838.

IT is not our purpose to review the Journal of the old traveller in the Northwest, though it is curious and interesting; but to give, within the proper limits, an outline of the history of the Ohio valley from 1744 to 1774, a period which has been generally despatched in two pages, but might, if well explored, fill a volume. In our last number but one, we sketched, with a few rapid strokes, the progress of French discovery in the valley of the Mississippi. The first travellers reached that river in 1673, and when the new year of 1750 broke upon the great wilderness of the West, all was still a wilderness, except those little spots upon the prairies of Illinois, and among the marshes of Louisiana, of which we gave a list in that sketch. It is true, that some have told us that St. Vincent's, or Vincennes, upon the Wabash, was settled before the middle of the last century. Volney thought he found evidence of its settlement in 1735,* and Bishop Bruté, the present Catholic bishop of Indiana, speaks of a missionary station at Vincennes in 1700, and of the death of a M. de Vincennes, who was sent to protect the post, in 1735.† We cannot, however, discover any early authority to support the traveller or the bishop. Charlevoix, whose History comes down to about 1735, makes no mention either in that, or in his Journal, of any such missionary station as that referred to by Bishop Bruté, nor is any point upon his map of the Wabash marked as a settlement; and the M. de Vincennes whose death he mentions, was killed at the South. Vivier, who names the settlements of the West in 1750, says nothing of Vincennes, although he was giving to his religious superiors an account of the missionary stations. ‡ In a

* Volney's *View*, p. 336.

† Butler's *Kentucky*. Intro. xviii. Note. 2d edition.

‡ *North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII. p. 98.

volume of *Mémoires* on Louisiana, compiled from the minutes of M. Dumont, and published in Paris in 1753, but probably written in 1749, though we have an account of the Wabash or St. Jerome, its course and origin, and the use made of it by the traders, not a word is found touching any fort, settlement, or station on it; * and Vaudreuil, then governor of Louisiana, and afterwards of Canada, as quoted by Pownall, mentions, even in 1751, Fort Massac upon the Ohio, and Fort Miamis on the Maumee, but says nothing of a post on the Wabash. † Nor is this negative evidence all; for, in a pamphlet published in London in 1755, called "The Present State of North America," which is accompanied with a map giving all the French forts and stations, we have a particular account of the settlement of Vincennes. This work states, that in 1750 a fort was founded there, and that in 1754, three hundred families were sent to settle about it. ‡

In 1749, therefore, when the English first began to move seriously about sending men into the West, there were, we think, only the Illinois and lower country settlements; the present States of Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky, being still in the possession of the Indians, though forts may have been founded at Sandusky and the mouth of the Maumee.

Having seen on what the French claim to the West rested,

---

* *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, &c. &c.

† Pownall's *Memorial on Service in North America*, &c., drawn up in 1756. It forms an Appendix to his "Administration of the Colonies;" 4th edition. London. 1768.

‡ *Present State of North America*, p. 65. — See this settlement referred to by Governor Morris of Pennsylvania, 1754, in Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III., page 285.

The French forts mentioned in this work as north of the Ohio, were,

Two on French Creek, (Rivière des Bœufs.)
Du Quesne.
Sandusky.
Miamis on Maumee.
St. Joseph's on the St. Joseph's of Lake Michigan.
Pontchartrain at Detroit.
Missilimacanac.
Fox River of Green Bay.
Crèvecœur, } on the Illinois.
Rock Fort, or Fort St. Louis, }
Vincennes.
Mouth of the Wabash.
Cahokia.
Kaskaskia.
Mouth of the Ohio.
Mouth of the Missouri.

At the mouth of the Scioto (called in the work just named, the "Sikoder") the French had a post during the war of 1756; see Rogers's *Journal*, London, 1765; Post's *Journal* in Proud's *Pennsylvania*, Vol. II. App. p. 117.

viz. discovery and occupancy; we now, before proceeding to the quarrel which arose for the possession of that Eden-like land, shall give, as well as we can, the grounds of the British claims to it.

England, from the outset, claimed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, on the ground that the discovery and possession of the seacoast was a discovery and possession of the country; and, as is well known, her grants to Virginia, Connecticut, and other colonies were through to the South Sea. It was not upon this, however, that Great Britain relied in her contest with France; she had other grounds, namely, actual discovery, and purchase or title of some kind from the Indian owners.

Her claim on the score of actual discovery was poorly supported, and little insisted on; the statements given by Coxe, as to Colonel Wood and others, will be found in our last volume.* Beside those, we have it from tradition, that in 1742, John Howard crossed the mountains from Virginia, sailed in a canoe made of a buffalo skin down the Ohio, and was taken by the French on the Mississippi;† and this tradition is confirmed by a note, contained in a London edition of Du Pratz, printed in 1774, in which the same facts as to Howard are substantially given as being taken from the official report of the Governor of Virginia, at the time of his expedition. But this expedition by Howard, even if true, could give England no claim to the West, for he made no settlement, and the whole Ohio valley had doubtless long before been explored by the French traders; it is, however, worthy of remembrance, as the earliest visit by an Englishman to the West, which can be considered as distinctly authenticated. Soon after that time, traders undoubtedly began to flock thither from Pennsylvania and Virginia. In 1748, Conrad Weiser, an interpreter, was sent from Philadelphia with presents to the Indians at Logstown, an Indian town upon the Ohio, between Pittsburg and the Big Beaver creek, and we find the residence of English traders in that neighbourhood referred to as of some standing, even then.‡

* Vol. XLVIII. pp. 103, 104.

† Kercheval's *Valley of Virginia*, p. 67.

‡ Butler's *History of Kentucky*, Vol. I. 2d edition, (Introd. xx.) gives the adventures of one Salling in the West, as early as 1730; but his authority is a late work, (*Chronicles of Border Warfare*,) and the account is merely traditional, we presume; Salling is named in the note to Du Pratz, as having been with Howard in 1742. There are various vague accounts of English in the West, before Howard's voyage. Keating, in Long's *Expedition*, speaks of a Colonel Wood, who had been there, beside the one men-

But the great ground whereon the English claimed dominion beyond the Alleghanies, was, that the Six Nations * owned the Ohio valley, and had placed it, with their other lands, under the protection of England. As early as 1684, Lord Howard, governor of Virginia, held a treaty with the Six Nations, at Albany, when, at the request of Colonel Dungan, the governor of New York, they placed themselves under the protection of the mother country.† This was again done in 1701; and, upon the 14th of September, 1726, a formal deed was drawn up, and signed by the chiefs, by which their lands were conveyed to England, in trust, "to be protected and defended by his Majesty, to and for the use of the grantors and their heirs."‡ If, then, the Six Nations had a good claim to the western country, there could be little doubt that England was justified in defending that country against the French; particularly as France, by the treaty of Utrecht, had agreed not to invade the lands of Britain's Indian allies, or something to that effect. § But this claim of the New York savages has been disputed. Very lately, General William H. Harrison has attempted to disprove it, and show, that the Miami confederacy of Illinois and Ohio could not have been conquered by the Iroquois. ‖ We shall not, at present, enter into the controversy; but will only say, that to us the evidence is very strong, that, before 1680, the Six Nations had overrun the western lands, and were dreaded

tioned by Coxe. In a work called "The Contest in America between England and America. By an Impartial Hand. London, 1757," we find it stated, that the Indians at Albany, in 1754, acknowledged that the English had been on the Ohio for *thirty* years. And in a memorial by the British ministry, in 1755, they speak of the West as having been cultivated by England for "*above twenty years.*" (Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 330.)

* When we first hear of the great northern confederacy, there were five tribes in it; viz. Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. Afterwards the Tuscaroras were conquered and taken into the confederacy, and it became *the Six Nations.* Still later, the Nanticokes, and Tuteloes, came into the union, which was, however, still called *the Six Nations*, though sometimes *the Eight United Nations.* This confederacy was by the French called the "Iroquois," by the Dutch "Maquas," by the other Indians "Mengive," and, thence, by the English, "Mingoes." These varied names have produced countless errors, and endless confusion. Thus, on the first page of Butler's *History*, we are told of the *Iroquois or Mohawks;* and the Mingoes of the Ohio are almost always spoken of as a tribe. We have used the terms "Six Nations," and "Iroquois," and now and then "Mingoes," always meaning the whole confederacy.

† *Plain Facts*, &c. Philadelphia, 1781. pp. 22, 23.

‡ This may be found at length in Pownall's *Administration of the Colonies*, 4th edition, London, 1768, p. 269.

§ Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 329.

‖ See Harrison's *Historical Address*, 1837.

from Lake Michigan to the Ohio, and west to the Mississippi. In 1673, Allouez and Dablon found the Miamis upon Lake Michigan, fearing a visit from the Iroquois ;* and from this time forward we hear of them in that far land from all writers, genuine and spurious. † We cannot doubt, therefore, that they did overrun the lands claimed by them, and even planted colonies in what is now Ohio ; but that they had any claim, which a Christian nation should have recognised, to most of the territory in question, we cannot for a moment think, as for half a century at least it had been under the rule of other tribes, and, when the differences between France and England began, was, with the exception of the lands just above the head of the Ohio, the place of residence and the hunting-ground of other tribes. ‡

But some of the western lands were also claimed by the British, as having been actually purchased. This purchase was said to have been made at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744, when a treaty was held between the colonists and the Six Nations relative to some alleged settlements that had been made upon the Indian lands in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland ; and to this treaty we now turn, — thankful that we have a very good and graphic account of it, written by Witham Marshe, who went as secretary with the commissioners for Maryland, and from whom we draw largely in illustration of the times, and the mode of treating with the Indians.

After many days' journey, diversified with villanous bacon and eggs, and fine tongues and hams, "sorry rum and water, called *bumbo*," and generous wine, the Maryland commissioners reached Lancaster upon the 21st of June, before either the governor of Pennsylvania, the Virginia commissioners, or the Indians, had arrived ; though all but the natives came that evening. Having got a good dinner, "to their great comfort," and engaged beds, they went out to look at the town, which had then been settled about sixteen years. They found it well laid out, but very dirty, and inhabited by a mixture of Dutch, Scotch, Irish, English, and Israelites. Most of the houses were of wood, two stories high, and much as they are now, but dirtier. The water was bad, and in dry

* Charlevoix, Vol. II. Paris ed. 1744. p. 252.

† See Charlevoix, La Hontan, Hennepin, Tonti, &c.

‡ "In 1744, when the Lancaster treaty was held with the Six Nations, some of their number were making war upon the Catawbas." — *Marshe's Journal*, Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. VII., pp. 190, 191.

weather the air was hot and dusty; and before the houses were heaps of dirt filled with vermin. The market was good, and provisions "prodigiously cheap." It being summer, the commissioners suffered much from the "Dutch fleas," and their auxiliaries; so much, indeed, that many preferred the court-house floor.

The next forenoon wore wearily away, and all were glad to sit down, at one o'clock, to a dinner in the court-house, which the Virginians gave their friends, and from which not many were drawn, even by the coming of the Indians, who came, to the number of two hundred and fifty-two, with squaws and little children on horseback, and with their fire-arms, and bows, and arrows, and tomahawks, and, as they passed the court-house, invited the white men with a song to renew their former treaties. On the outskirts of the town, vacant lots had been chosen for the savages to build their wig-wams upon, and thither they marched on with Conrad Weiser, their friend and interpreter,* while the Virginians "drank the loyal healths," and finished their entertainment. After dinner they went out to look at their dark allies, who had few shirts among them, and those black from wear, and who were very ragged and shabby; at all which the well-clad and high-fed colonists bit their lips, but feared to laugh. That afternoon the chiefs and commissioners met at the court-house, "shaked hands," smoked a pipe, and drank "a good quantity of wine and punch." The next day, being Saturday, the English went "to the Dunkers' nunnery," and the Indians drank, and danced, and shrieked. Monday, the speaking began, to the satisfaction of all parties, and ended merrily with dancing, and music, and a great supper. On Tuesday and Wednesday, also, speeches were made, varied by dances, in which appeared some very disagreeable women, who "danced wilder time than any Indians." On Thursday the goods were opened, wherewith the Maryland people wished to buy the Indian claim to the lands on which settlements had been made. These goods were narrowly scanned by the red men, but at last taken for £220 Pennsylvania money, after which they drank punch. Friday, the Six Nations agreed to the grant desired by the Marylanders, and punch was drunk again; and, on Saturday, a dinner was given to the chiefs,

* For some idea of Weiser, see Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*, Vol. II., p. 316, where a long letter by him is given.

"at which," says Marshe, "they fed lustily, drank heartily, and were very greasy before they finished." At this dinner, the Indians bestowed on the governor of Maryland the name of Tocaryhogon, meaning "Living in the honorable place." After this came much drinking, and when that had gone forward some time, the Indians were called on to sign the deed which had been drawn up, and the English again "put about the glass, pretty briskly." Next, the commissioners from Virginia, supported by a due quantity of wine and bumbo, held their conference with the Indians, and received from them "a deed releasing their claim to a large quantity of land lying in that colony;" and upon this it was that a claim to the western lands was founded, as we learn from the pamphlet called "Plain Facts," for Marshe gives us no particulars. From this pamphlet* it would seem, that the Indians were persuaded to give a deed "recognising the King's right to all lands that are, *or by his Majesty's appointment shall be*, within the colony of Virginia." For this they received £200 in gold, and a like sum in goods, with a promise that, as settlements increased, more should be paid, which promise was signed and sealed. We need make no comment upon this deed, nor speculate upon the probable amount of bumbo which produced it. The commissioners from Virginia, at this treaty of Lancaster, were Colonel Thomas Lee and Colonel William Beverley.†

On the 5th of July, every thing having been settled satisfactorily, the commissioners left "the filthy town" of Lancaster, and took their homeward way, having suffered much from the vermin and the water, though when they used the latter would be a curious inquiry.

Such was the treaty of Lancaster, upon which, as a corner-stone, the claim of the colonists to the West, by purchase, rested; and upon this, and the grant from the Six Nations, Great Britain relied in all subsequent steps.

As settlements extended, and the Indians murmured, the promise of further pay was called to mind, and Weiser was

* "*Plain Facts, being an Examination, &c., and a Vindication of the Grant from the Six United Nations of Indians to the Proprietors of Indiana* vs. *the Decision of the Legislature of Virginia.* pp. 29–39. Philadelphia: R. Aitken. 1781. See also Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 480. — As a general rule we have little faith in party pamphlets; but the one just quoted, so far as we can judge, is accurate as to its main facts.

† Marshe's *Journal.*

sent across the Alleghanies to Logstown, in 1748,* with presents, to keep the Indians in good humor; and also to sound them, probably, as to their feeling with regard to large settlements in the West, which some Virginians, with Colonel Thomas Lee, the Lancaster commissioner, at their head, were then contemplating.† The object of these proposed settlements was not the cultivation of the soil, but the monopoly of the Indian trade, which, with all its profits, had till that time been in the hands of unprincipled men, half civilized, half savage, who penetrated to the lakes of Canada and competed everywhere with the French for skins and furs; three such "impudent Indian traders" as once took possession of our Secretary Marshe's bed at Lancaster, and were with difficulty driven out. It was now proposed in Virginia to turn these fellows out of their good berth beyond the mountains, by means of a great company, which should hold lands and build trading-houses, import European goods regularly and export the furs of the West in return to London. Accordingly, after Weiser's conference with the Indians at Logstown, which was favorable to their views, Thomas Lee, with twelve other Virginians, among whom were Lawrence and Augustine, brothers of George Washington, and also Mr. Hanbury of London, formed an association which they called the "Ohio Company," and in 1748, petitioned the King for a grant beyond the mountains. This petition was approved by the monarch, and the government of Virginia was ordered to grant to the petitioners half a million of acres within the bounds of that colony, beyond the Alleghanies, two hundred thousand of which were to be located at once. This portion was to be held for ten years free of quitrent, provided the company would put there one hundred families within seven years, and build a fort sufficient to protect the settlement; all which the company proposed, and prepared to do at once, and sent to London for a cargo suited to the Indian trade, which was to come out so as to arrive in November, 1749.

---

* *Plain Facts*, pp. 40, 119, 120.

† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 478. Scarce any thing was known of the old Ohio Company, until Mr. Sparks's inquiries led to the note referred to; and even now so little is known, that we cannot but hope some Historical Society will prevail on Mr. Mercer of Virginia, who holds the papers of that Company, to allow their publication. No full history of the West can be written, until the facts relative to the great land companies are better known.

But the French were not blind all this while. They saw, that, if the British once obtained a strong-hold upon the Ohio, they might not only prevent their settlements upon it, but must at last come upon their lower posts, and so the battle be fought sooner or later. To the danger of the English possessions in the West, Vaudreuil, the French governor, had been long alive. Upon the 10th of May, 1744, he wrote home representing the consequences that must come from allowing the British to build a trading-house among the Creeks ;* and, in November, 1748, he anticipated their seizure of Fort Prudhomme, which was upon the Mississippi below the Ohio. † Nor was it for mere sickly missionary stations that the governor feared ; for, in the year last-named, the Illinois settlements, few as they were, sent flour and corn, the hams of hogs and bears, pickled pork and beef, myrtle wax, cotton, tallow, leather, tobacco, lead, iron, copper, some little buffalo wool, venison, poultry, bear's grease, oil, skins, and coarse furs, to the New Orleans market. Even in 1746, from five to six hundred barrels of flour went thither from Illinois, convoys annually going down in December with the produce. ‡ Having these fears, and seeing the danger of the late movements of the British, Gallisonière, then governor of Canada, determined to place, along the Ohio, evidences of the French claim to, and possession of, the country ; and for that purpose, in the summer of 1749, sent Louis Celeron, with a party of soldiers, to place plates of lead, on which were written out the claims of France, in the mounds, and at the mouths of the rivers. § Of this act, William Trent, who was sent out in 1752 by Virginia, to conciliate the Indians, heard while upon the Ohio, and mentioned it in his Journal ; and within a few years, one of the plates, with the inscription partially defaced, has been found near the mouth of the Muskingum. Of this plate, the date upon which is August 16th,

* Pownall's *Memorial on Service in America*, as before quoted. Vaudreuil came out as Governor of Canada in 1755. — *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, Vol. VII., p. 105. See also Holmes's *Annals*, Vol. II. p. 23.

† Pownall's *Memorial.*

‡ Ibid.

§ Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II., p. 430. — Atwater's *History of Ohio*, 1st edition, p. 109. — *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. II. pp. 535–541. De Witt Clinton received the plate mentioned in the text from Mr. Atwater, who says it was found at the mouth of the Muskingum, though marked as having been placed at the mouth of Venango (Tenangue) river (French Creek, we presume).

1749, a particular account was sent, by De Witt Clinton, to the American Antiquarian Society, in whose second volume (p. 535–541) the inscription may be found at length. By this step, the French, perhaps, hoped to quiet the title to the river "Oyo"; but it produced not the least result. In that very year, we are told, a trading-house was built by the English upon the Great Miami, at the spot since called Loramie's Store;* while, from another source we learn, that two traders were, in 1749, seized by the French upon the Maumee. At any rate, the storm was gathering; the English company was determined to carry out its plan, and the French were determined to oppose them.

During 1750, we hear of no step, by either party; but in February, 1751, we find Christopher Gist, the agent who had been appointed by the Ohio Company to examine the western lands, upon a visit to the Twigtwees or Tuigtuis, who lived upon the Miami river, one hundred and fifty miles from its mouth.† In speaking of this tribe, Mr. Gist says nothing of a trading-house among them, (at least in the passage from his Journal quoted by Mr. Sparks,) but he tells us, they left the Wabash for the sake of trading with the English; and we have no doubt, that the spot which he visited was at the mouth of Loramie's Creek, where, as we have said, a trading-house was built about or before this time. Gist says, the Twigtwees were a very numerous people, much superior to the Six Nations, and that they were formerly in the French interest. Wynne speaks of them as the same with the Ottawas; but Gist undoubtedly meant the great Miamis confederacy; for he says, that they are not one tribe, but "many different tribes, under the same form of government."‡ Upon this journey Gist went as far down the Ohio as the Falls, and was gone seven months, though the particulars of his tour are still unknown to us; his Journal, with the exception of one or two passages published by Mr. Sparks, still resting in manuscript.

Having thus generally examined the land upon the Ohio,

* *Contest in America, by an Impartial Hand.* Once this writer speaks of this post as upon the Wabash, but he doubtless meant that on the Miami.

† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 37.

‡ See Harrison's *Discourse*, already quoted.—Franklin, (Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 71,) speaks of the Piankeshaws, a tribe of the Twigtwees; and again, of the Miamis or Twigtwees (Ibid., Vol. III. p. 72).

in November Gist commenced a thorough survey of the tract south of the Ohio and east of the Kanawha, which was that on which the Ohio Company proposed to make their first settlement. He spent the winter in that labor. Meanwhile no treaty of a definite character had yet been held with the western Indians; and, as the influence both of the French and of the independent English traders, was against the company, it was thought necessary to do something, and the Virginia government was desired to invite the chiefs to a conference at Logstown, which was done.

All this time the French had not been idle. They not only stirred up the savages, but took measures to fortify certain points on the upper waters of the Ohio, from which all lower posts might be easily attacked, and, beginning at Presqu'Ile, or Erie, on the lake, prepared a line of communication with the Alleghany. This was done by opening a wagon-road from Erie to a little lake lying at the head of French Creek, where a second fort was built, about fifteen miles from that at Erie. When this second fort was fortified we do not clearly learn; but some time in 1752, we believe.* But lest, while these little castles were quietly rising amid the forest, the British also might strengthen themselves too securely to be dislodged, a party of soldiers was sent to keep the Ohio clear; and this party, early in 1752, having heard of the trading-house upon the Miamis, and, very likely, of the visit to it by Gist, came to the Twigtwees and demanded the traders, as unauthorized intruders upon French lands. The Twigtwees, however, were neither cowards nor traitors, and refused to deliver up their friends.† The French then attacked the trading-house, which was probably a block-house, and, after a severe battle, in which fourteen of the natives were killed, and others wounded, took and destroyed it, carrying the traders away to Canada as prisoners, or, as one account says,

* Washington's *Journal*, of 1753. — Mante, in his *History of the War*, says, early in 1753; but there was a post at Erie when the traders were taken, before June, 1752.

† Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 71. — Vol. III. p. 230. *Plain Facts*, p. 42. — *Contest in North America*, &c. p. 36. — *Western Monthly Magazine*, 1833. — This fort was always referred to in the early treaties of the United States with the Indians; see *Land Laws*. — Several other captures beside this are referred to by Franklin and others. The attack on Logstown, spoken of by Smollett and Russell, was doubtless this attack on the Miamis post. Smollett; *George II.* Chap. IX. See also Burk's *Virginia*, Vol. III. p. 170.

burning some of them alive. This fort, or trading-house, was called by the English writers Pickawillany. *

Such was the fate of the first British settlement in the Ohio valley, of which we have any record. It was destroyed early in 1752, as we know by the fact, that its destruction was referred to by the Indians at the Logstown treaty in June. What traders they were who were taken, we do not know with certainty. Some have thought them agents of the Ohio Company; but Gist's proceedings about the Kenhawa do not favor the idea, neither do the subsequent steps of the company; and in the "History of Pennsylvania," ascribed to Franklin, we find a gift of condolence made by that Province to the Twigtwees for those slain in defence of the traders among them, in 1752, which leads us to believe that they were independent merchants from that colony. Blood had now been shed, and both parties became more deeply interested in the progress of events in the West.

The English, on their part, determined to purchase from the Indians a title to the lands they wished to occupy, by fair means or foul; and, in the spring of 1752, Messrs. Fry, Lomax, and Patton were sent from Virginia to hold a conference with the natives at Logstown, learn what they objected to in the treaty of Lancaster, of which it was said they complained, and settle all difficulties. † On the 9th of June, the commissioners met the red men at Logstown: this was a little village, seventeen miles and a half below Pittsburg, upon the north side of the Ohio. ‡ It had long been a trading-point, but had been abandoned by the Indians in 1750. § Here the Lancaster treaty was produced, and the sale of the western lands insisted upon; but the chiefs said, "No; they had not heard of any sale west of the warrior's road, which ran at the foot of the Alleghany ridge." The commissioners then offered goods for a ratification of the Lancaster treaty; spoke of the proposed settlement by the Ohio Company; and

* A memorial of the King's ministers, in 1755, refers to it as "Pickawillanes, in the centre of the territory between the Ohio and the Wabash." — Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 330.

† *Plain Facts*, p. 40. — Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 480.

‡ Croghan, in his *Journal* says, that Logstown was *south* of the Ohio. (Butler's *Kentucky*, App.) The river is itself nearly north and south at the spot in question; but we always call the Canada side the north side, having reference to the general direction of the stream.

§ Bouquet's *Expedition*. London, 1766. p. 10. — Logstown is given on the map accompanying this volume.

used all their persuasions to secure the land wanted. Upon the 11th of June, the Indians replied. They recognised the treaty of Lancaster, and the authority of the Six Nations to make it, but denied that they had any knowledge of the western lands being conveyed to the English by said deed; and declined, upon the whole, having any thing to do with the treaty of 1744. "However," said the savages, "as the French have already struck the Twigtwees, we shall be pleased to have your assistance and protection, and wish you would build a fort at once at the Fork of the Ohio." * But this permission was not what the Virginians wanted; so they took aside Montour, the interpreter, who was a son of the famous Catherine Montour, † and a chief among the Six Nations, being three-fourths of Indian blood, and persuaded him by valid arguments (of the kind which an Indian most appreciates, doubtless,) to use his influence with his fellows. This he did; and, upon the 13th of June, they all united in signing a deed, confirming the Lancaster treaty *in its full extent*, consenting to a settlement southeast of the Ohio, and guarantying that it should not be disturbed by them. ‡ By such means was obtained the first treaty with the Indians in the Ohio valley.

All this time the two powers beyond the Atlantic were in a professed state "of profound peace"; and commissioners were at Paris trying to out-manœuvre one another with regard to some of the disputed lands in America, § though in the West all looked like war. We have seen how the English outwitted the Indians, and secured themselves, as they thought, by their politic conduct. But the French, in this as in all cases, proved that they knew best how to manage the natives; and, though they had to contend with the old hatred felt toward them by the Six Nations, and though they by no means refrained from strong acts, marching through

* *Plain Facts*, p. 42.

† For a sketch of this woman, see *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, First Series, Vol. VII. p. 189, or Stone's *Life of Brant*, Vol. I. p. 339. She had two sons, Andrew and Henry. The latter was a captain among the Iroquois, the former a common interpreter, apparently. Andrew was taken by the French in 1749. Which of them was at Logstown we are not told; but, from his influence with the Indians, it was probably Henry.

‡ *Plain Facts*, pp. 38–44. The Virginia commissioners were men of high character, but treated with the Indians according to the ideas of their day.

§ See Smollett; *George II.*, chapters viii. and ix.

the midst of the Iroquois country, attacking the Twigtwees, and seizing the English traders, nevertheless they did succeed, as the British never did, in attaching the Indians to their cause. As an old chief of the Six Nations said at Easton, in 1758; "The Indians on the Ohio left you because of your own fault. When we heard the French were coming, we asked you for help and arms, but we did not get them. The French came, they treated us kindly, and gained our affections. The Governor of Virginia settled on our lands for his own benefit, and, when we wanted help, forsook us."*

So stood matters at the close of 1752. The English had secured (as they thought) a title to the Indian lands southeast of the Ohio, and Gist was at work laying out a town and fort there on Shurtees (Chartier's) Creek, about two miles below the Fork. † Eleven families also were crossing the mountains to settle at the point where Gist had fixed his own residence, west of Laurel Hill, and not far from the Youghiogany. Goods too had come from England for the Ohio Company, which, however, they could not well, and dared not, carry beyond Will's Creek, the point where Cumberland now stands, whence they were taken by the traders and Indians; and there was even some prospect of a road across the mountains to the Monongahela.

On the other hand, the French were gathering cannon and stores upon Lake Erie, and, without treaties or deeds for land, were gaining the good-will of even inimical tribes, and preparing, when all was ready, to strike the blow. Some of the savages, it is true, remonstrated. They said they did not understand this dispute between the Europeans, as to which of them the western lands belonged to, for they did not belong to either. But the French bullied when it served their turn, and flattered when it served their turn, and all the while went on with their preparations, which were in an advanced state early in 1753. ‡

In May of that year, the governor of Pennsylvania informed the Assembly of the French movements, a knowledge of which was derived, in part at least, from Montour, who

---

* *Plain Facts*, p. 55. — Pownall's *Memoir on Service in North America.*

† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. pp. 433, 482, and map, p. 38.

‡ See in Washington's *Journal*, the Speech of Half-king to the French commander, and his answer. — Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 434.

had been present at a conference between the French and Indians relative to the invasion of the West. * The assembly thereupon voted six hundred pounds for distribution among the tribes, besides two hundred for the present of condolence to the Twigtwees, already mentioned. This money was not sent, but Conrad Weiser was despatched in August to learn how things stood among the Ohio savages. † Virginia was moving also. In June, or earlier, a commissioner was sent westward to meet the French, and ask how they dared invade his Majesty's province. This messenger went to Logstown, but was afraid to go up the Alleghany, as instructed. ‡ Trent was also sent out with guns, powder, shot, and clothing for the friendly Indians ; and then it was, that he learned the fact already stated, as to the claim of the French, and their burial of medals in proof of it. While these measures were taken, another treaty with the wild men of the debatable land was also in contemplation ; and in September, 1753, William Fairfax met their deputies at Winchester, Virginia, where he concluded a treaty, with the particulars of which we are unacquainted, but on which, we are told, was an indorsement, stating that such was their feeling, that *he had not dared to mention to them either the Lancaster or the Logstown treaty ;* § a most sad comment upon the modes taken to obtain those grants.

Soon after this, no satisfaction being obtained from the Ohio, either as to the force, position, or purposes of the French, Robert Dinwiddie, then Governor of Virginia, determined to send to them another messenger, and selected a young surveyor, who, at the age of nineteen, had received the rank of major, and whose previous life had inured him to hardship and woodland ways, while his courage, cool judgment, and firm will, all fitted him for such a mission. This young man, as all know, was George Washington, who was twenty-one years and eight months old, at the time of the appointment. || With Gist as his guide, Washington left Will's Creek, where Cumberland now is, on the 15th of November, and, on the 22d, reached the Monongahela about ten miles above the Fork. Thence he went to Logstown, where he had long conferences with the chiefs

* Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. p. 219.
† Ibid. p. 230.
‡ Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 430.
§ *Plain Facts*, p. 44.
|| Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. pp. 428–447.

of the Six Nations living in that neighbourhood. Here he learned the position of the French upon the *Rivière aux Bœufs*, and the condition of their forts. He heard also that they had determined not to come down the river till the following spring, but had warned all the Indians, that, if they did not keep still, the whole French force would be turned upon them; and that, if they and the English were equally strong, they would divide the land between them, and cut off all the natives. These threats, and the mingled kindness and severity of the French, had produced the desired effect. Shingiss, king of the Delawares, feared to meet Washington, and the Shannoah (Shawanee) chiefs would not come either. *

The truth was, these Indians were in a very awkward position. They could not resist the Europeans, and knew not which to side with; so that a non-committal policy was much the safest, and they were wise not to return by Washington (as he desired they should) the wampum received from the French, as that would have been equivalent to breaking with them.

Finding that nothing could be done with these people, Washington left Logstown on the 30th of November, and, travelling amid cold and rain, reached Venango, an old Indian town at the mouth of French Creek, on the 4th of the next month. Here he found the French, with their wine, and self-confidence, and other comfortable things; and here, through the rum, and the flattery, and the persuasions of his enemies, he very nearly lost all his Indians, even his old friend the Half-king. Patience and good faith conquered, however, and, after another pull through mires and creeks, snow, rain, and cold, upon the 11th he reached the fort at the head of French Creek. Here he delivered Governor Dinwiddie's letter, took his observations, received his answer, and upon the 16th set out upon his return journey, having had to combat every art and trick, "which the most fruitful brain could suggest," in order to get his Indians away with him. Flattery, and liquor, and guns, and provision were showered upon the Half-king and his comrades, while Washington himself received bows, and smirks, and compliments, and a plentiful store of creature-comforts also.

* Shingiss, or Shingask, was the great Delaware warrior of that day, and did the British much mischief. — See Heckewelder's *Narrative*, p. 64.

From Venango, Washington and Gist went on foot, leaving their Indian friends to the tender mercies of the French. Of their hardships and dangers, we need say nothing; every schoolboy knows them.* In spite of them, however, they reached Will's Creek, on the 6th of January, well and sound. During the absence of the young messenger, steps had been taken to fortify and settle the point formed by the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany; and, while upon his return, he met "seventeen horses, loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the Fork of the Ohio," and, soon after, "some families going out to settle." These steps were taken by the Ohio Company; but, as soon as Washington returned with the letter of St. Pierre, the commander on French Creek, and it was perfectly clear that neither he nor his superiors meant to yield the West without a struggle, Governor Dinwiddie wrote to the Board of Trade, stating, that the French were building another fort at Venango, and that in March twelve or fifteen hundred men would be ready to descend the river with their Indian allies, for which purpose three hundred canoes had been collected; and that Logstown was then to be made head-quarters, while forts were built in various other positions, and the whole country occupied. He also sent expresses to the governors of Pennsylvania and New York, calling upon them for assistance; and, with the advice of his council, proceeded to enlist two companies, one of which was to be raised by Washington, the other by Trent, who was a frontier man. This last was to be raised upon the frontiers, and proceed at once to the Fork of the Ohio, there to complete in the best manner, and as soon as possible, the fort begun by the Ohio Company; and in case of attack, or any attempt to resist the settlements, or obstruct the works, those resisting were to be taken, or if need were, killed. †

While Virginia was taking these strong measures, which were fully authorized by the letter of the Earl of Holdernesse, Secretary of State, ‡ written in the previous August, and which directed the governors of the various provinces, after representing to those who were invading his Majesty's

* Three out of five men who went with Washington, were so badly frost-bitten as to become unable to go on. — Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 55.

† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. pp. 1, 431, 446. — Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. p. 254.

‡ Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. p. 251, where the letter is given.

dominions the injustice of the act, to call out the armed force of the province, and repel force by force ; — while Virginia was thus acting, Pennsylvania was discussing the question, whether the French were invading his Majesty's dominions, — the governor on one side, and the Assembly on the other,* — and New York was preparing to hold a conference with the Six Nations, in obedience to orders from the Board of Trade, written in September, 1753.† These orders had been sent out in consequence of the report in England, that the natives would side with the French, because dissatisfied with the occupancy of their lands by the English ; and simultaneous orders were sent to the other provinces, directing the governors to recommend their Assemblies to send commissioners to Albany to attend this grand treaty, which was to heal all wounds. New York, however, was more generous when called on by Virginia, than her neighbour on the south, and voted, for the assistance of that colony, five thousand pounds currency.‡

It was now April, 1754. The fort at Venango was finished, and all along the line of French Creek troops were gathering ; and the wilderness echoed the strange sounds of a European camp, — the watchword, the command, the clang of muskets, the uproar of soldiers, the cry of the sutler ; and with these were mingled the shrieks of drunken Indians, won over from their old friendship by rum and soft words. Scouts were abroad, and little groups formed about the tents or huts of the officers, to learn the movements of the British. Canoes were gathering, and cannon were painfully hauled here and there. All was movement and activity among the old forests, and on hill-sides, covered already with young wild flowers, from Lake Erie to the Alleghany. In Philadelphia, meanwhile, Governor Hamilton, in no amiable mood, had summoned the Assembly, and asked them if they meant to help the King in the defence of his dominions ; and had desired them, above all things, to do whatever they meant to do, quickly. The Assembly debated, and resolved to aid the King with a little money, and then debated again and voted not to aid him with any money at all, for some would not give less than ten thousand pounds, and others would not give more than five thousand pounds ; and so, nothing being

* Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. pp. 254 – 263.
† *Plain Facts*, pp. 45, 46. — Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. p. 253.
‡ *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, 1st Ser. Vol. VII. p. 73.

practicable, they adjourned upon the 10th of April until the 13th of May.*

In New York, a little, and only a little better spirit, was at work; nor was this strange, as her direct interest was much less than that of Pennsylvania. Five thousand pounds, indeed was voted to Virginia; but the Assembly questioned the invasion of his Majesty's dominions by the French, and it was not till June that the money voted was sent forward. †

The Old Dominion, however, was all alive. As, under the provincial law, the militia could not be called forth to march more than five miles beyond the bounds of the colony, and as it was doubtful if the French were within Virginia, it was determined to rely upon volunteers. Ten thousand pounds had been voted by the Assembly; so the two companies were now increased to six, and Washington was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and made second in command under Joshua Fry. Ten cannon, lately from England, were forwarded from Alexandria; wagons were got ready to carry westward provisions and stores through the heavy spring roads; and everywhere along the Potomac men were enlisting, — or weighing the Governor's proclamation, which promised to those that should serve in that war, two hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio, — or, already enlisted, were gathering into grave knots, or marching forward to the field of action, or helping on the thirty cannon and eighty barrels of gunpowder, which the King had sent out for the western forts. Along the Potomac they were gathering, as far as to Will's Creek; and far beyond Will's Creek, whither Trent had come for assistance, his little band of forty-one men were working away, in hunger and want, to fortify that point at the Fork of the Ohio, to which both parties were looking with deep interest. The first birds of spring filled the forests with their song; the red-bud and dogwood were here and there putting forth their flowers on the steep Alleghany hill-sides, and the swift river below swept by, swollen by the melting snows and April showers; a few Indian scouts were seen, but no enemy seemed near at hand; and all was so quiet, that Frazier, an old Indian trader, who had been left by Trent in command of the new fort, ven-

* Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. pp. 264, 265.

† *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, 1st Ser. Vol. VII. pp. 72, 73, and note.

tured to his home at the mouth of Turtle Creek, ten miles up the Monongahela. But, though all was so quiet in that wilderness, keen eyes had seen the low entrenchment that was rising at the Fork, and swift feet had borne the news of it up the valley; and, upon the 17th of April, Ensign Ward, who then had charge of it, saw upon the Alleghany a sight that made his heart sink, — sixty batteaux and three hundred canoes, filled with men, and laden deep with cannon and stores. The fort was called on to surrender; by the advice of the Half-king, Ward tried to evade the act, but it would not do; Contrecœur, with a thousand men about him, said "Evacuate," and the ensign dared not refuse. That evening he supped with his captor, and the next day was bowed off by the Frenchman, and, with his men and tools, marched up the Monongahela. From that day began the war. *

Of the early events of this war in Virginia we need say nothing. It was but recently that they were detailed upon our pages. The march toward Red Stone Creek, the affair with Jumonville, the battle of the Great Meadows, with the sufferings and perseverance of the troops, the troubles of Washington, and the conduct of the French, must be fresh in the minds of those who read our last October number.† But while these things were doing at the south, while the captors of the works at the Fork were, at a better point, raising other works, (called Fort Du Quesne, after the governor of Canada,) with "walls two fathoms thick," and, by means of presents, were gaining the good-will of the savages, and making themselves acquainted with the woods and hills in all directions, there was much doing also in Pennsylvania and New York.

In Pennsylvania, the governor and Assembly scolded each other much in the old way; but the latter sanctioned the choice of commissioners that had been made by the former to attend the Albany treaty, and even granted a present for

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. The number of French troops was probably overstated, but to the captives there was a round thousand. Burk, in his history of Virginia, speaks of the taking of Logstown by the French; but Logstown was never a post of the Ohio Company as he represents it, as is plain from all contemporary letters and accounts. Burk's ignorance of Western matters is clear in this, that he says the French *dropped down* from Fort Du Quesne to Presqu'île and Venango; they, or part of them, did drop down the Ohio, but surely not to posts, one of which was on Lake Erie, and the other far up the Alleghany!

† *North American Review*, Vol. XLVII. pp. 350 *et seq.*

the Indians.* This proposed meeting at Albany was not, however, merely for the purpose of holding a conference with the Six Nations ; for it was now suggested to form a union among the colonies to manage Indian affairs and provide for the common defence ; and, though this suggestion was vague, and no provincial legislature but that of Massachusetts instructed its delegates with regard to it, it was undoubtedly in the minds of all. Franklin, who was one of the commissioners from Pennsylvania, had sketched a Plan of Union before reaching Albany. †

The day appointed for the meeting of the commissioners was the 14th of June, but it was the 18th or 19th before they got together. There were present delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. ‡ Virginia did not send any, for she was interested in immediate action, and, hoping to have with her against the French both the Six Nations and the Southern Indians, (Cherokees, &c.), who had hitherto been at enmity, she proposed a treaty at Winchester in May, where all differences might be settled, and the opposing tribes united. Her plan, however, entirely failed, because so few of the natives attended. At Albany things went not much better ; the attendance was small, and those who came were cross and bold. Hendrick, the Mohawk Sachem, told the Congress very plain truths, such as that the French were men, and they women ; to which the Congress, on their part, listened gravely, and gave the presents which had been confided to them ; but of the treaty we hear little, save that it was a renewal of existing ones. § The commissioners, however, were moving in the matter of union, upon the necessity of which they all agreed, and appointed a committee, one from each colony, to draw up a plan. From among those presented to this committee it selected Franklin's, which, upon the 10th or 11th of July, was adopted by the convention. It is not our purpose to give any sketch of this well-known paper, nor to trace its fate. It is enough to say, that it was universally rejected in America and England. It was

* Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. p. 276.

† Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. pp. 22, 276.

‡ Ibid.—*Massachusetts Historical Collections*. First Series, Vol. VII. p. 76. — *Plain Facts*, pp. 47 – 50.

§ Smollett's *George II.* chap. ix.

at, or near this time, also, that Franklin drew up his plan for settling two barrier colonies upon the Ohio River, one at the mouth of the Scioto, the other below French Creek; a plan which, like the Albany plan of union, produced no result.

It was now the fall of 1754. Fort Cumberland had been built on Will's Creek, the North Carolina troops had been disbanded from want of money, and the Virginia frontiers were defended by some companies from New York and South Carolina, which were in the pay of the King, together with a few Maryland and Virginia volunteers. Virginia herself had, meantime, changed her military establishment; and, having raised forty thousand pounds at home and abroad, had increased her six companies to ten, and degraded all her higher officers to the rank of captain; a step, which, among other results, led to the resignation of his place by Washington, who retired for the time to Mount Vernon.*

In Pennsylvania, Morris, who had succeeded Hamilton, was busily occupied with making speeches to the Assembly and listening to their stubborn replies;† while in the North the Kennebec was fortified, and a plan talked over for attacking Crown Point on Lake Champlain the next spring;‡ and in the South things went on much as if there were no war coming. All the colonies united in one thing, however, — in calling loudly on the mother country for help. During this same autumn the pleasant Frenchmen were securing the West, step by step; settling Vincennes, gallanting with the Delawares, and coquetting with the Iroquois, who still balanced between them and the English. The forests along the Ohio shed their leaves, and the prairies filled the sky with the smoke of their burning; and along the great rivers, and on the lakes, and amid the pathless woods of the West, no European was seen, whose tongue spoke other language than that of France. So closed 1754.

The next year opened with professions, on both sides, of the most peaceful intentions, and preparations on both sides to push the war vigorously. France, in January, proposed to restore every thing to the state it was in before the last war, and to refer all claims to commissioners at Paris; to which Britain, upon the 22d, replied, that the West of North Amer-

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. pp. 63, 64, &c.
† Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. p. 282.
‡ *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, Vol. VII. p. 88.

ica must be left as it was at the treaty of Utrecht. On the 6th of February, France made answer, that the old English claims in America were untenable; and offered a new ground of compromise, viz. that the English should retire east of the Alleghanies, and the French west of the Ohio. This offer was long considered, and at length was agreed to by England on the 7th of March, *provided* the French would destroy all their forts on the Ohio and its branches; to which, after twenty days had passed, France said, "No."* While all this negotiation was going on, other things also had been in motion. General Braddock, with his gallant troops, had crossed the Atlantic, and, upon the 20th of February, had landed in Virginia, commander-in-chief of all the land forces in America; and in the North all this while there was whispering of, and enlisting for, the proposed attack on Crown Point; and even Niagara, far off by the Falls, was to be taken, in case nothing prevented. In France, too, other work had been done than negotiation; for at Brest and Rochelle ships were fitting out, and troops gathering, and stores crowding in. Even old England herself had not been all asleep, and Boscawen had been busy at Plymouth, hurrying on the slow workmen, and gathering the unready sailors.† In March, the two European neighbours were smiling and doing their best to quiet all troubles; in April they still smiled, but the fleets of both were crowding sail across the Atlantic; and, in Alexandria, Braddock, Shirley, and their fellow-officers were taking counsel as to the summer's campaign.

In America four points were to be attacked; Fort Du Quesne, Crown Point, Niagara, and the French posts in Nova Scotia. On the 20th of April, Braddock left Alexandria to march upon Du Quesne, whither he was expressly ordered, though the officers in America looked upon it as a mistaken movement, as they thought New York should be the main point for regular operations. The expedition for Nova Scotia, consisting of three thousand Massachusetts men, left Boston on the 20th of May; while the troops which General Shirley was to lead against Niagara, and the provincials which William Johnson was to head in the attack upon Crown Point, slowly collected at Albany.

---

* *Plain Facts*, pp. 51, 52. — *Secret Journals*, Vol. IV. p. 74.

† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 68. — *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, Vol. VII. p. 89. — Smollett. *George II.* chap. x.

May and June passed away, and midsummer drew nigh. The fearful and desponding colonists waited anxiously for news; and, when the news came that Nova Scotia had been conquered, and that Boscawen had taken two of the French men of war, and lay before Louisburg, hope and joy spread everywhere. July passed away, too, and men heard how slowly and painfully Braddock made progress through the wilderness, how his contractors deceived him, and the colonies gave little help, and neither horses nor wagons could be had, and only one Benjamin Franklin sent any aid;* and then reports came that he had been forced to leave many of his troops, and much of his baggage and artillery, behind him; and then, about the middle of the month, through Virginia there went a whisper, that the great general had been defeated and wholly cut off; and, as man after man rode down the Potomac confirming it, the planters hastily mounted, and were off to consult with their neighbours; the country turned out; companies were formed to march to the frontiers; sermons were preached; and every heart and every mouth was full. In Pennsylvania the Assembly were called together to hear the "shocking news"; and in New York it struck terror into those who were there gathered to attack the northern posts. Soldiers deserted; the bateaux-men dispersed; and when at length Shirley, since Braddock's death the commander-in-chief, managed with infinite labor to reach Oswego on Lake Ontario, it was too late and stormy, and his force too feeble, to allow him to do more than garrison that point, and march back to Albany again.† Johnson did better; for he met and defeated Baron Dieskau upon the banks of Lake George, though Crown Point was not taken, nor even attacked.

Although the doings of 1755 could not be well looked on as of a very amicable character, war was not declared by either France or England, until May of the following year; and even then France was the last to proclaim the contest which she had been so long carrying on, though more than three hundred of her merchant vessels had been taken by British privateers. The causes of this proceeding are not very clear to us. France thought, beyond doubt, that George

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 77, &c. — Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. VII. p. 94, &c.

† For a full account of Shirley's Expedition, see the paper in *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, Vol. VII.

would fear to declare war, because Hanover was so exposed to her attacks; but why the British movements, upon the sea particularly, did not lead to the declaration on her part, is not easily to be guessed. Early in 1756, however, both kingdoms formed alliances in Europe; France with Austria, Russia, and Sweden; England with the Great Frederic. And then commenced forthwith the Seven Years' War, wherein most of Europe, North America, and the East and West Indies all partook and suffered.

Into the details of that war we cannot enter; not even into those of the contest in North America. We can but say, that, though during 1756 it was proposed to attack Crown Point, Niagara, and Fort Du Quesne, neither was attacked; for Montcalm took the forts at Oswego, which he destroyed to quiet the jealousy of the Iroquois, within whose territory they were built, and this stroke seemed to paralyze all arms. One bold blow was made by Armstrong at Kittaning, on the Alleghany, in September,* and the frontiers of Pennsylvania for a time were made safe; but otherwise the year in America wore out with little result.

During the next year, 1757, nothing took place, but the capture of Fort William Henry, by Montcalm, and the massacre of its garrison by his Indians; a scene, of which the readers of Cooper's novels need scarce be reminded. This, and the near destruction of the British fleet by a gale off Louisburg, were the leading events of this dark season; and no wonder that fear and despair sank deep into the hearts of the colonists. Nor was it in America alone, that Britain suffered during that summer. On the continent Frederic was borne down; in the Mediterranean she had been defeated, and all was dark in the East; and, to add to the weight of these misfortunes, many of them came upon Pitt, the popular minister.†

But the year 1758 opened under a new star. On sea and land, in Asia, Europe, and America, Britain regained what had been lost. The Austrians, Russians, and Swedes, all gave way before the great Captain of Prussia, and Pitt sent his own strong, and hopeful, and energetic spirit into his subalterns. In North America Louisburg yielded to Boscawen; Fort Frontenac was taken by Bradstreet; and Du Quesne was

* Holmes's *Annals*, Vol. II. p. 73. — Burk's *Virginia*, Vol. III. p. 221.
† He returned to office, June 29th, 1757.

abandoned upon the approach of Forbes through Pennsylvania. From that time, the post at the Fork of the Ohio was Fort Pitt.

In this last capture, as more particularly connected with the West, we are now chiefly interested. The details of the gathering and the march may be seen in the letters of Washington, who, in opposition to Colonel Bouquet, was in favor of crossing the mountains by Braddock's road, whereas Bouquet wished to cut a new one through Pennsylvania. In this division, Bouquet was listened to by the general; and late in the season a new route was undertaken, by which such delays and troubles were produced, that the whole expedition came near proving a failure. Braddock's road had, in early times, been selected by the most experienced Indians and frontier men as the most favorable whereby to cross the mountains, being nearly the route by which the national road has been since carried over them. In 1753, it was opened by the Ohio Company. It was afterward improved by the Provincial troops under Washington, and was finished by Braddock's engineers ;* and this route was now to be given up, and a wholly new one opened, probably, as Washington suggested, through Pennsylvania influence, that her frontiers might thereby be protected, and a way opened for her traders. The hardships and dangers of the march from Raystown to Fort Du Quesne, where the British van arrived upon the 25th of November, may be seen slightly pictured in the letters of Washington and the second Journal of Post,† and may be more vividly conceived by those who have passed through the valley of the upper Juniata. ‡

But, turning from this march, let us look at the position of

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 302.

† Proud's *Pennsylvania*, Vol. II. Appendix.

‡ While upon this march, General Forbes was so sick that he was carried in a close litter, and to this the officers went to receive their orders. An anecdote was afterwards told of some inimical Indian chiefs, who came to the army on an embassy, and who, observing that from this close litter came all commands, asked the reason. The British officers, thinking the savages would despise their General, if told he was sick, were at first puzzled what answer to make; but in a moment one of them spoke out, and said, that in that litter was their General, who was so fierce and strong that he felt it necessary to bind himself, hand and foot, and lie still until he came to the enemy's country, lest he should do the ambassadors, or even his own men, a mischief. The red men gave their usual grunt, and placed some miles of forest between themselves and this fierce chieftain as soon as possible.

things in the West, during the autumn of 1758. We have said, that in the outset the French did their utmost to alienate the Six Nations and Delawares from their old connexion with the British; and so politic were their movements, so accurate their knowledge of Indian character, that they fully succeeded. The English, as we have seen, had made most foolish and iniquitous attempts to get a claim to the Western lands, and by rum and bumbo had even obtained written grants of those lands; but when the rum had evaporated, the wild men saw how they had been deceived, and listened not unwillingly to the French professions of friendship, backed as they were by presents and politeness, and accompanied by no attempts to buy or wheedle land from them.* Early, therefore, many of the old allies of England joined her enemies; and the treaties of Albany, Johnson Hall, and Easton† did little or nothing toward stopping the desolation of the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The Quakers always believed, that this state of enmity between the Delawares and themselves, or their rulers, might be prevented by a little friendly communion; but the persuasions of the French, the renegade English traders, and the low Irish Catholics, who had gone into the West, were great obstacles to any friendly conversation on the one side, and the common feeling among the whites was an equal difficulty on the other. In the autumn of 1756, a treaty was held at Easton with the Pennsylvania Delawares,‡ and peace agreed to. But this did not bind the Ohio Indians even of the same nation, much less the Shawanese and Mingoes; and though the Sachem of the Pennsylvania savages, Teedyuscung, promised to call to his western relatives with a loud voice, they did not, or would not hear him; the tomahawk and brand still shone among the rocky mountain fastnesses of the interior. Nor can any heart but pity the red men. They knew not whom

* See Post's *Journals;* Pownall's *Memoir, on Service in North America.*

† Many treaties were made between 1753 and 1758, which amounted to little or nothing. See *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, Vol. VII. p. 97. — Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. III. pp. 436, 450, 471, &c. — Proud's *Pennsylvania*, Vol. II. App.; Friendly Association's *Address*, and Post's *Journals*. There were two Easton treaties; one with the Pennsylvania Delawares, in 1756, the other with all the Indians, in 1758. — See also, in Proud's *Pennsylvania*, Vol. II. p. 331, an inquiry into the causes of quarrel with the Indians, and extracts from treaties, &c.

‡ Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. VII. p. 125.

to believe, nor where to look for a true friend. The French said they came to defend them from the English; the English said they came to defend them from the French; and between the two powers they were wasting away, and their homes disappearing before them. "The kings of France and England," said Teedyuscung, "have settled this land so as to coop us up as if in a pen. This very ground that is under me was my land and inheritance, and is taken from me by fraud." Such being the feeling of the natives, and success being of late nearly balanced between the two European powers, no wonder that they hung doubting, and knew not which way to turn. The French wished the Eastern Delawares to move west, so as to bring them within their influence;* and the British tried to persuade them to prevail on their western brethren to leave their new allies and be at peace.

In 1758, the condition of affairs being as stated, and Forbes's army on the eve of starting for Fort Du Quesne, and the French being also disheartened by the British success elsewhere, and their force at Du Quesne weak, — it was determined to make an effort to draw the western Indians over, and thereby still further to weaken the force that would oppose General Forbes. It was no easy matter, however, to find a true and trustworthy man, whose courage, skill, ability, knowledge, and physical power, would fit him for such a mission. He was to pass through a wilderness filled with doubtful friends, into a country filled with open enemies. The whole French interest would be against him, and the Indians of the Ohio were little to be trusted. Every stream on his way had been dyed with blood, every hill-side had rung with the death-yell, and grown red in the light of burning huts. The man who was at last chosen was a Moravian, who had lived among the savages seventeen years, and married among them; his name Christian Frederic Post. Of his journey, sufferings, and doings, we have his own journal, though Heckewelder tells us, that those parts which redound most to his own credit, he omitted when printing it. He left Philadelphia upon the 15th of July, 1758; and, against the protestations of Teedyuscung, who said he would surely lose his life, proceeded up the Susquehannah, — pass-

* Heckewelder's *Narrative*, p. 53.

ing "many plantations deserted and laid waste." Upon the 7th of August, he came to the Alleghany, opposite French Creek, and was forced to pass under the very eyes of the garrison of Fort Venango, but was not molested. From Venango he went to "Kushkushkee," which was on or near Big Beaver Creek. This place, he says, contained ninety houses and two hundred able warriors. At this place Post had much talk with the chiefs, who seemed well disposed, but somewhat afraid of the French. The great conference, however, it was determined should be held opposite Fort Du Quesne, where there were Indians of eight nations. The messenger was at first unwilling to go thither, fearing the French would seize him; but the savages said, "they would carry him in their bosom, he need fear nothing," and they well redeemed this promise. On the 24th of August, Post, with his Indian friends, reached the point opposite the Fort; and there immediately followed a series of speeches, explanations, and agreements, for which we must refer to his Journal. At first he was received rather hardly by an old and deaf Onondago, who claimed the land whereon they stood as belonging to the Six Nations; but a Delaware rebuked him in no very polite terms. "That man speaks not as a man," he said; "he endeavours to frighten us by saying this ground is his; he dreams; he and his father (the French) have certainly drunk too much liquor; they are drunk; pray let them go to sleep till they are sober. You do not know what your own nation does at home, how much they have to say to the English. You are quite rotten. You stink. You do nothing but smoke your pipe here. Go to sleep with your father, and when you are sober we will speak to you."

It was clear that the Delawares, and indeed all the western Indians, were wavering in their affection for the French; and, though some opposition was made to a union with the colonists, the general feeling, produced by the prospect of a quick approach by Forbes's army, and by the truth and kindness of Post himself, was in favor of England. The Indians, however, complained bitterly of the disposition which the whites showed in claiming and seizing their lands. "Why did you not fight your battles at home, or on the sea, instead of coming into our country to fight them?" they asked, again and again; and were mournful when they thought of the future. "*Your* heart is good," they said to Post, "*you* speak sin-

cerely : but we know there is always a great number who wish to get rich ; they never have enough ; look ! we do not want to be rich, and take away what others have." "The white people think we have no brains in our heads ; that they are big, and we a little handful ; but remember, when you hunt for a rattlesnake you cannot find it, and perhaps it will bite you before you see it." When the war of Pontiac came, this saying might have been justly remembered.

At length, having concluded a pretty definite peace, Post returned toward Philadelphia, setting out upon the 9th of September ; and, after the greatest sufferings and perils from French scouts and Indians, reached the settlements uninjured.

At Easton, meantime, had been gathering another great council, at which were present "the eight United Nations, (the Iroquois,) and their confederates ;" with all of whom, during October, peace was concluded. Of the particulars of this treaty we know nothing ; from a note in Burk's "History of Virginia," * we find, that the Iroquois were very angry at the prominence of Teedyuscung ; but further than this, and that peace was made, and notice of it sent to the western Indians, we hear not a word of this final peace-making. With the messengers to the West, Post was sent back, within five weeks after his return. He followed after General Forbes, from whom he received messages to the various tribes, with which he once more sought their chiefs ; and was again very instrumental in preventing any junction of the Indians with the French. Indeed, but for Post's mission, there would in all probability have been gathered a strong force of western savages to waylay Forbes and defend Fort Du Quesne ; in which case, so adverse was the season and the way, so wearied the men, and so badly managed the whole business, that there would have been great danger of a second "Braddock's field" ; so that our humble Moravian friend played no unimportant part in securing to his British Majesty again the key to western America.

With the fall of Fort Du Quesne, all direct contest between the French and British in the West ceased. From that time Canada was the only scene of operations, though garrisons for a while remained in the forts on French Creek. In 1759, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Niagara, and at length Quebec

* Vol. III. p. 239.

itself, yielded to the English; and, on the 8th of September, 1760, Montreal, Detroit, and all Canada, were given up by Vaudreuil, the French governor.

But the French had not been the only dwellers in western America; and, when they were gone, the colonists still saw before them clouds of dark and jealous warriors. Indeed, no sooner were the Delawares quiet in the north, than the Cherokees, who had been assisting Virginia against her foes, were roused to war by the thoughtless and cruel conduct of the frontier men, who shot several of that tribe, because they took some horses which they found running at large in the woods. The ill-feeling bred by this act was eagerly fostered by the French in Louisiana; and, while Amherst and Wolfe were pushing the war into Canada, the frontiers of Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia, were writhing under the horrors of Indian invasion. This Cherokee war continued through 1760, and into 1761, but was terminated in the summer of the last-named year by Colonel Grant. We should be glad to enter somewhat at large into the events of it, as then came forward two of the most remarkable chiefs of that day, the Great Warrior, and the Little Carpenter (Attakullakulla); but our limits will not permit this, and we must refer our readers to the second volume of Thatcher's "Indian Biography."

Along the frontiers of Pennsylvania and northern Virginia, the old plantations had been, one by one, reoccupied since 1758, and settlers were slowly pushing further into the Indian country, and traders were once more bearing their burdens over the mountains, and finding a way into the wigwams of the natives, who rested, watching silently, but narrowly, the course of their English defenders and allies. For it was, professedly, in the character of defenders, that Braddock and Forbes had come into the West; * and, while every British finger itched for the lands as well as the furs of the wild men, with mistaken hypocrisy they would have persuaded them that the treasure and the life of England had been given to preserve her old allies, the Six Nations, and their dependents, the Delawares and Shawanese, from French aggression. But the savages knew whom they had to deal with, and looked at every step of the cultivator with jealousy and hate.

* Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 328. — Post's Journals show how full of jealousy the Indians were; see there also Forbes's letter, sent by him.

In 1760, the Ohio Company once more prepared to pursue their old plan, and sent to England for such orders and instructions to the Virginia government as would enable them to do so.* During the summer of that year, also, General Monkton, by a treaty at Fort Pitt, obtained leave to build posts within the wild lands, each post having ground enough about it whereon to raise corn and vegetables for the use of the garrison. † Nor, if we can credit one writer, were the settlements of the Ohio Company, and the forts, the only inroads upon the hunting-grounds of the savages ; for he says, that in 1757, by the books of the Secretary of Virginia, three millions of acres had been granted west of the mountains. Indeed, we know that in 1758 she tried by law to encourage settlements in the West; and the report of John Blair, Clerk of the Virginia Council, in 1768 or 1769, states, that most of the grants beyond the mountains were made before August, 1754. ‡ At any rate, it is clear that the Indians early began to murmur ; for, in 1762, Bouquet issued his proclamation from Fort Pitt, saying that the treaty of Easton, in 1758, secured to the red men all lands west of the mountains as hunting-grounds ; wherefore he forbids all settlements, and orders the arrest of the traders and settlers who were spreading discontent and fear among the Ohio Indians. §

But if the Ohio Indians were early ill-disposed to the English, much more was this the case among those lake tribes, who had known only the French, and were strongly attached to them ; the Ottaways, Wyandots, and Chippeways. The first visit which they received from the British was after the surrender of Vaudreuil, when Major Robert Rogers was sent to take charge of Detroit. ‖ He left Montreal on the 13th of September, 1760, and, on the 8th of October, reached Presqu'Ile, where Bouquet then commanded. Thence he went slowly up Lake Erie, having despatched by land forty bullocks as a supply, when near or at Detroit, which place he summoned to yield itself upon the 19th of November. It was, if we mistake not,

---

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 482. — *Plain Facts*, p. 120, where a letter from the Company, dated September 9th, 1761, is given.

† Dated August 20th. *Plain Facts*, pp. 55, 56.

‡ *Contest in North America, by an Impartial Hand.* p. 36. — *Secret Journals*, Vol. III. p. 187. — *Plain Facts.* Appendix.

§ *Plain Facts*, p. 56. — See Heckewelder's *Narrative*, p. 64.

‖ See his *Journal*, London, 1765. Also, his *Concise Account of North America.* London. 1765.

while waiting for an answer to this summons, that he was visited by the great Ottawa chieftain, Pontiac, who demanded how the English dared enter his country; to which the answer was given, that they came, not to take the country, but to open a free way of trade, and to put out the French, who stopped their trade. This answer, together with other moderate and kindly words, spoken by Rogers, seemed to lull the rising fears of the savages, and Pontiac promised him his protection.

Beleter, meantime, who commanded at Detroit, had not yielded; nay, word was brought to Rogers on the 24th, that his messenger had been confined, and a flag-pole erected, with a wooden head upon it, to represent Britain, on which stood a crow picking the eyes out, — as emblematic of the success of France. In a few days, however, the commander heard of the fate of the lower posts, and, as his Indians did not stand by him, on the 29th he yielded. Rogers remained at Detroit until December 23d, under the personal protection of Pontiac, to whose presence he probably owed his safety. From Detroit the Major went to the Maumee, and thence across the present State of Ohio to Fort Pitt; and his Journal of this overland trip is the first which we have of such an one in that region. His route was nearly that given by Hutchins,* in Bouquet's "Expedition," as the common one from Sandusky to the Fork of the Ohio. It went from Fort Sandusky, where Portland now is, crossed the Huron river, then called Bald Eagle Creek, to "Mohickon John's Town," upon what we know as Mohican Creek, the northern branch of White Woman's River, and thence crossed to Beaver's Town, a Delaware town on the west side of the "Maskongam Creek," opposite "a fine river," which, from Hutchins's map, we presume was Sandy Creek. At Beaver's Town were one hundred and eighty warriors, and not less than three thousand acres of cleared land. From there the track went up Sandy Creek and across to the Big Beaver, and up the Ohio, through Logstown, to Fort Pitt, which place Rogers reached January 23d, 1760, precisely one month having passed while he was upon the way.

In the spring of the year following Rogers's visit (1761), Alexander Henry, an English trader, went to Missillimacanac

* Thomas Hutchins, afterwards Geographer of the United States, was, in 1764, assistant engineer on Bouquet's expedition.

for purposes of business, and he found everywhere the strongest feeling against the English, who had done nothing by word or act to conciliate the Indians. Even then there were threats of reprisals and war. Having, by means of a Canadian dress, managed to reach Missilimacanac in safety, he was there discovered, and was waited on by an Indian chief, who was, in the opinion of Thatcher, Pontiac himself. This chief, after conveying to him the idea, that their French father would soon awake and utterly destroy his enemies, continued ;

" Englishman ! Although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us ! We are not your slaves ! These lakes, these woods, these mountains, were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance, and we will part with them to none. Your nation supposes that we, like the white people, cannot live without bread, and pork, and beef. But you ought to know that He, the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us upon these broad lakes and in these mountains."

He then spoke of the fact, that no treaty had been made with them, no presents sent them ; and while he announced their intention to allow Henry to trade unmolested, and to regard him as a brother, he declared, that with his king the red men were still at war.*

Such were the feelings of the northwestern savages immediately after the English took possession of their lands ; and these feelings were in all probability fostered and increased by the Canadians and French. Distrust of the British was general ; and, as the war between France and England still went on in other lands, there was hope among the Canadians, perhaps, that the French power might be restored in America. However this may have been, it is clear, that disaffection spread rapidly in the West, though of the details of the years from 1759 to 1763 we know hardly any thing.

Upon the 10th of February, 1763, the treaty of Paris was concluded, and peace between the European powers restored. Then once more men began to think seriously of the West. Pamphlets were published upon the advantages of settlements on the Ohio. Colonel Mercer was chosen to represent the old Company in England, and try to have their affairs made

---

* *Travels* of Alexander Henry in Canada, from 1760 to 1776. New York. 1809. — Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, Vol. II. pp. 75, *et seq.*

† Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, Vol. II. p. 86.

straight, for there were counter-claims by the soldiers who had enlisted, in 1754, under Dinwiddie's proclamation; and on all hands there were preparations for movement. But, even at that moment, there existed through the whole West a conspiracy or agreement among the Indians, from Lake Michigan to the frontiers of North Carolina, by which they were with one accord, with one spirit, to fall upon the whole line of British posts and strike every white man dead. Chippeways, Ottawas, Wyandots, Miamis, Shawanese, Delawares, and Mingoes for the time laid by their old hostile feelings, and united under Pontiac in this great enterprise. The voice of that sagacious and noble man was heard in the distant north, crying, "Why, says the Great Spirit, do you suffer these dogs in red clothing to enter your country and take the land I have given you? Drive them from it! Drive them! When you are in distress, I will help you."

That voice was heard, but not by the whites. The unsuspecting traders journeyed from village to village; the soldiers in the forts shrunk from the sun of the early summer, and dozed away the day; the frontier settler, singing in fancied security, sowed his crop, or, watching the sunset through the girdled trees, mused upon one more peaceful harvest, and told his children of the horrors of the ten years' war, now, — thank God! over. From the Alleghanies to the Mississippi the trees had leaved, and all was calm life and joy. But through that great country, even then, bands of sullen red men were journeying from the central valleys to the lakes of the Eastern hills. Bands of Chippeways gathered about Missilimacanac. Ottawas filled the woods near Detroit. The Maumee post, Presqu'Ile, Niagara, Pitt, Ligonier, and every English fort was hemmed in by mingled tribes, who felt that the great battle drew nigh which was to determine their fate and the possession of their noble lands.* At last the day came. The traders everywhere were seized, their goods taken from them, and more than one hundred of them put to death. Nine British forts yielded instantly, and the savages drank, "scooped up in the hollow of joined hands," the blood of many a Briton. The border streams of Pennsylvania and Virginia ran red again. "We hear," says a letter from Fort Pitt, "of scalping every hour." In Western Virginia, more than twenty thousand

* See Henry's *Narrative*. — Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, Vol. II. p. 83.

people were driven from their homes. Detroit was besieged by Pontiac himself, after a vain attempt to take it by stratagem; and for many months that siege was continued in a manner, and with a perseverance, unexampled among the Indians. Even a regular commissariat department was organized, and bills of credit issued. It was the 8th of May when Detroit was first attacked, and upon the 3d of the following December it was still in danger. As late as March of the next year, the inhabitants were "sleeping in their clothes, expecting an alarm every night."*

Fort Pitt was besieged also, and the garrison reduced to sad straits from want of food. This being known beyond the mountains, a quantity of provision was collected, and Colonel Bouquet was appointed to convey it to the head of the Ohio, having assigned him for the service the poor remains of two regiments, which had but lately returned from the war in Cuba. He set out toward the middle of July, and upon the 25th reached Bedford. From that post, he went forward by Forbes's road, passed Fort Ligonier, and upon the 5th of August was near Bushy Run, one of the branches of Turtle Creek, which falls into the Monongahela ten miles above Fort Pitt. Here he was attacked by the Indians, who, hearing of his approach, had gathered their forces to defeat him, and during two days the contest continued. On the 6th, the Indians, having the worst of the battle, retreated; and Bouquet, with his three hundred and forty horses, loaded with flour, reached and relieved the post at the Fork. †

It was now nearly autumn, and the confederated tribes had failed to take the three most important fortresses in the West, Detroit, Pitt, and Niagara. Many of them became disheartened; others wished to return home for the winter; others had satisfied their longing for revenge. United merely by the hope of striking and immediate success, they fell from one another when that success did not come; jealousies and old enmities came in; the league was broken; and Pontiac was left alone or with few followers.

In October, also, a step was taken by the British government, in part, for the purpose of quieting the fears and suspicions of the red men, which did much, probably, toward

* See Henry's *Narrative.* — Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, Vol. II. p. 83.

† Holmes's *Annals*, Vol. II. p. 121. — Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. Map, at p. 38.

destroying their alliance. A proclamation was issued, forbidding the grant, by any governor, of Western lands, and the purchase or settlement of those lands by individuals.* To assist the effect of this proclamation, it was determined to make two movements in the spring and summer of 1764; General Bradstreet being ordered into the country upon Lake Erie, and Bouquet into that upon the Ohio. The former moved to Niagara early in the summer, and there held a grand council with twenty or more tribes, all of whom sued for peace; and, upon the 8th of August, the army reached Detroit.† Bouquet, meanwhile, collected troops at Fort Pitt, and in the autumn marched across from Big Beaver to the upper Muskingum, and thence to the point where the White Woman's river comes into the main stream. There, upon the 9th of November, he concluded a peace with the Delawares and Shawanese, and received from them two hundred and six prisoners, eighty-one men and one hundred and twenty-five women and children. He also received, from the Shawanese, hostages for the delivery of some captives, who could not be brought to the Muskingum at that time. These hostages escaped, but the savages were of good faith, and, upon the 9th of May, 1765, the remaining whites were given up to George Croghan, the deputy of Sir William Johnson, at Fort Pitt. Many anecdotes are related in the account of the delivery of the captives to Bouquet, going to show that strong attachments had been formed between them and their captors; and West's pencil has illustrated the scene of their delivery. But we have little faith in the representations of either writer or painter.‡

Pontiac, the leading spirit in the past struggle, finding his attempts to save his country and his race at that time hopeless, left his tribe and went into the West, and for some years after was living among the Illinois, attempting, but in vain, to bring about a new union and new war. He was in the end killed by a Peoria Indian. So far as we can form a judg-

* *Land Laws*, p. 84. — Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 374.

† Henry's *Narrative*. Henry was with Bradstreet.

‡ "An Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians in the year 1764, under the Command of Henry Bouquet, Esquire, &c. Published from Authentic Documents, by a Lover of his Country. London, 1766." This volume was first printed in Philadelphia. It was erroneously referred to by us (*North American Review*, Vol. XLVII., p. 14), as by Bouquet.

ment of this chieftain, he was, in point of talent, nobleness of spirit, honor, and devotion, the superior of any red man of whom we have any account. His plan of extermination was most masterly; his execution of it equal to its conception. But for the treachery of one of his followers, he would have taken Detroit early in May. His whole force might then have been directed in one mass, first upon Niagara, and then upon Pitt, and in all probability both posts would have fallen.* Even disappointed as he was at Detroit, had the Six Nations, with their dependent allies, the Delawares and Shawanese, been true to him, the British might have been long kept beyond the mountains; but the Iroquois, — close upon the colonies, old allies of England, and under the influence of Sir William Johnson as they were, and disposed, as they ever proved themselves, to claim and sell, but not to defend the West, — were for peace after the King's proclamation. Indeed, the Mohawks and leading tribes were from the first with the British; so that, after the success of Bradstreet and Bouquet, there was no difficulty in concluding a treaty with all the Western Indians; and late in April, 1765, Sir William Johnson, at the German Flats, held a conference with the various nations, and settled a definite peace.† At this meeting two propositions were made; the one to fix some boundary line, west of which the Europeans should not go; and the savages named, as this line, the Ohio or Alleghany and Susquehannah; but no definite agreement was made, Johnson not being empowered to act. The other proposal was, that the Indians should grant to the traders, who had suffered in 1763, a tract of land in compensation for the injuries then done them, and to this the red men agreed.‡

With the returning deputies of the Shawanese and Delawares, George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's sub-commissioner, went to the West for the purpose of visiting the more distant tribes, and securing, so far as it could be done, the allegiance of the French who were scattered through the western valleys, and who were stirring up the savages to warfare, as it was believed. The Journal of his voyage may be found in the Appendix to Butler's "History of Kentucky" (2d edition), together with his estimate of the number of In-

* Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, Vol. II. Our knowledge of Pontiac and his war is very limited. We hope something more may come to light yet.

† *Plain Facts*, p. 60.

‡ *Ibid.* — Butler's *History of Kentucky*. 2d Ed. p. 479, *et seq.*

dians in the West ; a very curious and valuable table, though, of course, vague and inaccurate.

So stood matters in the West during this year, 1765. All beyond the Alleghanies, with the exception of a few forts, was a wilderness until the Wabash was reached, where dwelt a few miserable French, with some fellow-vagabonds* not far from them upon the Illinois and Kaskaskia. The Indians, a few years since undisputed owners of the prairies and broad vales, now held them by sufferance, having been twice conquered by the arms of England. They, of course, felt both hatred and fear ; and, while they despaired of saving their lands, and looked forward to unknown evils, the deepest and most abiding spirit of revenge was roused within them. They had seen the British coming to take their hunting-grounds upon the strength of a treaty which they knew not of. They had been forced to admit British troops into their country ; and, though now nominally protected from settlers, that promised protection would be but an incentive to passion, in case it was not in good faith extended to them.

And it was not in good faith extended to them by either individuals or governments. During the very year that succeeded the treaty of German Flats, settlers crossed the mountains and took possession of lands in western Virginia, and along the Monongahela. The Indians, having received no pay for these lands, murmured, and once more a border war was feared. General Gage, commander of the King's forces, was applied to, probably through Sir William Johnson, and issued his orders for the removal of the settlers ; but they defied his commands and his power, and remained where they were.† And not only were frontier men thus passing the line tacitly agreed on, but Sir William himself was even then meditating a step which would have produced, had it been taken, a general Indian war again. This was the purchase and settlement of an immense tract south of the Ohio River, where an independent colony was to be formed. How early this plan was conceived we do not learn, but, from Franklin's letters, we find that it was in contemplation in the spring of 1766.‡ At that time Franklin was in London, and was written to by his son, Governor Franklin of New Jersey, with regard to the proposed colony. The plan seems to have been, to buy

* Croghan's *Journal*, and those of all travellers of that time, so represent them.

† *Plain Facts*, p. 65. ‡ Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 233, *et seq.*

of the Six Nations the lands south of the Ohio, a purchase which it was not doubted Sir William might make, and then to procure from the King a grant of as much territory as the Company, which it was intended to form, would require. Governor Franklin, accordingly, forwarded to his father an application for a grant, together with a letter from Sir William, recommending the plan to the ministry; all of which was duly communicated to the proper department. But at that time there were various interests bearing upon this plan of Franklin. The old Ohio Company was still suing, through its agent, Colonel George Mercer, for a perfection of the original grant. The soldiers claiming under Dinwiddie's proclamation had their tale of rights and grievances. Individuals, to whom grants had been made by Virginia, wished them completed. General Lyman, from Connecticut we believe, was soliciting a new grant similar to that now asked by Franklin; and the ministers themselves were divided as to the policy and propriety of establishing any settlements so far in the interior, — Shelburne being in favor of the new colony, Hillsborough opposed to it.

The Company was organized, however, and the nominally leading man therein being Mr. Thomas Walpole, a London banker of eminence, it was known as the Walpole Company. Franklin continued privately to make friends among the ministry, and to press upon them the policy of making large settlements in the West; and, as the old way of managing the Indians by superintendents was just then in bad odor in consequence of the expense attending it, the cabinet council so far approved the new plan as to present it for examination to the Board of Trade, with members of which Franklin had also been privately conversing.

This was in the autumn of 1767. But, before any conclusion was come to, it was necessary to arrange definitely that boundary line, which had been vaguely talked of in 1765, and with respect to which Sir William Johnson had written to the ministry, who had mislaid his letters, and given him no instructions. The necessity of arranging this boundary was also kept in mind by the continued and growing irritation of the Indians, who found themselves invaded from every side. This irritation became so great during the autumn of 1767, that Gage wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania on the subject. The Governor communicated his letter to the Assembly on the 5th of January, 1768, and representations were at once sent to

England, expressing the necessity of having the Indian line fixed. Franklin, the father, all this time, was urging the same necessity upon the ministers in England; and about Christmas of 1767, Sir William's letters on the subject having been found, orders were sent him to complete the proposed purchase from the Six Nations, and settle all differences. But the project for a colony was for the time dropped, a new administration coming in which was not that way disposed.

Sir William Johnson having received, early in the spring, the orders from England relative to a new treaty with the Indians, at once took steps to secure a full attendance.* Notice was given to the various colonial governments, to the Six Nations, the Delawares, and the Shawanese, and a Congress was appointed to meet at Fort Stanwix during the following October. It met upon the 24th of that month, and was attended by representatives from New Jersey, Virginia, and Pennsylvania; by Sir William and his deputies; by the agents of those traders who had suffered in the war of 1763; and by deputies from all of the Six Nations, the Delawares, and the Shawanese. The first point to be settled was the boundary line which was to determine the Indian lands of the West from that time forward; and this line the Indians, upon the 1st of November, stated should begin on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Cherokee (or Tennessee) river; thence go up the Ohio and Alleghany to Kittaning; thence across to the Susquehannah, &c.; whereby the whole country south of the Ohio and Alleghany, *to which the Six Nations had any claim*, was transferred to the British. One deed, for a part of this land, was made on the 3d of November to William Trent, attorney for twenty-two traders, whose goods had been destroyed by the Indians in 1763. The tract conveyed by this was between the Kenhawa and Monongahela, and was by the traders named Indiana. Two days afterward, a deed for the remaining western lands was made to the King, and the price agreed on paid down.† These deeds were made upon the express agreement, that no claim should ever be based upon previous treaties, those of Lancaster, Logstown, &c.; and they were signed by the chiefs of the Six Nations, for

* For an account of this long-lost treaty see *Plain Facts*, pp. 65—104, or Butler's *Kentucky*. 2d Edition. pp. 472—488.

† There were also given two deeds, of lands in the interior of Pennsylvania, one to Croghan, and the other to the proprietaries of that colony.

themselves, their allies and dependents, the Shawanese, Delawares, Mingoes of Ohio, and others; but the Shawanese and Delaware deputies present did not sign them.

Such was the treaty of Stanwix, whereon rests the title by purchase to Kentucky, western Virginia, and Pennsylvania. It was a better foundation, perhaps, than that given by previous treaties, but was essentially worthless; for the lands conveyed were not occupied or hunted on by those conveying them. In truth, we cannot doubt that this immense grant was obtained by the influence of Sir William Johnson, in order that the new colony, of which he was to be governor, might be founded there. The fact, that such an extent of country was ceded voluntarily, — not after a war, not by hard persuasion, but at once and willingly, — satisfies us that the whole affair had been previously settled with the New York savages, and that the Ohio Indians had no voice in the matter.

But the grant was made. The white man could now quiet his conscience when driving the native from his forest home, and feel sure that an army would back his pretensions. A new company was at once organized in Virginia, called the "Mississippi Company," and a petition sent to the King for two millions and a half of acres in the West. Among the signers of this were Francis Lightfoot Lee, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, and Arthur Lee. The gentleman last named was the agent for the petitioners in England. This application was referred to the Board of Trade on the 9th of March, 1769, and after that we hear nothing of it.*

Meantime more than one bold man had ventured for a little while into the beautiful valleys of Kentucky, and, on the 1st of May, 1769, there was one going forth from his "peaceable habitation on the Yadkin river in North Carolina," whose name has since gone far and wide over this little planet of ours, he having become the type of his class. This was Daniel Boone. He crossed the mountains, and spent that summer and the next winter in the West.† But, while he was rejoicing in the abundance of buffalo, deer, and turkeys among the cane-brakes, longer heads were meditating still that new colony, the plan of which had been lying in silence

* *Plain Facts*, p. 69. — Butler's *Kentucky*, p. 475.

† Boone's *Narrative*, which may be found in Carey's *Museum*, Vol. II. p. 324.

for two years and more. The Board of Trade was again called on to report upon the application, and Lord Hillsborough, the President, reported against it. This called out Franklin's celebrated "Ohio Settlement," a paper written with so much ability, that the King's Council put by the official report, and granted the petition, a step which mortified the noble lord so much that he resigned his official station.* The petition now needed only the royal sanction, which was not given until August 14th, 1772; but in 1770, the Ohio Company was merged in Walpole's, and, the claims of the soldiers of 1756 being acknowledged both by the new Company and by government, all claims were quieted. Nothing was ever done, however, under the grant to Walpole, the Revolution soon coming upon America.† After the Revolution, Mr. Walpole and his associates petitioned Congress respecting their lands, called by them "Vandalia," but could get no help from that body. What was finally done by Virginia with the claims of this and other companies, we do not find written, but presume their lands were all looked on as forfeited.

During the years in which Franklin, Pownall, and their friends, were trying to get the great western land company into operation, actual settlers were crossing the mountains all too rapidly; for the Ohio Indians "viewed the settlements with an uneasy and jealous eye," and did "not scruple to say, that they must be compensated for their right, if people settled thereon notwithstanding the cession by the Six Nations."‡ It has been said, also, that Lord Dunmore, then governor of Virginia, authorized surveys and settlements on the western lands, notwithstanding the proclamation of 1763; but Mr. Sparks gives us a letter from him, in which this is expressly denied.§ However, surveyors did go down even to the Falls of the Ohio, and the whole region south of the Ohio was filling with white men. The futility of the Fort Stanwix treaty, and the ignorance or contempt of it by the fierce Shawanese, are well seen in the meeting between them and Bullitt, one of the early emigrants, in 1773.‖ Bullitt, on his way down

* Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. IV. p. 302.

† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 483, *et seq.* — *Plain Facts*, p. 149.

‡ Washington's "Journal to the West, in 1770." Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. p. 531.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

‖ Butler's *Kentucky*, p. 20.

the Ohio, stopped, and singly sought the savages at one of their towns. He then told them of his proposed settlement, and his wish to live at peace with them; and said, that, as they had received nothing under the treaty of 1768, it was intended to make them presents the next year. The Indians considered the talk of the Long Knife, and the next day agreed to his proposed settlement, provided he did not *disturb them in their hunting south of the Ohio;* a provision wholly inconsistent with the Stanwix deed.

Among the foremost speculators in western lands at that time was George Washington. He had always regarded the proclamation of 1763 as a mere temporary expedient to quiet the savages, and, being better acquainted with the value of western lands than most of those who could command means, he early began to buy beyond the mountains. His agent in selecting lands was Crawford, afterwards burnt by the Ohio Indians. In September, 1767, we find Washington writing to Crawford on this subject, and looking forward to the occupation of the western territory; and in 1773, being entitled, under the King's proclamation of 1763, (which gave a bounty to officers and soldiers who had served in the old French war,) to ten thousand acres of land, he became deeply interested in the country beyond the mountains, and had some correspondence respecting the importation of settlers from Europe. Indeed, had not the Revolutionary war been just then on the eve of breaking out, Washington would in all probability have become the leading settler of the West, and all our history been changed.*

But though that Revolution retained him east of the mountains, it did not come quick enough to prevent such preparations for strong settlements in the West, while yet nominally British, as secured a population there when America cast off her allegiance. And here again we see the adaptation that exists in human affairs; for, had there been no western settlements when the war began in earnest, the power of Britain operating from Canada, in connexion with the whole body of Indians, must have changed, and might have materially changed, the event of that strife. No human being knows how far the struggles of Boone, Logan, and their companions, together with the genius of Clark, affected the issue of the

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. II. pp. 346 — 387.

Revolution ; but it is clear, that their influence on it was not slight.

And these frontier men, during the years from 1769 to 1774, were quietly passing into the rich valleys of Kentucky, and scouring her woods for game. The Indians saw "the pen," in which, as Teedyuscung said, they were crowded, growing more and more narrow. Their hunting-grounds were the hunting-grounds of the whites, and even their homes were scarce sacred from the European's claims. Settlers were swarming upon the Wabash.* Nor was this all ; for, as the emigrants became stronger, they became bolder, and the red men were insulted by them. And so wrong followed wrong. The savages stole the horses of the settlers, and the settlers took vengeance as they could. A white family was murdered, and their fellow-whites fell upon the nearest native town, and destroyed it, careless if its indwellers were guilty or innocent. These things were known, and the savages became jealous and angry. Parties collected, and war was threatened. The whites kept even pace with their foes in hatred, and far outdid them in treachery. The well-known murders on the Ohio, near Yellow and Captina creeks, took place. Logan's family was destroyed, and this old friend of the whites was made their deadly foe. Next fell the traders who were among the Indians, and the revenge wreaked upon them spoke of long-smothered and now desperate passion. One, who was killed near the town of White Eyes, the peace-chief of the Muskingum Delawares, was cut in pieces, and his remains hung upon the bushes. The Delaware went out, collected, and buried them ; but the next day they were disinterred, and scattered far and wide. White Eyes, however, again collected them, and in a secret place gave them burial.

War was now fully declared ; and the Senecas, led on by Logan, with the Shawanese, headed by Comstock, poured down upon the settlements of western Virginia, with all the ferocity of wild men whose passions were fully up, and who felt their cause to be a just one. For a few months the contest was most bloody. But the Virginians were now comparatively at home in the West ; and troops were soon mustered and led to the Kenhawa. At the mouth of this river, in October, 1774, was fought the well-known battle of Point Pleas-

* See Gage's Proclamation, April 8th, 1772, in *Land Laws*, Appendix.

ant, described by every writer on Western history, and even given at some length by Mr. Stone in his "Life of Brant"; in consideration of which we omit all details of it, and also of the march by Lord Dunmore and General Lewis, through Ohio, upon the Scioto towns. There was held the treaty, at which Logan's famous speech was made; and there Comstock, one of the most fearless and masterly red men of whom we have any record, submitted to the power of the whites.

This war of 1774, known sometimes as Logan's war, sometimes as Dunmore's, was the last conflict of the British with the Western Indians; for, even while Dunmore was marching into the western country, he was doubting the stability of the British power in America, and probably hastened on a peace with the savages because he saw the necessity of a quick return to the seacoast. The peace made by him, however, did not prevent the Shawanese of the Miami valley from waging war upon the Kentucky settlers. In truth, from the spring of 1774 to the peace of Wayne in August, 1795, there was not any cessation in the warfare between the whites and the Indians. Lord Dunmore, it is true, states his treaty with the Shawanese to have contained an agreement on their part not to hunt south of the Ohio; but, unluckily, this was made in the valley of the Scioto and not that of the Miami, where dwelt no small part of the nation.* We have not followed, and do not care to follow, the first wanderers in Kentucky through their perils and adventures, though there is much of interest in them. The first house built by the white man in that region was not erected until two months after the battle of Lexington;† and, as we do not propose to carry this sketch beyond the opening of the Revolution, the settlement of the lands south of the Ohio does not now come within our reach. But, some time before Dunmore's war, there had been a settlement made north of the Ohio, which we cannot omit to speak of, though so isolated was it in its purposes and character, that we have thus far said nothing of it.

Our readers will remember the bold and calm Moravian, Christian Frederick Post, who journeyed to the Big Beaver

* See as to Dunmore's war, Doddridge, Heckewelder's *Narrative*, Butler's *Kentucky*, Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, Virginia *Gazette*, 1775, referred to by Butler.

† Butler's *Kentucky*, p. 28.

Creek in 1758, and won the Delawares to peace. This same man, in 1761, thinking the true faith might be planted among those western tribes, journeyed out to the Muskingum, and, upon the banks of that stream, about a mile from Beaver's Town, built himself a house.* The next season, that is, in the spring of 1762, he again crossed the mountains in company with the well-known Heckewelder, who went out as his assistant. The Indians having consented to his living among them, and teaching their children to read and write, Post prepared to clear a few acres whereon to raise corn. The chiefs hearing of this called him to them, and said they feared he had changed his mind, for, instead of teaching their children, he was clearing land ; which if he did, others might do, and then a fort be built to protect them, and then the land claimed, and they be driven off, as had always, they said, been the case. Post replied, that a teacher must live, and, as he did not wish to be a burden on them, he proposed to raise his own food. This reply the Indians considered, and told him, that, as he claimed to be a minister of God, just as the French priests did, and as these latter looked fat and comely though they did not raise corn, it was probable that the Great Spirit would take care of him as he did of them, if he wished him to be his minister ; so they could only give him a garden spot. This Captain Pipe stepped off for him, and with this he had to shift as well as he could.

These proceedings were in 1762, and while they show the perfect perception which the Indians had of their dangers, and of the English tactics, explain most clearly the causes of the next year's war.

Post continued to till his little garden spot and teach his Indian disciples through the summer of 1762, and in the autumn accompanied King Beaver to Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, where a fruitless treaty was concluded with the whites. Returning from this treaty in October, he met Heckewelder, who had been warned by his red friends to leave the country before war came, and was forced back upon the settlements.

From this time until the autumn of 1767, no Moravians visited the West. Then, and in the following spring, Zeisberger went to the Alleghany, and there established a mission, against the will, however, of the greater part of the savages,

* Heckewelder's *Narrative*, p. 59.

who saw nothing but evil in the white man's eye.* The fruits would not ripen, the deer would not stay, they said, where the white man came. But Zeisberger's was a fearless soul, and he worked on, despite threats and plots against his life; and not only held his place, but even converted some of the leading Indians. Among these was one who had come from the Big Beaver, for the purpose of refuting the Moravians; and, this man being influential, the missionaries were in 1770 invited to come to the Big Beaver, whither they went in April of that year, settling about twenty miles from its mouth. Nor did the kindness of the Indians stop here. The Delawares of the Muskingum, remembering perhaps what Post had done among them ten years before, invited the Christian Indians of Pennsylvania to come and live on their river; and, in this invitation the Wyandots joined. The proposition was long considered, and at last agreed to; and, on the 3d of May, 1772, Zeisberger, with twenty-seven of his native disciples, founded Shoenbrun, upon the Muskingum, — the first true Christian settlement made within the present State of Ohio, and the beginning of that which was destroyed by the frontier men ten years afterward, in so cruel and cowardly a manner. To this settlement, in the course of the next year, the Christian Indians of the Susquehannah, and those of the Big Beaver, removed. Though endangered by the war of 1774, it was not injured, and, when our Revolution began, was the only point beyond Pittsburg where the English were dwelling and laboring.

And here we must close this meagre and dim outline of the history of the Ohio valley. We have attempted little else than a sketch of those events which were connected with that valley, because of Louisiana and Canada we have histories and annals, but of the course of things in the Ohio country, no continuous record whatever. Let us now, for a moment, look back and glance at the events already spoken of.

From 1670 to 1750, the French were silently founding their towns in the West, unsuspected and unopposed by the natives. A few English traders were straying into the country, and the Indian tribes heard of proposals to settle their lands, on the part of the British; while the Iroquois, claim-

* Heckewelder's *Narrative*, p. 98.

ing the whole Ohio valley, but occupying only a very small part of it, had, previous to the year 1750, been by degrees becoming familiarized to the idea of selling those claimed lands to the white men, to whom, by the treaty of 1744, they did actually sell some of them. About 1750, the Indians found their homes about to be invaded by both English and French. Hoping to prevent the evils apprehended, they first (1752) called on the English to keep out the French, and then were persuaded to join the French (1755). The war followed (1756). The French were driven out (1758); and the English built forts in the Indian country to defend them from the return of their late allies (1760). By 1762, settlers began to annoy and alarm the natives, who feared the English wanted rather to have their lands, than to defend them; and they made a gigantic effort to free themselves from their oppressors (1763). They were conquered (1764), and more English were put among them, though their lands were guarantied to them (1765). In a few years those lands were once more invaded, and another war threatened (1766, 1767). Then the hunting-grounds of the Shawanese, Delawares, and Miamis were bought of the Iroquois (1768), and whites began to flock into them, against the protests of the occupants (1770, &c.). These whites injured the savages (1773). Once again war came (1774), and once again the savages were conquered (1774). There we leave the parties; the Indians overcome, but full of hate, and jealousy, and a determination to defend their rights; the Europeans claiming that beautiful country under fraudulent and void deeds, and holding it by the right of might.

Against the French the English had no claim, save as defenders of the Indians under the old deed of the Six Nations. Against the Indians they had no claim at all. The simple truth with respect to the British possessions in the West, in 1775, was this; that Britain had conquered France, and had conquered the Indians, and had, to what territory she occupied, the right of conquest, and no other.

ART. IV. — *Manuel du Graveur, ou Traité Complet de l'Art de la Gravure en tous Genres, d'après les Renseignemens fournis par plusieurs Artistes, et rédigé* par A. M. PERROT, Membre de l'Athénée des Arts, de la Société Philotechnique, de celle de Géographie, de la Société d'Agronomie Pratique, etc. Paris. 1830. 12mo. pp. 255.

IT is nearly four centuries since the art of Engraving was discovered, and a steady improvement may be discerned from that time up to the present day. The nineteenth century is rich in the productions of this beautiful branch of the fine arts. From every civilized land volumes are annually poured forth, illustrated and adorned in a manner which does indeed make antiquity appear rude. Men of genius are devoting themselves to the practice of the art, and do not disdain to perpetuate and spread over the world, by the burine, the inspired design which their pencil has traced. The noble works of the great masters are now no longer the exclusive property of a single spot, or a few individuals. They are given to the world, literally published for the benefit of society, and sent abroad into every land, to delight the taste and to inspire the genius of all nations.

The art of engraving is not, indeed, to be ranked on a level with that of painting. The conception of a piece, the sentiment, moral, or event to be represented, the grouping of the figures, the imagination of forms and countenances, all that belongs to creative power, is displayed in the original design. But still there is left a work for the engraver, demanding a high order of talent. How laborious, delicate, and minute is his labor; how fine, how almost imperceptible, are the millions of strokes, to which the finest hair seems coarse; how infinite the gradation from the deep and dark shadows to the delicate touch, on which the ink is to be laid so sparingly that the black shall literally appear white! And yet how bold and decided must his touch be; life, and even a glow of fire, all the varied expressions of the "human face divine," all the spirit that can light up the most gorgeous painting, must be transmitted through the graver. And more than this. The engraver is often called upon to improve upon his copy; to give, perhaps, to the rude, hard

outline of ancient and imperfect drawing the roundness, grace, and fire of life ; to supply strength and boldness, to give dignity and sentiment, to inspire the quaintness of ancient art with the grace of a better period, and at the same time to preserve the Gothic and sublime simplicity of the original. In addition to this, in most of the copies which engravers are called upon to make, they are obliged to diminish very greatly the size of the piece. And, in doing this, they must not only give a much greater degree of delicacy to the work, and devote much more time to minute detail, but they must carefully preserve the original proportions of the piece.

Finally, the engraver must, merely by the management of his lines, convey, in some degree at least, the idea of color. For engraving seems, in this respect, to be the point of meeting between painting and sculpture. It does not exclude the idea of color, like statuary, which consults form alone. It does not, like painting, give the detail of color. Yet it must convey the notion of different hues, because otherwise no small portion of its purposes would be unfulfilled. The variety of subjects is much greater for engraving than for sculpture. It is intended to represent familiar and domestic scenes. It is not confined to austere and dignified representations. It enters into every sphere of life, every occupation, from the splendid dramas of the palace and the gorgeous array of the church, to the interior of the hovel, the ale-house, and the stable. To exclude the idea of color from such representations would destroy the effect. Yet this can be conveyed in engravings only by implication or suggestion ; by so managing the width and direction of the lines, that we suppose one color to be represented in one place, another in another place, and so on. This power of the art is remarkably displayed in engravings of landscapes, in which the various hues of nature may be readily suggested to the imagination. All the varieties of foliage, even blossoms and flowers, the clear stream or lake reflecting the heavens, the gleam of the parting sun upon the waters, even the gorgeous drapery of the sunset sky, may be pictured by this charming art.

In speaking of the power of engraving, we must not omit to notice its beautiful adaptation to imitate that most difficult branch of painting, the representation of flesh-color. Here engraving seems to achieve its highest triumph. Every

variety of the appearance of flesh, the beautiful smoothness and delicacy of youth, the rough and wrinkled look of age, the hard and weather-worn visage of the seaman, the bright glow of childhood, and the softness of infancy, may be all conveyed by the engraver with scarcely less distinctness than in the finished painting.

Another very important and difficult office of the art is to convey, in the copies from paintings, a correct idea of the style of each great master; for the capacities of the art undoubtedly are sufficient for this purpose. In effecting this important object, it is obvious, that the engraver must be more than a mere copyist. It is not enough to imitate the outline and the shading, to preserve on a smaller scale the just proportions of the original, to convey a notion of the coloring, to give the same expression to countenances, and the same finish to all the detail. A higher order of talent is required in the engraver. He must be able to comprehend and appreciate the genius of the master, whose work is before him. He must understand the feelings which inspired him at the moment when he was pouring out his soul upon the canvass. He must know the enthusiasm that stirred him up, the profound sentiment that filled his heart, the devotion, piety, and ardor, with which he applied himself to the work. He must catch a spark of that heavenly flame, which burned in the soul of the great artist, and kindled into life the portraiture upon his canvass. In this way alone can he give to his work that nameless and ethereal charm, which, more than any thing else, distinguishes the works of genius.

These are some of the leading characteristics of the art of engraving; an art, which we consider perfect in its kind, that is, accomplishing all the objects which it professes to undertake, as completely as any of the fine arts. The editor of Horace Walpole's "Catalogue of Engravers" remarks, that "want of coloring is the capital deficience of prints." But we think he is entirely mistaken in this respect. Engravings, as we have endeavoured to show, do possess the property of coloring by suggestion, and this is one of the distinguishing beauties of the art. To color a fine engraving, which is fully finished with all the depth and variety of shading, seems to us little less barbarous than to paint a fine statue.

Though wood engraving is very different from copperplate, it seems worth while to notice it in treating of this sub-

ject, as it has recently become an object of considerable attention, and has undergone great improvement. Wood engraving is much like printing, the figures being raised from the surface like those on printers' types. In this respect, it is exactly opposite to engraving on copper or steel, and it was in use a considerable time before the process of taking impressions from copper plates was discovered. It has been asserted, that a series of drawings, representing the exploits of Alexander, were designed and executed in wood by Alessandro Cunio and his twin sister, in the latter part of the thirteenth century. But this has been disputed. It is certain, however, that the art was practised a few years later, as there is a print from a wood-cut in the possession of Earl Spencer, representing St. Christopher, and bearing the date of 1423.

The discovery of the art of engraving on metal, for the purpose of making impressions on paper, is generally ascribed to Finiguerra, a goldsmith of Florence. He excelled in an art, then much practised in Florence, called *niello*. It was the custom with jewellers, in those times, to engrave the outlines of Scripture subjects upon the vessels which they made for the use of the church. When this engraving was completed, they filled the lines with a black substance composed of a mixture of lead and silver, in solution with borax and sulphur ; and impressions were taken from this in clay or sulphur. The black substance used was called *niello ;* and hence the name of the art. The same process was also used when pieces of armour, household plate, and other articles were engraved for the purpose of being inlaid with metals, wood, or ivory. Painters were employed to make designs for this kind of engraving, and impressions were taken in clay or sulphur, both for the convenience of the artist as he proceeded in his work, and for distribution among his friends. It occurred to Finiguerra, that the impression might be made on paper instead of clay ; and he proceeded to make the experiment, wetting the paper and applying it gently with a roller. Impressions are still preserved in some of the museums of Italy, taken upon paper, and easily recognised by the inscriptions being reversed ; and the Abbé Zani discovered at the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, in 1803, a print entitled " The first impression from an engraving by Maso

Finiguerra in 1452." Some Italian writers, with considerable show of reason, place the epoch of Finiguerra's invention as early as 1440, or a short time before.

German writers claim the honor of the invention for a citizen of Antwerp, Martin Schoengaur, asserting that he practised the art before Finiguerra. It seems probable, that it appeared nearly simultaneously in both countries. The earliest distinguished engravers after the discovery of the art, however, were Italians.

It does not appear, that Finiguerra pursued his invention any further than to take impressions on paper instead of clay. A contemporary, of the same profession and city, Baccio Baldini, improved upon the invention by engraving on plates for the express purpose of taking impressions. He was greatly assisted by a distinguished painter, Antonio Pollajuolo, who furnished him with designs for his engravings, and also by another artist, Sandro Botticelli, who made a set of drawings, from which Baldini engraved plates for an edition of Dante, published in 1488, and supposed to be the first book ever embellished with copperplate engravings; though this notion has been proved false by a German writer.

The works of Baldini attracted the attention of a Roman engraver, Andrea Mantegna, who had already become distinguished as one of the most successful of the *niellatori*. This artist not only assisted Baldini with original designs, but also turned his own efforts to the promotion of the newly-discovered art, in which he soon became a proficient. Roscoe says of him, that his prints display considerable power of invention and expression of character, even bordering upon grace and elegance. The drawing is generally correct, and sometimes exhibits great freedom and spirit. His engravings are distinguished by the shadows being formed by diagonal lines, not crossed as in more recent prints.

In our notice of the early days of the art, we must not omit mentioning Albert Durer, one of the earliest Dutch engravers. Some knowledge of the art seems to have been previously possessed in Holland by Martin Schoengauer, who is thought by some German writers, as we have seen, to have invented it, and who was certainly a contemporary of Finiguerra. The works of Martin, and his disciple Wolgemuth, inspired the genius of Albert Durer, who did much for the improvement of the art, excelling equally on copper and on

wood. Among his most famous works are portraits of the Emperor Maximilian; of Albert, Elector of Mentz; of Philip Melancthon; a full length of Erasmus, who is represented standing at a desk, writing; a head of Ulric Vambuler, of the size of life; and a portrait of himself. He also executed a series of engravings on wood, thirty-six in number, representing scenes from the life of our Saviour.

We have mentioned these prints, because they exercised an important influence on the career of a young Italian, who was now successfully cultivating the same art, and who was destined to carry it to a much higher degree of excellence. Marc-Antonio Raimondi was born at Bologna, and studied the art of painting with Francesco Francia. He was early distinguished for his works in *niello*, but seems to have made no attempts at regular engraving until his attention was directed to it by accident. Having taken a journey to Venice, he saw for sale the set of prints, by Albert Durer, representing the life of our Saviour. These prints were held in high estimation, and sold at a very great price; but the young artist was so much tempted by them, that he could not refrain from the purchase, though it completely exhausted his funds. In order to repair his fortunes, he immediately began to make copies of Durer's pieces, which he executed with so much success in copper, that he was able to sell them in Venice, as originals by Durer. The latter, as Vasari tells the story, in his "Lives of Painters," on hearing of the fraud, immediately repaired to Venice, and complained to the Senate of the injury; but obtained no other satisfaction, than a decree forbidding Marc-Antonio from affixing to his prints the name or emblem of Durer.

From Venice, Marc-Antonio went to Rome, where he had the good fortune to become acquainted with Raphael, who was then residing there. Having made an engraving from Raphael's Lucretia, he caused it to be shown to the artist, who immediately perceived the great advantage which he should enjoy by means of this invention, in having his works spread over the world; and from this time Antonio found his chief occupation in copying the works of this great master, receiving from him many useful hints and directions, so that the art was greatly improved by his labors. His reputation was soon established throughout Italy, and his school was resorted to by numerous disciples; among whom were Marco da Ravenna, Agostino Veneziano, and Giulio Bonasone, who

were almost as accomplished and successful as their teacher, and did much to improve the taste of Europe.

The art was thus firmly established in Italy and in Holland. The first kind which was practised was the *line engraving*, as would naturally be supposed, when we remember the origin of the invention. And it is worthy of note, that, although many other ways have been adopted for cutting the copper, the earliest method is still used for the most costly and elaborate works. A short account of the different modes of engraving may not be uninteresting to our readers.

The principal instruments, used for line engraving, are the *graver*, the *scraper*, the *burnisher*, and the *steel point*. The *graver* is a piece of hardened steel, four or five inches long, having four sides, and varying from three sixteenths to one sixteenth of an inch in thickness, the sides forming a right or acute angle according as the lines are to be cut bold or delicate, and is cut off obliquely at the end to give a sharp point at one of the corners. The handle is of wood, or cork, shaped somewhat like the handle of a common screw-driver, but much shorter. The *scraper* is a long, triangular piece of steel, regularly diminishing from the handle to the point. The three edges are kept sharp by rubbing them on an oil-stone, and are used for removing the *burr*, or roughness occasioned by cutting the plate with the graver, and also for erasing erroneous lines. The third instrument is the *burnisher*, which is a hard, round, and highly polished piece of steel, used for rubbing out any little dots or scratches which occur in the copper. The *steel point*, set in a wooden handle, is also used for etching, and for some of the delicate work, technically called *dry-pointing*, which the graver could not so well be made to perform.

The present usual process for line engraving is as follows. The plate, being properly prepared, the work is commenced by what is called *etching*, which is thus performed. The plate is covered with a thin ground or varnish, composed of asphaltum, gum mastic, and virgin wax. If an outline in pencil is to be transferred to the plate, the pencil outline is laid carefully upon a clean paper, and thoroughly sponged with water upon the back, and then placed between damp sheets of paper for a few moments. The outline is then again sponged in a similar manner; and this is repeated until the paper becomes completely saturated with water. It is then laid upon the plate

on which the ground is, and rolled through a plate press; and an inverted pencil outline is thus produced upon the plate. If the drawing is traced, it is done either with a pencil upon transparent paper, and then transferred as above, or upon tracing-paper with the point; which tracing-paper, after tracing, is rubbed with red chalk, then laid upon the plate, and the tracing lightly gone over with the point; thus producing upon the plate an inverted outline in red chalk. Different kinds of tracing-paper are used for these different processes. The outlines, and such parts as require freedom and irregularity of line, and the main lines of the dark drapery, &c., are then marked through the ground, care being taken that every line shall penetrate to the copper. The edges of the plate are then surmounted by a high border of wax, closely fitted, and a dilution of the best spirits of *aqua fortis* and water is poured over the whole. The acid of course reaches the metal wherever lines have been drawn through the wax, and the bubbles of air produced by the chemical action, together with the saturated portions of the metal, are brushed away with a feather. For biting steel several other kinds of acid are used; for very soft steel, powdered corrosive sublimate and alum, dissolved in water; for hard steel, nitric acid diluted, the plate, before the acid is applied, being washed with a decoction of nut-gall. When the action of the acid has been continued long enough, the liquid is poured off, and the operator examines his work carefully. If he finds that the desired effect has been produced in the lines drawn, he fills them up, or, in the technical language, they are *stopped out*. The *biting*, or action of the acid, is then continued for the deeper shades, which are afterwards stopped out, and so on. When the work is completed, the varnish is cleaned off, the plate washed with oil of turpentine, and any deficiencies are remedied with the graver. The plate is then finished with the graver and the dry-point, and by *rebiting*, which last is done by laying a ground upon the surface of the plate, so as that it shall not penetrate the lines, and then biting as before, or washing on the acid where any part is wished darker. From this description, it may be seen how much of the beauty of the work depends upon the skill of the artist in using the graver. Indeed, this instrument seems to possess scarcely less power than the pencil or the chisel. Within its compass are contained

all that art can convey of delicacy, grace, beauty, and power.

This practice of etching must have been very early adopted, as it is extremely probable that acid was used by the manufacturers of swords and other warlike implements, in decorating blades and other weapons, before the invention of engraving on copper ; and its adaptation to this purpose would have been readily perceived. The merit of inventing etching was claimed by an Italian artist, Parmegiano ; but it is ascertained, that it was earlier practised by Albert Durer, from some prints by that artist, bearing the dates of 1518 and 1524.

For letter, map, and plan engraving, the process is as follows. The plate, being carefully prepared to receive the cutting, is warmed sufficiently to melt white wax, with a thin coating of which it is then covered. The outline of the drawing is then traced upon paper with a black-lead pencil, and laid, the pencilled side downward, upon the wax, and the back gently rubbed with the burnisher ; by which process the drawing is transferred to the wax. The engraver is thus guided in making the outline of the design on the copper, which he does by means of the point above mentioned, penetrating through the wax, and marking distinctly on the plate, or by cutting directly through the wax with the graver. The wax is then wiped off, and the plate finished with the graver and point. The plate must be laid upon a strong, steady table, and a sort of awning or shade of silk paper stretched on a frame be placed near the window, in such a manner as to prevent a glare of light from falling upon the copper. Whenever an erroneous line is made by the slipping of the graver, or other cause, it must be effaced by the burnisher, and the indentings which this leaves must then be levelled with the scraper, rubbed with charcoal and water, and lightly polished with the burnisher.

The second kind of engraving, which is done by making dots in the copper instead of lines, is called *stippling*. The principal advantage of this style is, that delicate parts of the engraving may be done with less labor and in a shorter time. It will readily be seen, that, the greater the number of the dots, and the closer they are together, without being so near as to form a continuous line in any direction, the more will the work resemble a crayon drawing. On account of this

resemblance, stippling is, in England, commonly called chalk engraving. It is often found united in the same piece with line engraving, being employed for the more delicate parts, while the drapery, and all the bolder portions of the work, are represented in lines. An instrument has been invented by which this kind of engraving may be more expeditiously accomplished. This is called a *roulette*. It is a toothed wheel attached to a handle ; and, being rolled over the copper, it makes a row of dots. The effect of this, however, is much inferior to the dotting made by the graver. *Stippling* is a very ancient invention, and is attributed to the Italians. It is known to have been used by Augustine of Venice, who, as we have already mentioned, was a pupil of Marc-Antonio ; and there is still preserved a print executed by this artist, representing an old man seated on a bank, with a cottage in the background. The flesh only, however, is done in dots. There is also another print of a single figure standing, holding a cup and looking upwards, by Giulio Campagnola, who engraved in the early part of the sixteenth century. The background is executed in round dots, apparently made with the needle or dry point, and the figure is outlined with a deep stroke and finished with dots, the hair and beard being executed in lines.

The third style of engraving is the *mezzotinto*. The plate, being prepared, the process is commenced nearly in the same manner as for line engraving, the outline and bolder parts being etched. The plate is laid on a firm table, which has a flannel cloth upon it to prevent the copper from slipping. An instrument called a *grounding-tool*, provided with teeth, is then applied to the plate, and rocked backwards and forwards in every direction over its surface, so as to cover it with fine indentations, care being taken not to allow the tool to cut twice in the same place. When this operation is finished, the plate is found to be so engraved that an impression from it would present a uniformly black surface. The engraver now resorts to the scraper and burnisher, and presses down or rubs out the roughness of the copper, over that part of the surface where the figures are to appear, obliterating the ground for the lights and leaving it for the shades. Great care must be taken in this part of the operation, to make the gradations from shade to light extremely deli-

cate, as, otherwise, the effect of the piece would be much injured. While speaking of mezzotinto engraving, it seems worth while to correct a prevalent error. It is generally supposed, that an acid is employed to corrode the copper for this branch of art; but this is not the case. Engraving, when acid is to be used, is called *etching*, a process which we have already described.

This mistake with regard to the use of acid in mezzotinto, may not improbably have grown out of the commonly received account of the invention of this style of engraving. The merit of first using it is attributed to Prince Rupert. Horace Walpole, in his "Catalogue of Engravers," digested from the manuscript of Vertue, says, that, as Prince Rupert was going out one morning from his residence at Brussels, he observed a sentinel very busy with his fusil. On inquiring what he was doing, the man showed him, that the night dew had made some spots of rust on the piece, which he was trying to scrape and polish away. On examining it, the prince perceived something like a figure eaten into the barrel, with innumerable little holes close together like the chased work on gold and silver, part of which the man had already scraped away. It immediately occurred to him, that, by covering a plate with such little holes, so that it would give a black impression, and then scraping away part of them, the smooth portions of the plate would leave the paper white. He communicated this idea to Vaillant, a painter whom he maintained; and after many experiments they contrived a steel roller with teeth, which could cut the plate in every direction; and it was then easy to scrape away the roughness where the light was to fall.

This account, however, seems to be incorrect; for the Baron Heineken, in his "Idée Générale d'une Collection complette d'Estampes," speaks of a print engraved in mezzotinto by Colonel de Siegen, an officer in the service of the Landgrave of Hesse. It is a portrait of Amelia Elizabeth, Princess Regent of Hesse-Cassel, which is inscribed in one corner, "L. de Siegen, inventor, fecit, 1643." Now it does not appear that Prince Rupert pretended to have made this discovery till nearly twenty years after the date of Siegen's print; for Evelyn mentions, in his Diary, under March 13th, 1661, that Prince Rupert had just shown him the

new way of graving called *mezzotinto*. Heineken thinks that Rupert must have learned the art from Colonel de Siegen.

Another mode of engraving, accomplished by the help of an acid, is called *aqua-tinta*. The outlines of the picture are etched in the copper by the usual process. The ground is then removed, the plate carefully cleaned, and the *aqua-tinta grain*, as it is called, is applied. In the old method, this consisted of finely-powdered mastic, sifted carefully and equally over the plate, and then made to adhere by gently warming it. It will readily be seen, that, were the acid now applied, it would so act upon the copper between the innumerable fine grains, that an impression taken from the plate would be perfectly black. When the grains of mastic, therefore, have been made to adhere, the artist takes a hair pencil dipped in black varnish, and paints over the grain in those parts of the picture which are to be left entirely white. The acid is then applied, and after it has been suffered to act long enough it is poured off, and the next lightest shade stopped out; again, the acid is applied for the deeper shades, and so on till the picture is complete. There are several modifications of the process of aqua-tinta engraving, which we omit describing, as it would be difficult to make them intelligible to our readers. One, however, invented we believe by Mr. F. Tukes, of London, and now generally adopted, ought not to be passed by. It is far preferable to the method formerly in use, wearing longer, and giving a grain of much more elegant appearance. The resinous substance to be employed, which is mastic, resin, burgundy pitch, or a mixture of two or more of these ingredients, is dissolved in highly rectified alcohol; and, the plate having been carefully cleaned, the solution is quickly poured over its surface, in such a manner, that the chilling of the varnish, which immediately takes place, may be perfectly equal over the whole. If this is well done, the rapid evaporation of the alcohol causes the resin which it has held in solution to shrink up, presenting a sort of vermiform appearance, and leaving the copper between the particles of varnish open to the action of the acid. The object of the aqua-tinta is to imitate drawings made with India ink, bistre, sepia, &c. It is well enough adapted for slight subjects generally,

and for large and coarse representations ; but it fails, where minute and accurate detail is required.

We come, finally, to the art of engraving *on steel*, which has additional interest to Americans as the invention of one of their countrymen. Though there is reason to believe, that five or six of Albert Durer's prints, preserved in the British Museum, were taken from steel plates, and though there is an engraving by J. T. Smith, in 1805, of the ceiling of the Star Chamber in the "Topographical Illustrations of Westminster," undoubtedly taken from a steel plate, the art nevertheless does not seem to have been appreciated or understood till several years afterwards. In the year 1818, an inquiry was instituted, respecting the prevention of forgery, by the "Society for the Encouragement of Arts," in London ; when it appeared from information gathered by the committee, that bank-notes, with ornamented borders, printed from steel plates, were actually in use in America ; and a specimen of engraving on soft steel, was presented to the Society by Mr. Charles Warren. Soon after this, Messrs. Perkins and Fairman removed to London, and formed a connexion with Mr. Heath, an eminent engraver, for printing notes and other designs from steel plates. The great principle in this branch of the art is, to engrave on soft steel and harden it afterwards ; and the superiority of this kind of engraving, over that on copper, consists in the greater number of impressions which may be taken from steel plates, and the superior delicacy of which they admit in the execution.

In addition to this, Perkins has resorted to another method for increasing the number of impressions. The plate being engraved and hardened, the impression is transferred in a spring press to a cylinder of soft steel, by rolling the latter over the plate several times, under a great pressure. The design is thus transferred in relief to the cylinder, which is then hardened, and may be used to make the same impression on plates of soft steel, or copper, from which prints may then be taken. This process, however, is only used in the preparation of plates intended for bank-notes and calico-printing. The ordinary engraving upon steel, which has now almost entirely superseded that on copper, is executed upon plates nearly decarbonated. They do not require hardening, as they will give a sufficient number of impressions without it.

There is a species of engraving on copper called the *medallic*, which has been invented within the last twenty-five years, and is so beautiful a branch of the art that it merits a minute description. The object of this kind of engraving is, to give accurate representations of medals, coins, and basso-rilievos of a small size; and it is effected by applying a machine to the surface of the medal, which will trace a line on the copper corresponding exactly to the outline of the figure on the medal. Those who are familiar with a pentegraph will be able to form an idea of this machine. It is so contrived, that, as it slides over the surface of the coin, every elevation or depression which produces a perpendicular motion in the machine, causes at the same time a horizontal movement at the other extremity, which traces the line on the copper. Every time the machine passes over the coin, a single line is traced on the copper; and there is a delicately contrived screw, by which the machine may be pushed forward after each line is drawn, so as to make the next line as near to it as the operator chooses. The effect is to give an exact copy of the medal; and the drawing appears so salient, that we can hardly convince ourselves, at first, that we are looking upon a flat surface.

This beautiful machine will seem the more interesting to our readers, from the circumstance of its having been invented in this country. In the "Journal of the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania," (Vol. X. No. 3, for September, 1832,) we find some account of the invention, in the following passage;

"In 1817, by the use of a machine which had been invented in Philadelphia, Christian Gobrecht, die-sinker, produced upon copper an engraving from a medal having upon it the head of Alexander of Russia; from this engraving impressions were taken and distributed. One of these impressions we have seen.

"In 1819, Asa Spencer (now of the firm of Draper, Underwood & Co., bank-note engravers) took with him to London a machine of the kind above alluded to, which was principally designed for straight and waved-line ruling. This machine was used in London during the year just mentioned, and the mode of ruling waved lines, and of *copying medals*, was then exhibited and explained by Mr. Spencer to several artists," &c.

In the above extract it will be observed, that we are not expressly informed who was the inventor; nor do we find it stated anywhere in the communication from which the extract is taken. We have been informed, by numerous artists in Philadelphia, that the contrivance of this ingenious and beautiful machine is undoubtedly to be ascribed to Mr. Spencer; that the machine used by Mr. Gobrecht was constructed by him, and that, consequently, the invention and perfection of the apparatus are the result of his ingenuity.

This branch of the art has received great attention both in England and France. Mr. Bate of London, took out a patent for a machine of this kind, in 1826, and has distinguished himself by the beauty of his medallic engravings. In 1830, a mechanician of Paris, Achille Collas, contrived a similar instrument, having taken the hint from a machine which was used for engraving watch-dials, cases, and snuff-boxes, called the *tour à guillocher*. And in 1834, a publication was commenced in Paris, under the title of "Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique," which has been published weekly ever since, each part containing four folio plates of medallic engraving, and a sheet of letter-press.

We have treated of the merely mechanical part of engraving. A much more difficult subject remains for us in the consideration of this art in a more extended sense; its various objects and capacities; the results already produced by it, and the rules which may be deduced from the specimens already before the world for the aid of future artists. It must be remembered, that art exists previously to all rules. It springs up first in the inspired mind, is afterwards visibly displayed, then admired, studied, and commented on. While an art is still in a progressive state, it is obvious, that its nature can only be partially discussed. It may possibly be so far advanced as to indicate with certainty all that it is capable of being made; but even then, the effect to be produced by this perfection cannot be entirely comprehended. And, if the progress made is less than this, it would certainly be undertaking too much, were any one to attempt to give a satisfactory account of the whole extent of the art.

Now the latter appears to be the case with engraving. We certainly cannot say, that this art is still in its infancy;

for many of its most important objects seem to be accomplished, and the results produced are sufficient to place it among the most beautiful arts. But it is still in a state of progress. Every year witnesses improvement; invention is continually bringing something new to its aid. The power, flexibility, delicacy, and passion of the art seem to be yearly increased. While this is the case, we should be wrong in attempting to speak of it as we would of painting, sculpture, or any art which appears to have arrived at the fulness of perfection. The most that we can do, is, to examine what has already been effected; to deduce rules from the art as it actually exists; to examine its objects, and the extent to which they have been accomplished; and to form a conjecture, from what has been already attained, of its capacity for still greater improvement.

We shall consider engravings as divided into two great classes; those which are copies of the works of other artists, either paintings or designs in pencil, and those which are designed as well as executed by the same individual. Between these two classes there are great and important distinctions. The copying of the paintings of great masters implies a distinct talent of a high order; the power of comprehending and appreciating their style, and their various merits and defects, and of representing them by means of the graver. Copying from designs made for the engraver requires perhaps the least degree of talent. Yet even in this there is no small room for the exertion of ingenuity and taste. But in those works in which the same hand designs and sculptures, there may be merit of the highest order which the art admits; as these prints bear only the impress of one mind, which is capable of invention as well as imitation; which conveys its own fire, and gives its peculiar characteristics to the work.

In treating of the first class into which we have divided engravings, the first remark is, that the engraver does not here hold immediate converse with nature. His landscapes do not require him to have seen the country; and he needs no models for his forms and his countenances. Perfection, or accordance with nature, is not the legitimate object of this branch of the art. His purpose is to convey to the plate the peculiar characteristics of the original; even faults are not to be softened. It has been remarked by an ingenious writer, that engraving is the translation of painting; because

the work of representing, by engraving, the ideas of genius which are expressed in the language of painting, is analogous to that of expressing in a foreign tongue the thoughts of a writer uttered in his own language; and the change which the conceptions of a painter must undergo, in being transferred from the glowing canvass over which the brush has swept, to the dotted, lined, and colorless print, is similar to the modification which takes place in the ideas and figures of a poet, when they are made to conform to the idioms and genius of a foreign language. The analogy, however, is not complete, because painting is a universal language; it needs no translation to make it understood; and engraving does not render it more intelligible to any one. In one sense, that is, in the power of multiplication, engraving bears the same relation to painting, that printing does to the manuscript; but here again the similitude fails, because the printer has nothing to do with copying the forms of the manuscripts; he is guided by words and thoughts, but not by forms. Perhaps the best way of expressing the relation, which subsists between the two arts, would be to call the engraver the herald of the painter. In one solitary spot of the wide world stands the inspired work, the masterpiece of art, the legacy of genius to kindred spirits in after times. The hand that traced those magical lines has long been cold in death; the eye that gleamed with inspiration on the work is closed, and the spirit that designed it returned ages ago to God who gave it. This miracle of art, preserved perhaps in the inner sanctuary of some royal gallery, enshrined within its costly temple, and valued beyond price, — more precious from the consideration that its beauty and glory are solitary, unrivalled, and never to be replaced if lost, — can be gazed on but by a few favored mortals. It is a holy oracle of art, and many who would consult it must go a long and weary pilgrimage before they can reach the shrine. But the voice of inspiration has gone forth, and there are prophets to catch the sounds, and herald them abroad over the wide world.

To this high office the engraver is devoted. He is the herald of the painter. He speaks in language less gorgeous, less imposing, less powerful, than the great original; and he only speaks more intelligibly, inasmuch as his language requires a smaller reach of intellect and taste to comprehend it. But it is his province to address the whole world; in every

land is found his eloquent proclamation of the great truth (for surely every masterpiece of art is such), and in every land is seen his name, proudly honored in being inscribed by the side of his great master's, beneath his work.

We have said, that the engraver, who is devoted to copying the works of painters, holds no converse with nature. The remark, however, was made without any intention of depreciating this branch of the art. On the contrary, we deem this one of the noblest objects which the engraver can pursue. It is not to be placed on a level with copying in painting, for it implies, we apprehend, the exertion of a higher order of talent, that of doing justice in one art to the works of masters in another. The engraver from paintings is in a high degree an originator. We should certainly assign to the translator, who clothes his work in the language of melodious and high-wrought poetry, and at the same time gives a faithful representation of the thoughts, images, and style of the original, a much higher place than to him, who gives only a plain but literal version, in prose or in poetry, which bears no stamp of the translator's own mind, and adds nothing to the literature of the language. For example, Coleridge's translation of "Wallenstein," while it gives a faithful representation of Schiller, is at the same time a beautiful English poem, a positive and precious addition to the literature of our language. Cowper's translation of Homer is also a poem ; and a tolerably literal version ; but it introduces us to no acquaintance with the translator. We might read whole libraries of such poetry, and yet feel that we have gained no insight into his character. Now we should liken a well-executed engraving from a fine painting to a translation such as Coleridge's ; while a mere copy in oils is more like the translation by Cowper, literal and exact, but bearing the impress of no mind but that of the original artist.

Though the engraver from paintings does not hold immediate intercourse with nature, his province is still wide enough to satisfy the demands of genius. He enters upon an ideal world, and holds converse with beings of more than earthly beauty. He is dwelling in the groves and bowers of Eden, or amidst the gorgeous scenery of a world gone by. His firmament is lighted up with hues that seem to be poured down from heaven, and his clouds are tinted with splendors which even the golden west cannot vie with. His eyes are

blest with visions of loftier worlds, and forms surpassing human. Before him is spread out the sea

> "Of jasper, or of liquid pearl, whereon
> Who after came from earth, sailing arrived
> Wafted by angels, or flew o'er the lake
> Rapt in a chariot drawn by fiery steeds;"

and that wondrous stairway,

> "Ascending by degrees magnificent
> Up to the wall of Heaven,"—

which the angels are traversing. The venerable forms of saints and martyrs, the celestial beauty of the Holy Mary, the grace, and dignity, and majesty of classic heroes and virgins, are around him to delight, elevate, and inspire.

In choosing the peculiar style of engraving to be used in copying the works of the masters of painting, there is great room for the exercise of taste. For dignified historical pieces, we should have no hesitation in choosing line engraving; for landscapes the mezzotinto may be used with good effect; where extreme delicacy is required, stippling may be resorted to. But line engraving seems to us most worthy of the attention of the artist, as it possesses greater power and compass than the other modes. Lines seem to possess, in the highest degree, the capacity of expression, as is abundantly demonstrated by outline engravings; and they certainly give a more accurate notion of pencil-drawing than stippling. Accordingly we find, that the greatest masters of the art have been in the habit of using this style in their choicest works. Morghen, we believe, always resorted to it, and it is the favorite style throughout Italy. Gmelin, a German artist of great eminence, used line engraving for his copies from the landscapes of Claude Lorraine. Woollett always preferred it, and most of the eminent British artists of the present day resort to it.

Of the fitness of line engraving to represent all the varieties of landscapes, there can be no doubt. One or two examples of very different kinds of landscapes will illustrate this position. We will endeavour to select from those which may be familiar to most of our readers.

Let us suppose that the scene to be represented is of a wild, mountainous, and sublime character; as, for instance, that beautiful engraving in Rogers's "Italy," by Smith, of the passage of Hannibal over the Alps. The lines, with the exception of a small portion of the foreground of the picture,

are mostly drawn perpendicularly, and, where the shading is deepest, cross each other but little. There is an exquisite delicacy in the work, and yet a degree of simplicity which does justice to the sublimity of the scenery. The stern grandeur of the mountains, rising to the skies, and losing themselves in the clouds, is admirably represented, by the very sparingness with which the lines are drawn, and their extreme tenuity, as they fade into the white. The effect of long perpendicular lines, not deeply drawn, and fading in the misty distance, is very striking in such a scene. The same kind of engraving is equally well adapted to convey the idea of grandeur and sublimity in architecture; as may be seen in the engraving by Goodall, in Rogers's "Poems," of the interior of a Gothic church, where the lines, being drawn in the manner we are describing, give an idea of vast height, and convey in a wonderful manner the feeling universally inspired by this noble order of architecture.

In proportion as the landscape becomes more complicated, and includes a greater variety of objects, such as forests, lakes, rivers, cataracts, houses, animals, and, above all, foliage and grass, the engraving becomes less simple and uniform. The lines are much shorter, cross each other in a greater variety of angles, and are altogether more complicated and elaborate than in representing the bald, stern grandeur of mountainous scenery. For illustrations of our remarks, we need not look further than the beautiful books to which we have already referred. On the twelfth page of the "Poems" is a vignette, engraved by that admirable artist, Goodall, which, for lightness, delicacy, and grace, is not surpassed. It represents an English rural scene; a rising ground, shaded by a rich tuft of trees and bushes; a few gypsies at the foot of the hillock, their fire kindled underneath the emblematic cauldron, and their scanty wardrobe displayed on the line hard by. In the background is a windmill. Over this gentle scene the parting sun is pouring his mellow light, and his rays, reflected on the clouds, shoot out that long, fanlike splendor, which constitutes the most gorgeous sunset. The contrast between such a scene as this, and the rugged grandeur of the Alps is complete; and, accordingly, we find a very different style of engraving used to represent it. The lines are short, delicate, and running in every possible direction, though not apparently crossing each other much. The sky is formed

with horizontal lines, which fade and are lost in the full light, where the sun's rays extend upward. The mill, it will be observed, is represented by simple perpendicular lines.

We have mentioned these two engravings as being specimens of strong contrast in landscapes. For all the different varieties of scenery, there must be corresponding modifications in the style of engraving resorted to. It may be suggested to us, that such remarks are superfluous ; that we are only laying down rules, that common sense and the smallest share of taste would readily dictate. But, even granting this to be true, we still deem the remarks of some value, as demonstrating the power and capacities of line engraving. A landscape may be done in mezzotinto, or it may be represented by aqua-tinta; but we have given these two instances of landscapes to show the power of lines in representing scenes of an opposite character.

These engravings, it will be noticed, are made from drawings, not from paintings. But the principle is just the same. The two landscapes illustrate this power of line engraving quite as well as if they had been taken from that fine piece of David's, Napoleon at the foot of the Alps, or from one of Wilson's rich compositions.

The power of lines will be more fully comprehended, when we ascend to the higher branches of the art, that is, copies from historical paintings, and particularly the representations of countenances. It is a fact, which we presume none will dispute, that lines produce different effects upon us, accordingly as they are differently drawn. So universally, indeed, is this principle acknowledged, that by general consent the term *line of beauty* is agreed upon to express a particular motion of the pencil. Upon this single principle an extensive theory is founded, with regard to the art of linear engraving. Why it is, that lines differently drawn produce in us different emotions, why a regular curve is more agreeable than a straight or angular motion, why free and swelling lines afford more ease to the eye than abrupt or unvarying ones, we do not pretend to say. It is one of those questions, to which the only answer is, We are made so. It is the same with our other senses. No one can tell, for instance, why some combinations of sounds produce agreeable emotions, and others the contrary ; why some make us feel joyful, and others sad. Neither can any one give a reason for the fact

that the perfume of the rose is more to our taste than that of the poppy or the onion; or why sweet tastes please, and bitter disgust us. The same is the case with lines; some please, others offend, the eye. And besides this distinction, we may observe, that, of those which are agreeable, some produce one kind of emotion, others another. Horizontal lines in drawing affect us in one way, perpendicular lines in another. Lines curving upwards affect us differently from those which bend in the opposite direction.

It will easily be perceived from these remarks, that line engravings have, in some degree at least, the power of conveying the style of different painters. A skilful engraver would use, of course, different styles for different subjects. For one of Fuseli's fiery compositions, for instance, his lines would not be the same as for a Holy Family by Raphael. Where the hand of any great artist is easily recognised by the peculiarities of his style, it is not very difficult to convey these peculiarities in the engraved copy. None who is familiar with the works of Raphael would find much difficulty in recognising his style in a good engraving, even without having seen the original of the identical piece.

But the question occurs, whether a different kind of line is not to be used in copying from different artists, even supposing them to have been engaged on the same, or similar, subjects. Should not a difference be made in engraving, for instance, a Madonna of Raphael's, and one by Titian? We have no hesitation in asserting, that there should be; if the Madonna of the one artist produces different emotions from that of the other, then different kinds of lines should be used in engraving them, corresponding to these various emotions. There is a delightful chapter in Mrs. Jameson's "Diary of an Ennuyée," upon the Madonnas of the various great masters of Italy, in which, with a fine discrimination, she traces the different emotions which these paintings express and excite, and compares the work with the individual traits of the author. Now we are of opinion, that, for all these, there should be corresponding differences in engravings from them. The pure and celestial countenances of the Virgins of Raphael, with their mild, pensive, twilight radiance, would not be well copied by the same class of lines that would be used for the full-orbed, passionate beauty of the Madonnas of Titian; a Holy Family by Poussin would be represented by different lines from those used to copy a Holy Family by Andrea del Sarto.

This science of lines appears to be yet only in its infancy; and, indeed, the whole amount of linear engraving, from its first discovery up to the present time, is only a series of experiments which may serve as the beginning of the science. To all artists who have a real love and respect for their profession we earnestly recommend the subject; for we are convinced that the careful study of it, with the proper objects, would lead to a more rapid improvement in the art of engraving than has ever yet been witnessed. The questions to be determined are, What lines are suited to express the different emotions? What are the different styles to be used in correspondence with the style of the original paintings? Can the style of each great master be made distinct in the engraving? Can any variety or combination of lines convey a notion of the coloring of the various artists? A careful examination of the different engravings, from the early days of the art up to the period of the most perfect specimens, would perhaps lead to a satisfactory answer to some or all of these questions. But, above all, were the study made by an artist with the graver in his hand, and the copper before him, to test by experiment the principles of the science as they would be developed, the result might prove of the highest benefit to the art.

Outline engravings constitute a distinct, and, of late, an important department of the art. The principal works in this branch are the designs of Flaxman, engraved by others; and those of the brothers Riepenhausen, and of Retzsch, engraved by themselves. The beautiful illustrations of Flaxman are probably known to most of our readers. They consist of drawings from the Iliad and Odyssey, from the Theogony of Hesiod, the Tragedies of Æschylus, and the Divine Comedy of Dante, besides a restoration of the shield of Achilles as described in the Iliad. The great merit of Flaxman consists in the power he displays of comprehending and expressing the spirit of the antique. A perfect master of the art of drawing, and an artist in the highest sense of the word, he seemed to have made his dwelling among by-gone men, and to have lived in scenes which have passed away for ever. He made himself, by years of study, perfectly familiar with all the forms of classic life; and we would recommend his works to the young scholar as one of the most profitable as well as delightful forms under which Grecian antiquities may be studied. Many pages, and even chapters, of

Potter, might be found beautifully condensed and commented upon in any one of Flaxman's drawings from the antique.*

The works of the Riepenhausens, though inferior to Flaxman in extent and variety, display an equal acquaintance with the antique. Their principal effort is a restoration of the famous paintings of Polygnotus at Athens, from the description given of them by Pausanias. These engravings fill two large volumes, one containing scenes from the capture of Troy, the other from the descent into the realm of Pluto. The works of these admirable Germans deserve to be ranked along with those of the great English artist. Yet the latter undoubtedly evince a wider range of genius. In the illustrations of Dante, Flaxman has shown the power of combining the antique with the Gothic, in the same grand and striking manner in which this union is displayed in some of the majestic architecture of Italy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There is an analogy to be discovered between the semi-classic and semi-romantic poem of the great Tuscan bard, and the sublime cathedrals of Pisa, of Florence, and of Venice ; and Flaxman seems to have been inspired by the same blending of Gothic grandeur and awfulness with classic grace, in his illustrations of the Divine Comedy. The only work of the Riepenhausens besides the classic restoration, is, we believe, that exquisite *fantasia*, the life of Raphael, in outline engravings.

We have no hesitation in placing Moritz Retzsch at the head of all outline engravers, both because we think that the romantic art, in which he excels, requires a higher reach of genius than the classic, and because he displays a greater variety and compass of powers than any artist whose works have ever come within our observation. We shall not attempt an analysis of his works in this place, both for want of room, having already prolonged our essay too much, and because the subject has been most worthily treated in a very interesting article in the London "Foreign Quarterly Re-

* Flaxman's illustrations of the Iliad have, probably, been made familiar to many of our readers, by the beautiful edition of that poem, prepared a few years since by Professor Felton. Through the work are interspersed copies of Flaxman's designs, as first engraved, executed in a style which does great credit to the American artist. He has succeeded in conveying the spirited and graceful touch of the original, and at the same time has overcome the difficulty of reducing the illustrations to the octavo size. These engravings have been published in a separate volume, and we recommend them to the attention of our readers.

view." We shall content ourselves with referring to a few of Retzsch's most remarkable characteristics.

In the first place, then, no one can fail to be struck with the wide field which his pencil traverses. In his different illustrations, he seems to have represented almost every variety that human life affords, every passion, every emotion, every event which can most deeply affect the mind or heart. Were the task assigned us of selecting from all the works of Shakspeare, those which should illustrate, most satisfactorily, the wide compass of his powers, we should be disposed to make the choice, that Retzsch has done, of Macbeth, Hamlet, and Romeo and Juliet. It seems as if almost every scene that life, real or fancied, offers, could be found in these illustrations of Shakspeare; the camp, the battle-field, the banquet, the lonely closet, the burning hour of stolen love, the horrid cave where witches boil their hell-broth, and the dim phantoms of kings flitting in noiseless array, — the frowning castle and the torch-lit palace, — all that enters into the composition of human experience or thought, are represented with equal skill, power, and fidelity in these masterly drawings.

Power and terror seem to be but ministering attendants to this wonderful master. His delineations of the Prince of Darkness, though of a different character from Milton's awful picture, are scarcely inferior at times, in sublimity, to the fallen Archangel of our great Epic. In that terrific sketch, "The Game of Life," for instance, we discover in the iron frame and the thunder-blasted visage of man's great antagonist, the same being, who in the "Paradise Lost" reviles and blasphemes the sun, and glares on the new creation with a feeling of hatred and malice deeper than hell itself. Less sublime, but perhaps even more terrific, are the night-ride of Faust and Mephistophiles on the demon steeds, the maddening interview with Margaret in the dungeon, and the scene in "Fridolin," where the Huntsman is thrust into the blazing furnace.

But would we seek the opposite extreme to these hideous sights, let us turn to the "Song of the Bell." That exquisite picture well known by the title of "The German lovers," seems to concentrate all of life that is peaceful, gentle, and boundlessly happy, when in truth, as the poet has it, "the eye sees heaven open and the heart revels in bliss." Indeed nearly all the illustrations of the "Song of the Bell" are of a character very different from most of the works of Retzsch.

They have a pastoral simplicity, gentleness, and repose, to which we turn with pleasure and refreshment, after our souls have been harrowed up by the appalling scenes of his tragic representations. There is less of crime depicted in this than the other works, less of that awful machinery of Hell, which this artist has the power of blending so skilfully with his scenes of life, that we become superstitious as we gaze at them, and are ready to start like those who have heard ghost-stories, fearing that the Great Enemy himself may be at the moment scowling upon us, or some ugly imp leering with eyes of malice upon our motions, or reading our thoughts.

Not less remarkable is the talent with which Retzsch portrays incidents of the deepest pathos ; scenes which combine the air of repose with sorrow so deep and heart-rending, that we feel as if we were gazing on Tragedy herself. Of this character are the representations of Ophelia, when she appears in her wild array of weeds and flowers, of Margaret and Faust, where the latter offers her the potion, of Margaret sitting alone before the spinning-wheel, of the wedding at the friar's cell in "Romeo and Juliet."

A little change, and these smothered passions blaze out with a volcano's fury, and the deep moan of sorrow swells to the maddening cry of agony and despair. Such are the night-walk of Lady Macbeth, the prayer of the king in "Hamlet," and of Margaret before the image of the Virgin, the prison scene of Margaret and Faust, and the parting of Romeo and Juliet in the morning.

With all these great and splendid powers, Retzsch combines a minuteness and fidelity in details, which are not less surprising. Nothing is omitted that can in any way contribute to the effect of a scene ; and, when we have received the general impression which any one of his representations produces, we may spend a long time in the study of the various parts of the picture, in which we shall not fail to discover many beautiful thoughts which greatly enhance the value of the work. There is a fertility and bountifulness in his conceptions, which remind us of the boundlessness of nature. For instance, in the Leipsic edition of the Illustrations of Hamlet, which lies before us, we find that, not content with the splendid array of scenery which he had created to adorn the thoughts of Shakspeare, he has added a picture for the title-page, or the outside cover, of such deep, calm, and sol-

emn repose, that we look upon it after contemplating the heart-rending scenes of the tragedy, with the same emotion that a strain of soft and sad music would awaken. It represents a Gothic tomb or monument, on which is resting the form of Hamlet, composed in the sleep of death. Above, appears the dim visage of the royal Phantom. In Gothic niches, and beneath the overhanging canopies, are seen as supporters, on one side the effigies of the king and queen, their eyes closed in eternal sleep, and a hideous demon extending his claws above them as if to claim them for his own. On the other side, in the same position, and sleeping too in death, are the forms of Polonius and Ophelia. But a cherub is overshadowing them with his wings, and seems to invoke blessings on their heads. On the base of the tomb are seen two swords piercing a heart, and the picture of Hamlet absorbed in prayer. The whole piece breathes an air of solemnity and repose. The thrilling scenes of the drama are over; and the busy actors are sunk to rest. The diadem is now but worthless dross to him that wore it. Poor Ophelia's broken heart throbs no longer. The fiery spirit of Laertes is quenched. The night-walk on the castle platform, the grave-yard philosophy, and the fierce duel, are but a tale that is told; and Hamlet's world-wearied soul, liberated from this mortal coil, has gone to seek that undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveller returns.*

We had much more to say upon the subject of engraving. A treatise on this subject is incomplete, which does not give the reader information with regard to the best artists both of the present day and of an earlier period in the various countries of Europe. We had intended also to speak of the state of the art in this country, which would have led to some re-

* Since this article was prepared, we have obtained Retzsch's fourth work on Shakspeare, comprising illustrations of King Lear. The power of the artist does not flag in this most difficult task. The scenes are of a more stirring and high-wrought character than prevails in most of his previous works; and, while he has done justice to the energy with which they were conceived by the great master, he has very skilfully avoided the exaggeration and ranting into which the subject would tend to lead him. We have always thought that the painting of Lear by West, in the Boston Athenæum, is marked somewhat strongly with these faults, conveying the idea of *stage effect*. The scene of Lear recognising Cordelia is, perhaps, the most exquisite in this volume of illustrations. We are almost at a loss to describe the effect produced upon our feelings in contemplating these powerful delineations. Could the storm of agitated, sublime, and frightful dreams, with its occasional intervals of soothing vision, be embodied visibly, it seems as if such forms as these illustrations would be taken.

marks upon wood engraving. Upon this, we will, at present, only observe, that a very excellent essay upon wood engraving appeared in a late number of the "London and Westminster Review"; particularly valuable by being illustrated by specimens. The American re-publishers have had the sagacity to print the essay without the illustrations, which is about as wise as representing the tragedy of Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet left out by particular request.

ART. V. — *North American Herpetology; or a Description of the Reptiles inhabiting the United States.* By JOHN EDWARDS HOLBROOK, M. D., Professor of Anatomy in the Medical College of the State of South Carolina, Member of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, &c. &c. 4to. Philadelphia: J. Dobson. Vol. I. 1836. Vol. II. 1838. pp. 120 and 125.

WHEN we learned, several years since, that Dr. Holbrook was preparing a complete work upon the Reptiles of this country, we were forcibly impressed with the magnitude of the undertaking, and the difficulties which would unavoidably accompany its prosecution. Aware, however, of his long-continued investigations and indefatigable industry, we anxiously awaited the publication of the first volume, confident that it would be creditable to its author. It more than realized our sanguine expectations. In less than two years after its appearance, a second volume has issued from the press. Invaluable as the work is to the American herpetologist, we regret to find that it has as yet attracted little attention; a circumstance, which makes it the more imperative upon us to express, in some detail, our sense of its great merit.

The first volume opens with a chapter upon the "organization of reptiles," in which the organs of digestion, absorption, circulation, and respiration, together with their physiology, the structure of the nervous system, and of the organs of sense, are treated somewhat at length; and, while the accuracy of the observations will be observed with delight by the scientific naturalist, the clear and interesting manner in which the subject is elucidated cannot but afford to the general reader

equal pleasure and improvement. The portion relating to the senses, particularly, is highly instructive.

Under the head of "Digestive Organs," our author observes, when speaking of the œsophagus,

"In some of the Chelonian animals, there are many horny points in the œsophagus, directed backwards or towards the stomach, which may be useful in preventing the escape of food." — Vol. I. p. 16.

He has probably never had opportunity to examine that curious and very rare tortoise, the *Sphargis coriacea*, or *leather tortoise*, a specimen of which, more than seven feet in length, was, in the year 1824, captured asleep upon the surface of the water in Massachusetts Bay. This is the only specimen we have ever known to have been taken on the coast of the United States. Upon dissection, its œsophagus was found to be thickly studded not merely with "horny points," but with large, very strong, *horny spines*, some of which were two inches in length.

In the observations upon the organ of *taste*, we find the following sentence,

"All reptiles have a tongue, varying, however, greatly in its shape, organization, and mode of attachment, but certainly having little claim to be considered as an organ of taste." — p. 38.

Had our author remarked, that all reptiles had organs of taste, we should not feel called upon to refer to this statement. But having recently had the good fortune to meet with a genus, the *Pipa*, one of whose characters, as pointed out by Laurenti, is, the "absence of a tongue," we are bound to point out an exception to his remarks. In the specimens of the Pipa (*Rana pipa*, L.) sent to the Boston Society of Natural History, the last season, from Surinam, by Dr. Craigin of that place, not the slightest rudiment of a tongue can be perceived.

The first volume of the work before us contains descriptions of twenty-three species, all accompanied with figures drawn from living specimens, one third of which were previously unknown to the naturalist. Every species is very minutely described, its geographical limits pointed out, and its habits elucidated, oftentimes with great perspicuity, awakening uncommon interest in the mind of the reader. Much labor is likewise bestowed in settling the synonymes, than

which nothing could more facilitate the studies of the herpetologist. A similar plan is pursued, throughout the volume, with regard to the arrangement of the descriptions; and, although some of course extend to a considerably greater length than others, they are all so minute and comprehensive that they could not be mistaken, even were they not illustrated by the faithful and beautiful plates.

The first animal described is the *Testudo polyphemus;* the only species of Testudo yet known in the United States. Having pointed out its specific characters, Dr. Holbrook thus portrays its habits.

"They select dry and sandy places, are generally found in troops, and are very abundant in pine barren countries. They are gentle in their habits, living entirely on vegetable substances; they are fond of the sweet potato, (*Convolvulus Batatas,*) and at times do much injury to gardens, by destroying melons, as well as bulbous roots, &c. &c. In the wild state they are represented as nocturnal animals, or as seeking their food by night; when domesticated, and I have kept many of them for years, they may be seen grazing at all hours of the day. When first placed in confinement, they chose the lowest part of the garden, where they could most easily burrow; this spot being once overflowed by salt water, in a high spring tide, they migrated to the upper part, nearly eighty yards distant, and prepared anew their habitations. They seldom wandered far from their holes, and generally spent part of the day in their burrows. They delighted in the sun in mild weather, but could not support the intense heat of our summer noons; at those hours they retreated to their holes, or sought shelter from the scorching rays of the sun, under the shade of broad-leaved plants; a *tanyer,* (*Arum esculentum,*) that grew near their holes, was a favorite haunt. They could not endure rain, and retreated hastily to their burrows, or to other shelter, at the coming on of a shower. As winter approached, they confined themselves to the immediate neighbourhood of their holes, and basked in the sunshine; as the cold increased, they retired to their burrows, where they became torpid; a few warm days, however, even in winter, would again restore them to life and activity."—pp. 44, 45.

The next three species are beautiful *Emydæ*, sent by Professor Troost to the author, from the western rivers, to which are given the appropriate names of *hieroglyphica*, *megacephala*, and *Troostii*. But little more than a simple

description of these species is furnished us, as their habits are comparatively unknown. The remaining *Emys* of this volume, the *Muhlenbergii*, which *Say* called *biguttata*, is found, our author remarks, "only in New Jersey and East Pennsylvania, and is rare even in these districts."

The next species is the *Ameiva sex-lineata*, known commonly as the *striped lizard*, and the familiar representative of the lizard in the United States, as of the true lizards we have none. Its habits are thus described.

"This is a very lively, active animal, choosing dry and sandy places for its residence, and is frequently met with in the neighbourhood of plantations, or near fences and hedges; most usually it is seen on the ground in search of insects, but it will take to trees when pursued. Its motions are remarkably quick; it runs with great speed, and climbs with facility; yet it cannot leap from branch to branch, or from tree to tree, like the *Anolius carolinensis*. The *Ameiva sex-lineata* is very timid; it feeds on insects, and generally seeks its food toward the close of the day, when they may be seen in cornfields far from their usual retreat; and not unfrequently I have met male and female in company." — p. 65.

The *Anolius Carolinensis*, another animal of the lizard kind, and usually called *Chameleon*, or *green lizard*, from its delicate green color, we have had an opportunity of seeing alive, and we cannot refrain from expressing our gratification at the faithfulness of the description, and the excellence of the figure. The following account of this species, shows the accurate observation of the author.

"The *Anolius Carolinensis* is a bold and daring animal, haunting out-houses and garden fences; and in new settlements it even enters the houses, walking over the tables and other articles of furniture, in search of flies. It is very active, climbing trees with great rapidity, and leaping with ease from branch to branch, or from tree to tree; securing itself even on the leaves, by means of the oval disks of the fingers and toes; which enable it also to walk easily on glass, and on the sides and ceilings of rooms. It feeds on insects, and destroys great numbers, seizing them suddenly, and devouring them, unrestrained even by the presence of man. In general, they hybernate later than other animals of the same class, their favorite retreats being gardens and old buildings; they often retire to green-houses, or conservatories, where they may be frequently seen active, even in winter, but never of that rich yellow green as in the

summer season. In the spring season, they are extremely quarrelsome ; two males seldom meet without a furious battle, which frequently results in the loss of part of the tail, or some other injury, to one or both of the combatants. Before the contest, the animal usually remains stationary for a moment, elevates and depresses its head several times, inflates his gular sac, which now becomes of a bright vermilion, and then suddenly springs at his enemy. After the first heats of spring have passed, they become less quarrelsome, and many are seen quietly living together in the same neighbourhood ; they retain at all times the habit of inflating the sac, even when quietly basking in the sun ; and at those times the coloring of the animal has the liquid brilliancy of the emerald." — pp. 69, 70.

Two species of *Bufo* had been supposed to be identical. One of these, our common toad, generally called the *musicus*, is here at the suggestion of Le Conte, described as the *Americanus*, on account of its extended distribution. From our author's interesting remarks respecting this species, we would extract only a single observation.

" It has been commonly supposed that the humor exuding from the skin and glands is poisonous ; yet no experiments have proved it so, and certainly no injury has ever arisen from handling or examining the animal." — p. 77.

In the account of the *Bufo lentiginosus*, the southern species, from which the preceding is separated, we find the following amusing anecdote of its instinct.

" I have seen an individual, kept for a long space of time, which became perfectly tame. During the summer months it would retire to a corner of the room, into a habitation it had prepared for itself, in a small quantity of earth, placed there for its convenience. Towards evening it would wander about the room in search of food, seizing greedily whatever insect came in his way. Some water having been squeezed from a sponge upon his head, one hot day in July, he returned the next to the same spot, and seemed very well pleased with the repetition ; nor did he fail, during the extreme heat of the summer, to repair to it frequently, in search of his shower-bath." — p. 81.

A singular little *Engystoma*, a kind of animal very similar to a toad, is here for the first time described, to which the specific name, *Carolinense*, is given. It is the only species of the genus which has been met with in the United States, and has not as yet been discovered north of Charleston.

A new and very curious genus is next presented us, which

our author calls *Scaphiopus*. It possesses the following characters, showing it to be a sort of connecting link between the toad and frog.

"Body short, thick, swollen ; head short ; minute teeth in the upper jaw and on the palate ; a small, glandular wart behind the ear, from which a watery fluid can be pressed ; posterior extremities short, stout, and muscular ; leg shorter than the thigh ; a spade-like horny process occupies the position of a sixth toe, and is used by the animal in excavating." — p. 85.

The peculiarities of its organization, are at once explained by the habits of the only known species, the *solitarius*.

"This is a strange animal, — an odd mixture of toad and frog, having the teeth of the one and the rudimental post-tympanal glands of the other ; it approaches, however, nearest the toad in its form and habits, as it never ventures in water except at the breeding season ; it lives in small holes about six inches deep, excavated by itself in the earth, which for a long time I took for holes of insects ; here it resides like the ant-lion, seizing upon such unwary insects as may enter its dwelling. It never leaves its hole, except in the evening or after long-continued rains. It shows great dexterity in making this dwelling ; sometimes using the *nates*, and fastening itself by the spade-like process ; at others it uses the legs with these processes, like a shovel, and will in this way conceal itself with great rapidity. In progression its motions are not very lively, and its powers of leaping but feebly developed. It appears early in March, after the first heavy rains of spring, and at once seeks its mate." — p. 87.

The descriptions of the frogs, *halecina*, *palustris*, and *sylvatica*, our common species, are all that the student could desire. Without the excellent plates, the author would have been perfectly intelligible.

A striking instance of the limited distribution of some reptiles is shown in the *Rana ornata*, a pretty species of frog, made known to naturalists by our author, who observes ;

"This animal has hitherto been found only in South Carolina, and as yet only in one locality, about four miles from Charleston, between the Cooper and Ashley rivers, where it abounds." — p. 98.

Our common and beautiful *tree toad*, the *Hyla versicolor*, is here, for the first time, figured. The plate is well done, and the observations relating to its habits are very accurate.

When speaking of the *Hyla squirella*, our author remarks,

that it has not been found further north than the thirty-fourth degree of latitude, and therefore that must be considered its most northern limit. During the last season we received one from Roxbury, within three miles of Boston. So that it will probably be found to extend as far north as the preceding species.

Descriptions of five beautifully delineated species of *Coluber* terminate the first volume.

The *coach-whip snake*, *flagelliformis*, of which we have a fine figure, is so rare, even in those Southern states in which it is found, that our author says, "During a seven years' search I have never seen but one living specimen."

A beautiful new species, five feet three inches in length, from the Alleghany mountains, is called *Alleghaniensis*. And another, four feet five inches in length, receives the name of *abacurus*.

The plates are extremely well executed, preserving so well the appearance of nature, that no one would suspect for a moment, that they were drawn from preserved or distorted specimens. The attitudes, in many instances, of the species are strikingly faithful. Of those which have fallen under our notice alive, we can speak more decidedly, and would therefore point to the figures of the *Anolius Carolinensis*, *Bufo Americanus*, *Rana halecina*, *palustris* and *sylvatica*, *Hyla versicolor* and *squirella*, as being exceedingly correct.

The second volume of the work contains descriptions and figures of twenty-eight species, four of which are new to science. Nearly one half of the volume is composed of descriptions of nine species of *Emydæ*, *fresh water tortoises*. No little confusion had previously existed among several of these species. One of our first herpetologists has said, he could not distinguish the specific characters of five of them. Our author has settled their distinctions with the utmost clearness ; and his descriptions of the *serrata*, *reticulata*, *rubriventris*, and *Floridana* are illustrated with plates which require neither the eye of the naturalist to distinguish, nor of the artist to admire. To a fine large species, fifteen inches in length, common around Mobile, but previously undescribed, our author gives the name of *Mobilensis*. Three species of *Salamander* are presented us ; two of which, the *dorsalis* and *symmetrica*, are common in New England.

If, in the pages we have passed over, no errors have been

referred to, it is because none have been perceived of sufficient importance to demand notice. We should have been better pleased, it is true, to have seen, instead of the bronzed *carapace* (upper shell) of the *Emys guttata* (our common and beautiful speckled tortoise), its natural color. But our author, in his description of this species, says, "the whole upper surface of this animal, the head as well as the extremities, is black," &c. &c., showing conclusively his own accuracy, and that the fault is that of the artist. But the same motive, which has excited us thus freely to speak of the beauties and value of the work before us, prompts us to point out what appears inaccurate. In the description of the *Salamander dorsalis*, the color is thus spoken of.

"The whole superior surface of the *Salamander dorsalis*, neck, head, and body, as well as the tail and extremities, is of an olive color, with a strong tinge of green, &c."—Vol. II. p. 58.

And the coloring of the plate corresponds with the description. The *dorsalis*, as seen in Massachusetts, has its whole upper as well as its under surface sprinkled with innumerable black dots. A defect appears in the lower figure of the plate, owing to the right anterior extremity being placed further back on the body than the left. The figures of the *symmetrica* also are unnatural, on account of the disproportion between the anterior and posterior extremities. The remaining salamander is a new and singularly marked species, which is appropriately called *gutto-lineata*.

The habits of the dreaded *Trigonocephalus piscivorus*, the *water moccasin*, are thus illustrated.

"It is found about damp, swampy places, or in water, — far from which it is never observed. In summer, numbers of these serpents are seen resting on the low branches of such trees as overhang the water, into which they plunge on the slightest alarm. Catesby thinks they select these places to watch for their prey. They merely choose them in order to bask in the sun; for in situations deprived of trees, as the ditches of rice-fields, their lurking-places are often on dry banks. They are the terror of the negroes that labor about rice plantations, where they are more dreaded than the rattlesnake, which only bites when irritated or in self-defence, or to secure its prey; the water moccasin, on the contrary, attacks every thing that comes within its reach, erecting its head and opening its mouth for some seconds before it strikes. I have placed in a cage with the water moccasin several of the harmless snakes, as

the *Coluber guttatus*, *Coluber getulus*, &c., at a time ; they all evinced the greatest distress, hanging to the sides of the cage, and endeavouring by every means to escape from their enemy, who attacked them all in turn. Two animals of its own species were then thrown into the cage ; it seemed instantly aware of the character of its visitors, and became perfectly quiet. Indeed, I have often received four or five of these animals in safety, after their having peaceably travelled together a journey of fifty miles in the same box." — p. 65.

Three species of *Crotalus* (*rattlesnake*), are described, the plates accompanying which are very good. Upon the *miliarius*, we find the following remarks ;

"The *Crotalus miliarius* is greatly dreaded, as it gives but a very slight warning with its rattle ; and, unlike the *Crotalus durissus*, will frequently be the aggressor. By the common people its bite is thought to be more destructive, and its venom more active, than that of the larger species ; various experiments have, however, satisfied me of the fallacy of this opinion. It is probable, that each *Crotalus* has the requisite quantity of venom to destroy the animals on which it preys, for it is certain that the *miliarius* can easily kill a small bird, such as the towhee bunting, a pigeon, or a field-mouse ; but a cat that was bitten several times, at different intervals, appeared to suffer much, and to droop for thirty-six hours, at the end of which time the effects of the poison entirely disappeared ; the same animal was long afterwards destroyed by a single blow of the *Crotalus durissus*." — p. 76.

The *adamanteus* is thus graphically depicted.

"The *Crotalus adamanteus* is the largest of our rattlesnakes, reaching even to the length of eight feet. The individual from which the accompanying plate was taken, had reached the length of nearly six feet, and I have seen others over seven feet long ; a more disgusting and terrific animal cannot be imagined than this ; its dusky color, bloated body, and sinister eyes, of sparkling grey and yellow, with the projecting orbital plates, combine to form an expression of sullen ferocity unsurpassed in the brute creation." — p. 79.

The plate of the next species, the *durissus*, the *common rattlesnake* of New England, is admirable. The author's remarks upon the habits of this species are valuable, as correcting current errors upon the subject.

"The *Crotalus durissus* lives on rabbits, squirrels, rats, &c.; and in general is a remarkably slow and sluggish animal, lying quietly in wait for his prey, and never wantonly attacking or

destroying animals, except as food, unless disturbed by them. A single touch, however, will effect this; even rustling the leaves in his neighbourhood is sufficient to irritate him. On these occasions he immediately coils himself, shakes his rattles violently in sign of rage, and strikes at whatever is placed within his reach. In his native woods, one may pass within a few feet of him unmolested; though aware of the passenger's presence, he either lies quiet or glides away to a more retired spot, unlike some of the innocent snakes, that I have known attack passers-by, at certain seasons of the year. He never follows the object of his rage, whether an animal that has unwarily approached so near as to touch him, or only a stick thrust at him to provoke his anger, but strikes on the spot, and prepares to repeat the blow; or he may slowly retreat, like an unconquered enemy, sure of his strength, but not choosing further combat. It is remarkable, that he never strikes unless coiled; so that, if once thrown from this position, he may be approached with less danger.

"As to the fascinating or charming power of the rattlesnake, I have every reason to believe it a fable; and the wonderful effects, related by credible witnesses, are attributable rather to terror than to any mysterious influence not possessed by all venomous or ferocious animals upon their weak, timid, and defenceless prey. The rattlesnake's charm lies in the horror of his appearance, and the instinctive sense of danger that seizes a feeble animal, fallen suddenly into the presence of an enemy of such a threatening aspect." — p. 83.

That the age of the rattlesnake cannot be ascertained from the number of its rattles, is evident from the following observations.

"It is commonly supposed that the number of rattles marks the age of the animal, a new one being added annually to those already existing. It is now certain, that rattlesnakes have been known to gain more than one rattle in a year, and to lose in proportion, the exact number being regulated no doubt by the state of the animal as to health, nourishment, liberty, &c. I have known two rattles added in one year, and Dr. Bachman has observed four produced in the same length of time. Mr. Peale, of the Philadelphia Museum, kept a living female rattlesnake for fourteen years. It had when it came into his possession eleven rattles, several were lost annually and new ones took their place; at its death, after fourteen years' confinement, there were still but eleven joints, although it had increased four inches in length. It is thus evident, that the growth of their appendages is irregular, and that the age of the animal cannot be determined from their number. The number of

rattles varies much; the largest I ever saw was twenty-one, all of which were perfect." — p. 85.

To such as involuntarily shudder at the mere mention of a *snake*, a single remark of our author cannot be useless, as showing the folly of cherishing such aversions; speaking of the *Coluber æstivus*, he says,

"This beautiful snake is perfectly harmless and gentle, easily domesticated, and takes readily its food from the hand. I have seen it carried in the pocket, or twisted round the arm or neck as a plaything, without once evincing any disposition to mischief." — p. 120.

Besides the species we have thus cursorily referred to, the *Elaps fulvius*, *Heterodon platirhinos*, *Scincus erythrocephalus*, *Heterodon niger*, *Coluber fasciatus*, *guttatus*, *punctatus*, and *æstivus*, as well as two new species, the *Coluber taxispilotus* and *elapsoïdes*, are included in this volume. We repeat, that the work is a real acquisition to the natural history of the country. The minute accuracy of detail in description, exhibited on every page, together with the constant endeavour to ascertain the geographical limits of the species, and to collect all attainable facts with regard to their habits, will establish the scientific reputation of our author upon an enviable basis. We look with eagerness for the appearance of the succeeding volumes.

Art. VI. — 1. *Memoirs of Aaron Burr, with Miscellaneous Selections from his Correspondence.* By Matthew L. Davis. New York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 8vo.

2. *The Private Journal of* Aaron Burr, *during his Residence of Four Years in Europe, with Selections from his Correspondence.* Edited by Matthew L. Davis. New York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 8vo.

We know of no reason why a biography should necessarily be a eulogy, though in most cases it is made so. Neither are we certain, that the history of a bad man, judiciously written, would not be more useful to the world, than that of a good one indiscriminately praised. The "Newgate Calendar" is an interesting book, notwithstanding its very coarse delineation of character, and its general substitution of wretched

cant for the tone of true moral reflection. It exhibits the human species under an aspect not very agreeable, it must be confessed, but still, under one which it is daily and hourly assuming ; perfect ignorance of which can be indulged in by no person, without leading him to very one-sided judgments of the virtues as well as of the vices of his kind. We must form a distinct idea of the depth to which man may be degraded by the indulgence of his evil passions, before we can fully estimate the height to which a victory over them raises him. It is the spirit in which the life of any distinguished individual is written, far more than the bare record of what he did, which should be regarded as the valuable portion of biography. There are no perfect heroes out of the regions of romance. When we see men described as such in books professing to speak of them as they really were, we know at once that the record is not and cannot be true. There is somewhere falsification or suppression, innocent, good-natured, or artful, which, however it may adorn the object for whom it is used, spoils the book for the rest of the world. We can claim kindred only with flesh and blood like ourselves ; with those who are described as subject to appetites, to passions, and to impulses, good or bad, of the same kind with those which we feel to be working in us. We go to the history of the great good and great bad men who have lived before us, in order to find out what made them good and bad, and to observe and analyze the parts which went to the formation of their several characters, the connecting links which knit thoughts and words and deeds into the grand chain of human action. In order to draw benefit from the study, it is entirely indifferent whether the subjects presented are of that description in which virtuous principles have predominated or otherwise, provided both kinds are examined, and the truth has been told about them with simplicity. The varnish of defective morality is worse than the daubing of extravagant flattery, because it is more likely to deceive. And young minds, which have not yet arrived at the power of full discrimination in moral questions, are more likely to be misled by sophistical explanations of men's actions, which assume obvious and natural motives for their groundwork, than by the free use of superlative attributes, which their common sense dictates to them at once to disregard, because not resting upon truth.

We are not very sure, that Mr. Davis will come up to

the mark which we have fixed for a biographer. He certainly does not praise his hero unduly ; but we are clear, that he does not censure him as he ought. Perhaps we hardly ourselves understand the spirit of his epigraph, through which he appears to have intended to convey an idea of his design. Shakspeare had not probably done much in the way of rhetoric and oratory as a study ; but he knew man ; and, when he presented Mark Antony, as addressing the Roman citizens over the body of the murdered Cæsar, he put into his mouth not such words as perhaps he would have thought the most proper to be said, but such as suited the supposed design of the individual who was to use them. He makes him a hypocrite and a villain, but not talking as if he was either. His apparent design, in commencing his harangue, is to calm their passions ; his real one, to unsettle their judgment, and to cloud their reason, which had condemned the ambition of his chief. He recalls to their minds Cæsar's kind feelings to them, notwithstanding that he begins by saying, as Mr. Davis has quoted,

"I come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him."

And throughout the speech of fair seeming, we gather only by natural implication the real and foul truth at the bottom of it, that Antony, burning with rancorous feelings against the persons who had destroyed the patron of his fortunes, was using the body of that patron as an instrument by which he might utterly overthrow and destroy them, and upon their ruin establish himself.

Now we do not mean to insinuate, that Mr. Davis had the sense of the whole speech in his mind, when he took the extract from it to adorn his title-page. Nor do we in truth suppose, that he designed to signify any more by it than a wish to be absolved from the ordinary obligations of eulogy, which are generally supposed to weigh upon every biographer. Yet, even in this view of the case, we think he has been injudicious. Nobody would have found fault with him for praising Mr. Burr too little, whereas many would, as they do, condemn his half-way and inefficient censure. The choice of his quotation is unlucky in this, that it unavoidably associates with his work the commencement of a hypocrite's oration as the symbolical representation of its general character. Not that this is really the proper idea to be had of the book. Far from it. But it will be that entertained by the many, who never go beyond title-pages. We propose to ex-

amine with freedom what we think the grievous faults of the works before us; but we shall never find in them faults of simulation, nor consider their author a hypocrite. Mr. Davis, to our eyes, fails to paint Aaron Burr in his true colors; but he does not use wrong ones. His picture wants tone and depth, as the artists say, to make it true and lasting. The reason of the deficiency, not perhaps suspected by the author himself, is yet obvious enough to any other person. The hero and his biographer sympathized personally and politically through life; the consequence of which was, that familiarity which breeds indifference to the less glaring characteristics of conduct neither moral nor patriotic, which would not have been entertained or felt by a mind more fresh in the exercise of its powers of discrimination. Perhaps no stronger illustration of this could be furnished, than by the apparently trifling circumstance of the text already quoted on the title-page. A mind differently constituted from that of our author would hardly have failed to perceive the singular unfitness of assuming the attitude of the unprincipled Antony, haranguing over the body of a man, who, however great he might have been in other respects, was certainly as unprincipled a politician as himself.

We are informed, that the "Life of Burr" has enjoyed a pretty extensive popularity; and, so far as the author may have benefited thereby, we are glad of it. But the reading public in the United States does not appear to us likely to be benefitted at all in the same proportion; and it is on this account, and from no ill will to the author, that we propose to treat his work. A lax custom of construing public conduct has often been considered as the fault of the people of this country. And it would go far towards establishing the truth of the charge, if those, who profess to notice and to scrutinize the character of literary works that appear among us, suffer such as this one to pass even in silence into the confidence of the community. During thirty years of the most eventful portion of our history, Aaron Burr acted no very undistinguished part in public affairs. At one moment he rose so high as nearly to touch the loftiest official seat which the people are called upon to fill; and at another he fell so low as to become isolated among his fellow-beings. How came this great change about? Mr. Davis tries to prove, that it was owing to persecution. We believe the cause was in the man. No

example has yet occurred in the United States, half so striking as this, of the adequate punishment, by the popular voice, of unbridled, irregular, public ambition and private profligacy ; and it is greatly to be wished, that its effect upon the aspiring youth of the future, as well as the grown-up gladiators of the present time, may not be weakened or broken by injudicious palliation, or the interposition of excessive moral obtuseness.

We mean, in the first place, to remark upon the singular inability or unwillingness of the author to call things by their right names, the effect of which in his present work often is, to describe some qualities of his hero, which deserve reprehension, exactly as if they did him honor. We need not go far for a striking example. We are told in the beginning, that Aaron Burr, when a child about four years of age, ran away from home, and was not found until the third or fourth day afterwards. Well ! what merit or propriety was there in that, unless, indeed, the boy was so cruelly treated as to be in fear of his life ? But Mr. Davis does not pretend that he had any such justification. According to him, the cause of his "departure" (that is the exact word) was "a *misunderstanding* with his preceptor." A *misunderstanding* between a child four years old, not yet versed in A, B, C, and his preceptor, who was probably pressing the said letters uncomfortably upon his attention ! What became of the boy during the two or three days of his absence, we are not informed ; but we suppose that in his case, as in that of most other wilful children, his stomach brought him to. We should, in our simplicity, have inferred from the story only that Burr was headstrong and passionate, if our author had not informed us, that "it indicated, at a tender age, that *fearlessness of mind* and determination to rely upon himself, which were characteristics stamped upon every subsequent act of his life." Verily we should never have thought it, if we had not been told so.

But to speak more in earnest, what shall be said of the moral acuteness of an author who begins a work by calling the reproof, which an instructor gives to a scholar, "an occasion of misunderstanding" between them, and the running away of the latter in a fit of passion, "a departure," and who finds, in such incidents, fearlessness of mind and a determination to self-reliance ? A little of the discipline, which, though out of fashion in the present highly advanced

condition of things, made many a useful citizen at that day, would, in our humble opinion, have gone far to correct such heroic tendencies, and, by doing so, might very possibly have saved the man from cherishing the errors of the boy. If we have any right notion of what fearlessness of mind and self-reliance are, we should go to look for them in that moral cultivation of riper years which produce the death of a Socrates, or the life of a Luther, and not in the passionate whimsies of an infant, or a boy. For it seems that the experiment of running away, already mentioned, was not the only one, that Burr made in early life. Mr. Davis shall tell us about the second in his own way.

"When about ten years old, Aaron evinced a desire to make a voyage to sea; and, with this object in view, ran away from his uncle Edwards and came to the city of New York. He entered on board an outward bound vessel as cabin boy. He was, however, pursued by his guardian, and his place of retreat discovered. Young Burr, one day, while busily employed, perceived his uncle coming down the wharf, and immediately ran up the shrouds and clambered to the topgallant-mast head. Here he remained, and peremptorily refused to come down, or be taken down, until all the preliminaries of a treaty of peace were agreed upon. *To the doctrine* of unconditional submission he never gave his assent." — Vol. 1. p. 26.

It would have been better for him, say we, if he had. For he would not then have been the character in after life, which he proved to be. Unconditional submission to virtuous and considerate parents or guardians never injured the greatest patriots known in history, and would perhaps, in the present instance, have made Burr what he was not without it, a man of principle. But it would appear as if the grandson of Jonathan Edwards was destined to be a striking monument to after times of the abuse of the power of "the will." And he was moreover destined to have a biographer, who would record this abuse as if it was a virtue. Who ever heard before of using the language of diplomacy in the description of the conduct of a refractory boy? "Preliminaries of a treaty of peace," forsooth! Had his uncle Edwards thought as we do, the negotiation would not have been of many minutes, and would have ended by demanding a categorical answer. For when a youth is perched upon the top of a mast, we do not conceive him in the best possible

situation to dissent from the doctrine of unconditional submission. Breakfast times and dinner times will come round, and make themselves forcibly remembered by growing boys, be their fearlessness of mind and self-reliance what they may. If Burr had been allowed to pass a little time in sober reflection upon this precise view of the case, we think it would have done him good, and saved a couple of very bad paragraphs in his biography.

Nothing more need be said, we trust, to prove the justice of our principal objection to the present work, a grievous deficiency in its moral tone. We can hardly expect, that the more difficult delineation of later life will be correct, when such enormous mistakes are made in describing the simple actions of youth. Had Mr. Davis laid his foundation well, had he traced in the uncorrected errors of the boy, as shown in the examples already cited, — in these cases of foolhardy contempt of wise and prudent but overkind counsellors, — the seeds of those passions which hurried the man into desperate and unprincipled enterprises, that marked his later years with disgrace, and caused him to descend to the grave a solitary being, unpitied and unmourned, we should on our part have had a much higher opinion of his own moral perspicacity, and have assumed a different tone towards his book. As it is, we simply fulfil a duty incumbent upon us. We hold many of the prevailing notions about education to be bad enough in all conscience ; but to tell the rising generation of American citizens, already not too diffident of the infallibility of their judgment, that disobedience at four years of age is a sign of greatness, passes a little beyond any thing it has been our fortune yet to meet with. Dogberry would call it "flat burglary as ever was committed."

Let us, however, dismiss the accessory, for the sake of trying the principal, and proceed to consider the character of Aaron Burr himself, as it comes out in the course of these volumes. The fearless and self-relying mind, which drove the boy of four years old upon the world in consequence of "a misunderstanding" with his tutor, and which sent him six years later up to the mast-head, there to practise diplomacy upon his guardian and protector, formed for itself in advanced life an estimate of the importance of the relative duties of man quite in unison with these specimens of its early career. There is consistency in perversion, if there is noth-

ing else. We are told by Mr. Davis, without a comment or any indication of surprise, that he found his friend, when reflecting upon the course of his past life, far more tenacious of his *military* than of his professional, political, or moral character; the order in which the terms are used being, it is presumed, significant of the relative importance in which he esteemed them. Colonel Burr was doubtless justified in the conjecture, that he deserved more praise as a soldier than as any thing else. Perhaps he was right in estimating his law to be better than his politics, his politics to be better than his morals, and in saying nothing at all about his religion, which was in truth a cipher, if not a negative quantity. But we want to know what we are to think of a man, who is willing to come before the world, and claim praise of any kind whatsoever upon such recommendations? And what can we say of a biographer, who, though he only "comes to bury Cæsar, and not to praise him," entirely forgets to remark upon that mental obliquity in his hero, which places the duties of life in a ratio exactly the inverse of that which any ordinary moral code (not to speak here of the Christian doctrine) would have established? We censure Mr. Davis, not so much for exposing, as he does, so barely the nakedness of his hero, as for apparently being unconscious all the while that he is doing it.

Aaron Burr was doubtless a very remarkable man. Without being positively great, he might, nevertheless, had he lived in a more corrupt age, have made himself appear so. In thinking of him as he shows himself in the present work, we cannot help recurring to the words of Sallust, when he describes the character of Catiline; "Fuit magnâ vi animi, sed ingenio malo pravoque; ..... corpus patiens inediæ, algoris, vigiliæ supra quam cuique credibile est (this he proved in his march to Quebec with Arnold); animus audax, *subdolus*, varius, cujuslibet rei simulator ac dissimulator, alieni appetens, sui profusus (this he manifested in his Mexican project); ardens in cupiditatibus: *satis eloquentiæ*, *sapientiæ parum;* vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia nimis alta semper cupiebat." We doubt most about the vast mind; but, after all, it may be as fair to infer, that it existed in the one case from the acknowledged fear of it entertained by Washington and Jefferson, as we certainly do in the other only from the same kind of apprehension, though in greater force, felt by

Cicero and Cato. Neither of the men has left any positive traces of his intellectual power. Catiline's infamy is mainly recorded by the hands of the person who crushed him. It would not have injured Burr, if he had trusted his reputation entirely in the hands of Jefferson. For, much as he professes a conviction, that history must generally be false because in his particular case it has been inaccurate and unjust, the materials which he has himself provided with a view to rectify the alleged errors, go very little way to prove that they are so. We might go even further, and say, that they prove the principal charges against him to have been well founded. There never was an instance more clear to our perception, of a man condemned out of his own mouth. There never was a stronger case of the justice of the verdict of a contemporaneous generation. We do not mean to speak out of bounds. And, to show that we do not, we propose to devote a few pages to a general review of the character of Burr in the various relations of life, taking them precisely in the order in which he himself distributes them; the military man first of all, and the moral man the last.

Perhaps there is no class of great men of which the world has been more prolific, than of the class of military heroes. From the days of the fabulous Hercules down to those of him of San Jacinto, we have had almost in uninterrupted succession a race of martial characters. This would show two things, — the first, that military talent is not the most uncommon of the great qualities of man; the second, that it is that which is most generally called into play, because of some constant demand for its exercise among the human species. Strictly speaking, there is perhaps but one sort of warlike genius; and this unites powers of rapidly originating and combining ideas in the mind, with the energy necessary fully to carry them out in execution. But history shows, that men are not susceptible of rigid philosophical classification. We cannot regard them as machines pulled by wires in exactly defined directions. The mere ability to fight is a quality in which they are not superior to the brute creation, to a tiger or a bear. But the intellectual power, which guides it, and which makes the peculiar distinction of the human race, has manifested itself in examples of infinite variety and every diversity of character. Perhaps it may be maintained, that soldiers have nothing to do with moral questions, and that

their character in war should not be decided by the admission into the scale of such a foreign element as the justice of the cause in which they fight. True or not true, we are not prepared to make the concession that this proposition would require of us. We must judge men from a fair construction of their motives as well as of their actions, and praise heroes more when they fight well in a good cause, than when they fight even better in a bad one. Captain Dalgetty is the type of perhaps the lowest order of military merit, — General Washington that of the highest; whilst Alexander, and Hannibal, and Cæsar, and Charles the Twelfth, and Napoleon, each of them have some distinctive characteristics to separate them from each other, which entitle them to a particular rank in a scale, the arrangement of which would be an agreeable amusement, provided that we had time and room enough to make it. But our present business is not with them, but with Aaron Burr, who aspires to stand in such excellent company. The question for us is, where we shall fix him, and it is one of no small difficulty. His biographer calls him one of the most extraordinary men of the age. We regard him as a very clever lieutenant-colonel of a regiment. Between these limits there is obviously an enormous distance, the reasons for establishing which, on our part, we will try to explain more at large.

When the difficulties between Great Britain and the United States, at that time colonies of the mother country, began to assume the aspect of an open rupture, only to be healed by an appeal to arms, Burr was a student at law, and about nineteen years of age. Mr. Davis says of him, that in the course of his reading he satisfied himself on which side of the dispute the right lay, and that he became in consequence a whig from conviction as well as feeling. We think his biographer has stretched a point a little here in his favor; for it is very certain that Burr, when in England, claimed to be a British subject, twenty years after the Revolution, and that even at a less mature period of his life, and in the midst of the dispute, the letter to Matthew Ogden, dated at Litchfield, August 17th, 1774, and printed in the first volume of the present work, so far from breathing any whisper about principles, shows nothing but the spirit of a boy, anxious to be in the midst of a row. In just such a spirit, Burr seems to have indulged the old propensity of running away from his guardian

and friends, for the sake of joining the camp before Boston; and in the same spirit did he, disgusted with the tameness of that besieging and not very well organized camp, and in opposition to the earnest remonstrance of all his friends, throw himself at once into the almost desperate project of reaching Quebec through the forests of Maine, the execution of which was then intrusted to the direction of Benedict Arnold. That this act denoted great intrepidity on the part of a youth of twenty, we are willing to admit; but, at the same time, we see in it the seeds of that restless ambition, which, dissatisfied with the slow modes of gaining distinction in a train of deliberate and matured exertions, was perpetually, in him, seeking to take it by storm, *per fas*, if it was possible so to procure it, *aut per nefas*, if it could not be got otherwise so certainly or so soon.

The extraordinary privations suffered by the detachment under Arnold, which succeeded in making its way to Quebec, were endured by no one of its members with more cheerfulness and patience than by the stripling who had volunteered to join it. And this was one characteristic, which was remarked in Burr through life, and which went a great way to maintain for him the respect of those immediately around him. He was not one of the repining kind, who wear out the patience of their neighbours with their catalogue of complaints, but bore all his misfortunes like a man. When the party finally reached the Chaudière, and it became necessary to establish a communication with General Montgomery, Burr was the person selected for the task; and, though so young, he acquitted himself of the hazardous duty of penetrating a country, the inhabitants of which adhered to the British power, and spoke a different language from his, with prudence and perfect success. Upon his arrival at the General's head-quarters, he was immediately invited to assume a station near his person, in anticipation of the moment when he might be appointed an aid-de-camp. Burr thus became an actor in the unsuccessful assault upon Quebec; was present when Montgomery fell; and was the person who bore him upon his shoulders from the spot, when retreat became necessary. His conduct throughout this trying affair appears to have been marked with courage and with judgment. It established for him a high reputation at the time among the American troops, and undoubtedly deserved free

and unqualified praise. We are not of those who would refuse to his memory the smallest tribute of honor, which he can be supposed to have deserved. And it gives us the more pleasure to do so in this instance, because we feel under no necessity of adding a syllable of qualification.

But, with the death of the commander-in-chief, all prospect of successful action in Canada vanished, and Burr was not one of those who could find in the quiet performance of duty a compensation for the want of more brilliant success in life. Without the consent of Arnold, who had succeeded to the command, and in spite of his prohibition, he left his companions to take care of themselves, and made the best of his way to the city of New York. The fame he had gained had come before him, and had prejudiced in his favor the mind of Washington, who received him at that place with great cordiality, and immediately gave him the same situation, near his own person, which Montgomery had promised him near his, before death had interfered to cut off his expectations. This new position was one of the best in the army; for it enabled the possessor, if he were inclined, not only to establish strong claims upon the confidence and affections of his superior, but also to lay a foundation broad and deep for a brilliant career of honor and service during after life. Hamilton was much indebted to it for his success. Why did Burr fail to improve it? We cannot tell the precise reason; but the fact is clear, that from this period may be dated the origin of the dishonor of his latter days. Six weeks only elapsed, before Burr expressed his disgust at his position, and requested of Hancock, then President of Congress, to procure him a transfer into some other service, or leave to retire. This transfer was obtained for him, and he left the family of Washington to join that of General Putnam. But, brief as the time had been, it had proved long enough to fix in the mind of the Commander-in-chief impressions of the character of his young aid, which remained ever after indelible, and which, by forbidding his voluntarily reposing a particle of confidence in his honesty, had a great effect in future, in shutting him out of the legitimate avenues for his ambition.

The reasons of the mutual dislike between Washington and Burr, so rapidly matured into a permanent separation, we do not know. The attempt made by our author to explain it

is lamentably insufficient. We gather from it only, that Burr found himself without the confidence of the General in regard to his military movements, and hence was anxious as soon as possible to withdraw from the awkward position in which this circumstance placed him. But this statement does not explain why Washington refused that sort of confidence to Burr which he was in the habit of placing in others, nor the reasons for the mistrust of his moral integrity which he is well known always afterwards to have entertained. That great man was stern in his judgments upon right and wrong, and not easily moved to restore his confidence to those who had once by their own conduct incurred its forfeiture. Yet he did not form his opinions hastily or upon slight evidence. Neither could it have been a small thing which could, in the space of six short weeks, have entirely changed his feelings towards a young man like Aaron Burr, from those of friendly kindness and esteem to suspicion and dislike. But what that thing was, as it does not seem likely that we shall know, it is useless to waste time in fruitless and idle attempts to conjecture. The fact itself is significant enough.

Let us resume the review of Burr's military career. He served as aid-de-camp to General Putnam in the unfortunate action upon Long Island, and upon the subsequent evacuation of New York saved a brigade, which had been detained there too long, from falling into the hands of the British. These services earned for him a lieutenant-colonel's commission, and the virtual command of a regiment. He had a horse shot under him at the battle of Monmouth, and from that time until his retirement from the service, which happened in 1779, though not again in action, he appears to have persevered in the faithful and punctual performance of the duties incumbent upon a skilful and vigilant officer. But he could not control his impatience under the monotonous details of ordinary service. His resignation, made upon the partially well-founded plea of ill health, appears yet to have had no trifling connexion with soured feelings and disappointed expectations. His difference with General Washington naturally threw him among the officers disposed to resist the authority of the Commander-in-chief. He appears to have been a member of the Conway Cabal, and an ardent supporter of General Gates, whose successful campaign against Burgoyne made him for a time the object, around whom all

the disaffected, and those dissatisfied with the slow and less brilliant progress of Washington, rallied, as about his rival. The result of the very brief struggle which took place is well known. Its effect upon Burr probably was to remove him still further than before from all prospect of rapid advancement as a soldier, and to incline him to look to some new line of action for success. His failing health then decided the question, and he became a lawyer. But his disappointment, in thus leaving a profession for which he considered himself eminently well qualified, was a severe one, and his feelings of hostility to the person whom he regarded as the true cause of it proportionately bitter. From the day of his resignation of his commission to the day of his death, he never failed to speak of Washington in terms of disparagement, to all those who were in any degree intimately acquainted with him. And it is not his fault, that his biographer has not communicated his dissatisfaction to the world. Luckily as we think, for him, Mr. Davis has had the good sense to decline making a contrast, the precise nature of which Burr could perhaps realize as little, as he could in how small a degree the capacity of Washington, as a mere martinet, or manslayer, enters as an element into the sublimity of character which sheltered the country from feeling the poisonous breath of such military heroes as himself.

From the preceding recapitulation of the incidents in Burr's military life, it now only remains to pronounce upon the justice of the claim made for him to high rank in this department. We must confess, we do not regard it as particularly strong. If we allow to him energy, courage, and cheerfulness under privation, and admit his merit as a good disciplinarian and vigilant officer, we make him a good soldier it is true, but yet not a very great man. Captain Dalgetty was all of this, and yet he did not pretend to put himself on a level with the Lion of the North. The qualities aforementioned do credit to a subaltern, but we require something more from a general-in-chief. They imply nothing of the expanded views, the skilful combinations, and the brilliant original conceptions, which give to the genuine military heroes of history their distinguishing characteristic. But it has been maintained for Burr, that he did in fact possess many of these traits, but that he was denied opportunities for fully developing them in action. This may be so ; but the world

must judge from what it sees, and can give credit for no quality which has not appeared. No human art can rectify the error which grows out of such a misfortune. But we may venture to doubt, when taking a general view of his character, whether greatness of mind could ever have been justly ascribed to Burr, in any sense of the term. Men may become great by the force of favorable opportunities for displaying their qualities to the world, or they may make those opportunities for themselves. But in either case the powers must exist, and must be put in action, in order that the world may be enabled to form its judgment. Colonel Burr was quite as well situated to make his way as any of his fellow-officers of the revolutionary war. His early campaign in Canada gave him a positive advantage over most of them, the subsequent loss of which is a fact, that goes far to invalidate the soundness of the estimate his friends put upon him. We are therefore obliged to differ from Mr. Davis in this particular, that we cannot call Burr "one of the greatest and most extraordinary men of the age," nor agree, that "his genius, his talents, his *chivalry*, his intrepidity of character, his disinterestedness, and his generosity," (being the summary and very unphilosophical enumeration, made by the author, of his virtues,) constitute the elements of a real hero. The moral characteristic, which gives the crowning merit, is confessedly wanting. We cannot call Mr. Burr great in any sense, most emphatically not in that which proceeds from good.

Of General Montgomery we know not much. His early death prevented him from filling that conspicuous station upon the theatre of American affairs, which he might otherwise have occupied. But one very short letter of his, published in the present work, gives us a tempting opportunity to illustrate what it is, that makes the world readily decide some men to be great, even when they have done very little, while it condemns others, who make much bolder claims upon its good opinion. When Montgomery was first called into active service, the Continental Congress placed him second in the list of Brigadiers-general; since the first or senior commission, from certain prudential motives connected with State jealousies, which in this country have always very much interfered with the nomination of the most capable men to office, had been reserved for a Massachusetts man. To this proceeding in the first instance, no junior officer could

reasonably have objected. But, when the individual originally selected as first brigadier, General Pomroy, was found unwilling to take this post, the claim of Montgomery to succeed to him was, according to military notions, perfect. Congress however did not favor it ; but, acting under the same impulse which directed the first nomination, they conferred upon General Thomas, originally made the sixth in the list, the vacant situation. This advancement of a junior officer over his head might very naturally have been expected to prove offensive to a man like Montgomery, not himself a native American, and who, having been educated in the European schools of military service, would of course have been supposed to entertain their rigid notions of military honor. The Congress, conscious of the offence they might be likely to give by their proceeding, directed James Duane, a member of the body then representing New York, to write to that officer, and explain away the matter as well as he could. How this original letter, together with the copy of the answer indorsed upon it in the handwriting of the General, came into the possession of Mr. Burr, we are not informed. But Mr. Davis has done the public a favor by inserting that answer in the present work, where it shines among the rest of the letters like a diamond in a coal mine. We transfer it entire.

"GENERAL MONTGOMERY'S ANSWER TO JAMES DUANE.

"DEAR SIR, — I have been honored with your letter of the 21st instant. My acknowledgments are due for the attention shown me by the Congress.

"I submit with great cheerfulness to any regulation they in their prudence shall judge expedient. Laying aside the punctilio of the *soldier*, I shall endeavour to discharge my duty to society, considering myself as the *citizen*, reduced to the melancholy necessity of taking up arms for the public safety.

"I am, &c."

This was the true spirit which effected the independence of the colonies, and not the restless and selfish passion which struggled in the bosom of Burr and the rest of his military associates of his own stamp. We turn from the view of such disinterestedness, with as perfect a consciousness that the possessor of it had the elements of greatness in him, as if he had proved the fact by more than one brief and glorious, though ultimately unsuccessful campaign. But where do we

see any similar indication in the fourscore years, during which Aaron Burr was enjoying an opportunity in this world to furnish it? We turn over the pages of the four volumes now before us in vain. They might as well have been a blank. The noble and heroic spirit is not there; it never could have been in the man. What absurdity, then, to pretend to designate him as great! Had Montgomery lived, the world might have witnessed the career of a hero. Burr did live, and proved to be no more than an adventurer.

The next stage in the career of Mr. Burr, which we are to consider, is that in which he figured as a lawyer. And here we shall be released from any very extended notice of our own, by quoting some long passages from the Life now before us. Mr. Davis appears to have requested some legal friend to aid him with his views in this department of his subject; and that person, whoever he may be, for his name is not mentioned, has shown, in his brief sketch, a power of delineating character which throws that of the biographer himself far into the shade. The man stands before us exactly as we should suppose that he might have done when alive.

"Colonel Burr brought to that study (the law) a classic education as complete as could, at that time, be acquired in our country; and to this was added a knowledge of the world, perhaps nowhere better taught than in the camp, as well as a firmness and *hardihood of character which military life usually confers*, and which is indispensable to the success of the forensic lawyer. He was connected in the family circle with two eminent jurists, who were at hand to stimulate his young ambition, and to pour, in an almost perpetual stream, legal knowledge into his mind by conversation and by epistolary correspondence.

"It has been said, 'that Colonel Burr was not a deep-read lawyer; that he showed himself abundantly conversant with the general knowledge of the profession, and that he was skilful in suggesting doubts and questions; but that he exhibited no indications of a fondness for the science, nor of researches into its abstruse doctrines; that he seemed, indeed, to hold it and its administration in slight estimation. The best definition of law, he said, was "*whatever is boldly asserted and plausibly maintained.*" This sarcasm was intended full as much for the courts as for the law administered by them.'

"If Colonel Burr may have been surpassed in legal erudi-

tion, he possessed other qualifications for successful practice at the bar, which were seldom equalled. He prepared his trials with an industry and forethought that were most surprising. He spared no labor or expense in attaining every piece of evidence, that would be useful in his attacks, or guard him against his antagonist. He was absolutely indefatigable in the conduct of his suits. 'He pursued (says a legal friend) the opposite party with notices, and motions, and applications, and appeals, and re-arguments, never despairing himself, nor allowing to his adversary confidence, nor comfort, nor repose. Always vigilant and always urgent, until a proposition for compromise or a negotiation between the parties ensued. "Now move slow (he would say); never negotiate in a hurry." I remember a remark he made on this subject, which appeared to be original and wise. There is a saying, "Never put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day." "This is a maxim," said he, "for sluggards." A better reading of the maxim is, "Never do to-day what you can as well do to-morrow; because something may occur to make you regret your premature action."'

"'I was struck,' says the same friend, 'in his legal practice, with that tendency to mystery, which was so remarkable in his conduct in other respects. He delighted in surprising his opponents, and in laying, as it were, ambuscades for them. A suit, in which I was not counsel, but which has since passed professionally under my observation, will illustrate this point in his practice. It was an ejectment suit, brought by him to recover a valuable tenement in the lower part of the city, and in which it was supposed, by the able lawyers retained on the part of the defendant, that the only question would be on the construction of the will. On the trial they were surprised to find the whole force of the plaintiff's case brought against the authenticity of an ancient deed, forming a link in their title, and of which, as it had never been questioned nor suspected, they had prepared merely formal proof; and a verdict of the jury, obtained by a sort of *coup-de-main*, pronounced the deed a forgery. Two tribunals have subsequently established the deed as authentic, but the plaintiff lived and died in the possession of the land in consequence of the verdict.'

"He showed nice discrimination in his selection of his professional assistants. When learning was required, he selected the most erudite. If political influence could be suspected of having effect, he chose his lawyers to meet or *improve* the supposed prejudice or predilection. Eloquence was bought, when it was wanted; and the cheaper substitute of brow-beating and vehemence used, when they were equivalent or superior. In nothing did he show greater skill than in his measurement and

application of his agents ; and it was *amusing* to hear his cool discussion of the obstacles of prejudice, or ignorance, or interest, or political feeling, to be encountered in various tribunals, and of the appropriate remedies and antidotes to be employed, and by what persons they should be applied." — Vol. II. pp. 14 – 16.

We do not exactly understand whether it is the biographer or his friend, who found it so *amusing* to listen to Burr, when describing the uses to which the follies and the weakness incident to human nature can be put, in perverting justice by the means of law. Although it sounds like Mr. Davis in the rest of the book, we will not hold him accountable for the language without more positive evidence. But we must say, that our feelings in a like situation would have prompted the use of a very different epithet. Aaron Burr manifestly regarded the truth and right of his causes as being of as little consequence to his success in gaining them, as he did the moral portion, in making up an estimate of his own character. He was a disciple of that school of his profession, not altogether unknown anywhere, which dispenses lawyers from the necessity of a conscience. Throughout the preceding sketch, the predominating feature of his character will be found to have been craft ; nowhere more distinctly visible than in his remarkable inversion of the old maxim therein quoted, — a maxim, it should be observed, not less valuable for the honesty of dealing which it inculcates, than for its prudential advice. For the man who puts off paying a debt to-day, because he may do it equally well to-morrow, will be very likely to finish by not paying it at all ; while he who omits to close a bargain simply from his unwillingness to cut himself off from the prospect of advantage by delay, shows that he is only watching for chances to get the better of his neighbour. The root of the matter, in both cases, is selfish cunning ; — the spring which moved Burr most frequently through life. It was this, which made him acute in trifles, which impelled him to the study of all flaws in title-deeds, and defects of form in legal process ; to the cultivation of technical niceties, and of the innumerable devices by which fictitious issues may be interposed before the true ones. If we needed evidence to prove this beyond the curious anecdote already furnished, we should only have to open the record of his trial at Richmond for treason, in the whole of which not a page will be found of

genuine defence on his part, upon the true question of guilty or not guilty. The mode in which his case was managed is redolent of the foxy nature of the man; now doubling upon his opponent, and now taking earth under the passions of the judge. It was not in Aaron Burr to be open and noble in his action anywhere, and certainly not in law. The power to make that profession an instrument for chicane, for infinite vexation to honest and peaceable men, for shocking oppression of the poor, the simple, or the weak, constitutes the most serious of the evils unavoidably connected with the administration of justice in all countries; and, when we find any person to have misused naturally strong powers of mind to such ends, we shall certainly never award to him any title indicating greatness, unless he is to be made an example of that species of greatness typified by Milton in the person of Belial, in Pandemonium;

> "He seemed
> For dignity composed and high exploit.
> But all was false and hollow; though his tongue
> Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear
> The better reason, to perplex and dash
> Maturest counsels; *for his thoughts were low;*
> To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds
> Timorous and slothful."

We pass, without further ceremony, to the political life of our hero. The transition from law to politics is in this country exceedingly easy, particularly to that large class of persons in whom ambition has more force than the love of virtue. To them the practice of the profession proves eminently useful, as a school of exercise, preparatory to entering the other department of action. It does for many, what it did for Burr; it at once sharpens their reasoning faculties, exercises their rhetorical powers, and dulls the moral sense. Of course we shall here be understood as limiting the application of our remark very much within the circle of all those who practise that profession, which, when pursued in the true spirit, yields to none in the nobleness of the results which it produces. We mean at this time to treat only of those who misuse it, and who leave it only to do worse in a still nobler field. We speak of those, who, like Burr, learn from law to make the duty to self precede that to God, or to their neighbour, and who learn nothing else.

But, when entering upon this branch of our subject, we are conscious that we take up the most difficult part of our task. The passions, which were so deeply agitated during the whole period in which Burr was an actor in public life, have not been laid asleep since he ceased to be so. Parties exist in the community now, as they did then ; and these are not indifferent at this time to any strictures, however honestly or fairly expressed, that bear upon acts in which they boast they trace the origin of their being. In an attempt to make such, which becomes almost unavoidable when treating of a work like the one before us, we are sensible we expose ourselves at every step to charges of partiality or prejudice, exactly as we approve, or disapprove, those particular views of events, which have become established points of faith among the orthodox in any political church. But the knowledge of the danger we run should rather inspire caution in examining ourselves before we form our judgments, than fear to express them to the world, when once deliberately formed. We desire to know no parties, excepting in so far as they are facts. We wish to recognise no merit in them, but that of moral right or wrong. We acknowledge no public men in our history to have been absolutely perfect, and no associations of men to be infallible. But whether they rally under one ensign or another, whether they adopt this or that particular watch-word, we hope to be equally ready in bearing testimony to the virtues, which we believe to have marked their progress, and in censuring the vices which have disgraced it.

Aaron Burr came into public life about the time of the formation of the Constitution of the United States. He adopted the principles of the popular party in New York ; and, when that instrument was submitted to the consideration of the people for acceptance or rejection, he ranged himself among the large number of those who disapproved of its provisions. Although it was finally adopted, yet the party which had rallied in opposition showed itself formidable in point both of numbers and character ; and embracing, as it probably did, a majority of all the citizens who had heartily approved of the Revolution, had roots in the popular feeling which have continued to produce important results even to the present day. Mr. Davis has analyzed the elements of the original parties in a very clear manner, and so as to show how well versed he is in that division of his subject. But,

although they were rapidly acquiring a definite shape after the Constitution had presented the first nucleus around which to form themselves, they did not prevent the occurrence of the singular spectacle in the Senate of the United States, of the representatives of the parties, which were soon after to be diametrically opposed to each other, sitting side by side, in the persons of Aaron Burr and Rufus King, as elected by a common constituency in New York. A state of things like this could not be expected to last long. But the first positive traces of the rapid separation in opinion that took place, which we find in Mr. Davis's book, indicate some peculiarities in the character of Mr. Burr which deserve a few moments' consideration.

George Clinton, who was the governor of the State at the time in question, had been among the most decided of the opponents of the Constitution in New York; and, even after its adoption, continued, in the administration of his office, to favor that class of his fellow-citizens, who had acted with him upon that occasion. The circumstance very naturally excited great dissatisfaction among those who had been friendly to the measure; and they soon turned their attention to devise means by which to manifest their feelings at the polls. John Jay was accordingly brought forward as their candidate at the general election in 1792, in opposition to Mr. Clinton; and, such was the strength of the public confidence in his personal character, and such the force which the successful commencement of the new form of government, that had been advocated by them, had given to their party, that they numbered a majority of all the votes given in. But so very close did the contest prove, that the existence of that majority depended upon the admission of the votes of the County of Otsego, against which an argument was raised on account of certain errors of form in making up the return. The question, who was governor, was made to depend on the question whether there was any legally qualified sheriff in Otsego. Here was a fine opening for the talents of Aaron Burr, who at once took the lead in denying the validity of the votes, whilst Rufus King argued as strenuously in their favor. The friends of the incumbent had the control of the return; and they accordingly declared George Clinton to be the governor elect, by a majority of one hundred and eight votes, without counting those given in the County of Otsego. And Aaron

Burr furnished the papers, upon which they rested the justification of their act before the world. Mr. Davis has again brought them forward in his present work, and endeavoured to sustain them by proving a concurrence in the reasoning on the part of many distinguished lawyers, out of as well as within the limits of the State.

But when we examine the case with that coolness, which the lapse of time ought, in this instance, to secure, we can hardly fail to perceive, that, under the color of law, substantial violence was done to the most important principle established as the basis of government in America. There was no pretence, that the votes actually rejected were not honestly and legitimately given, and that the rejection of them was not, in fact, making the voice of the minority overrule that of the majority. Yet this very result was brought about by the act of that party, which always has the most to lose from the weakening of the maxim establishing the sway of the greater number ; an act aided and abetted by Mr. Burr, who ought, as their representative, to have given them better advice. The voice of the majority of citizens, honestly and regularly expressed, has been universally acknowledged as the sovereign power in nearly all the States. Forms have been established as a necessary incident to the main object of securing that expression in a fair and satisfactory shape, and not with any design of overruling it. When, therefore, any associated number of men seek to get rid of the decision of the majority of their fellow-citizens, upon points which that majority has a clear and acknowledged right to decide, they are undermining the foundation of the fabric, upon which they themselves expect to stand. The healthy action of our system of State and National governments depends upon the determination of those who live under it to abide by the laws which they have agreed upon as the rules for their action. Any attempt then to get rid of the spirit in which they were drawn, by a mere quibble upon the letter, will necessarily weaken the confidence which ought to exist in the sincerity and fair dealing in which they were made. A successful trick, on one side, produces an inclination to counteract its force by a trick on the opposite side ; and the continuance in resorting to them, which may thus be bred, to the utter neglect of all true public interests, originally intended to be protected, inevitably must, in the end,

overturn the whole system, of which it is so great an abuse. That Mr. Burr should have been the first person in the United States to stand forth in defence of such an act, the consequences of justifying which he could not fail to understand, is an important fact for all those to consider, who, in their hurry to secure a temporary party advantage, may feel tempted to resort to similar contrivances.

But, although this is believed to have been the first instance of any attempt to set aside the popular will, it has not been the last. The experiment has been frequently tried, and by almost every party in turn. Luckily for the stability of our institutions, we have never yet seen a case, in which it has not failed of the object intended in a most signal manner. The people have refused to part with an atom of their authority; and, with a jealousy that is, on the whole, commendable, even when it is, as it often has been, somewhat in excess, have generally withdrawn their confidence from those, in whom any design upon it has been even suspected. In the very case which we now consider, such was the public feeling of the nature of the outrage committed upon the electoral franchise, that George Clinton, who had suffered himself to be made the instrument in effecting it, and who had always, before that time, enjoyed great popularity, was, at the next election, left in a decided minority; and Mr. Jay, who had been set aside, together with the Federal party which he represented, was brought into power by such an expression of the public will as nobody could venture to mistake. Such has generally been the result in similar cases since, so far as our experience has gone. And such, it is to be hoped, it may continue to be. For, however incorrectly the majority may occasionally judge, — and we are not of those who regard it as infallible, — the way to rectify their errors is not to deny or pervert the legitimate expression of their will. It is for such statesmen as Colonel Burr was, to prefer form to substance, and, while professing the profoundest submission to the popular will, to devise schemes to get rid of it, when it tells against himself. The act only goes to make an item in his account with posterity, although, even in his lifetime, he had to thank the long period of his term as a Senator of the United States for shelter from the storm which he had raised. For the rest, his arguments, which remain as justifications of the transaction, are exactly such

as a party-leader among us will always be ready to employ, and such as his party will be glad to get, when it has determined to do a violent act which needs some palliation before the public; but they are also such, as even his own generation will never respect him for, and those which come after him will unequivocally condemn.

Of the services of Mr. Burr as a senator, his biographer is not able to record any thing material. He was an active member of the opposition, which had formed itself in Congress, to the administration of General Washington, and hence confined himself to the performance of the duty of merely interposing negatives. Mr. Davis tells us, he defeated a bill to increase the standing army, by taking advantage of a form. He opposed the nomination of Judge Jay as the minister to Great Britain, and the ratification of the treaty which was the result of that mission. But we do not find that he contributed any thing positively valuable to the good government of the country. The most singular incident in his career in this capacity was, that, by his diligence in studying and making extracts from the papers in the Department of State, he roused the suspicions of President Washington to so great a degree, as that he put a stop to his further progress by a peremptory prohibition; — a fact which borrows greater importance from the subsequent opinion expressed of him by the Chief Magistrate, when presented to his consideration as a fit candidate for the mission to France. As the leading members of the Federal party were generally regarded as unlikely to recommend themselves to the existing government in that country, on account of the opinions they held respecting the Revolution then in full course there, the President determined to select his minister from the party in opposition to his administration, that viewed the same series of events with a less severe eye. The choice of the individual, however, he expressed himself willing to leave to the decision of the members of that party then in Congress. They accordingly named to him Mr. Madison or Mr. Burr. The first of the two refused to go, and was therefore put out of the question. But the President declined appointing the other gentleman upon the ground, explicitly avowed, of an entire want of confidence in his integrity. And finally Mr. Monroe was sent. Since the foundation of the government, no similar censure is believed to

have ever been openly placed upon any other individual named as a candidate for high official station, inasmuch as it implies the absence of moral qualities of the most obvious and indispensable necessity to the safety of the national interests. That the President had reasons, satisfactory to his own mind, for thus forming an opinion so extraordinarily severe, we cannot doubt for a moment. But, in the absence of all information, it would be more curious than useful to prosecute any inquiry into the nature of those reasons, or their connexion with the brief period, so many years before, when Burr served as an aid-de-camp to him in New York during the war of the Revolution. It is also worthy of observation, that Mr. Jefferson, when subsequently made President, as the representative of the very party which had recommended Burr to Washington, assigned substantially the same reason for refusing an application, then made in his favor, for a similar situation, although he did it in a more private manner. A judgment thus formed by the heads of both the parties which have divided the country, each in turn, must be regarded as no small testimony to the discredit of our hero.

But neither Mr. Jefferson, nor the party which supported him, reflected upon this want of integrity in Mr. Burr previously to the event of the Presidential election in 1800. And they then felt sufficiently grateful to him for the decided part he took in their favor, to award to him their votes for the second office in their gift. Mr. Davis claims for him the merit of deciding the result of the vote in the city of New York, which secured the control of the legislature, and through that of the Electors, of the State ; and without these it is clear, that Mr. Jefferson must have failed to obtain the requisite majority. We think the claim justly grounded, and admitted even by Mr. Jefferson himself. Indeed we must go the length of conceding, that the author has proved some inconsistency in the conduct and opinions of that gentleman respecting Burr at different periods. But they are not greater than must frequently happen with sanguine party men, who overlook, in the moment of a critical struggle, defects in the moral conduct or character of those with whom they act, which they see plainly enough, and condemn sincerely, after it is over. Mr. Jefferson admits, that he made some exertions to procure for Burr the unanimous vote of the Electors of his own State for Vice-President, and that he

did this from a sense of the services rendered by that gentleman to the common cause in New York. It would have been more prudent on his part, had he then felt that distrust which he expressed of Burr to Mr. Madison at an earlier date, to have suffered matters to take their course. For the omission of a single Elector in Virginia to vote for Mr. Burr would have prevented the occurrence of an event, which, as it was, exceedingly hazarded his own ultimate success. But, when he did exert himself in the manner he describes, and still more, when he wrote the letter published by Mr. Davis, in which he speaks of Burr as having been on his list from which to select his cabinet, we think it is clear he had forgotten that he ever thought him a doubtful character. He had occasions, very soon after, to revive and confirm his old impressions, in the manner we now propose to consider.

It will be recollected by all our readers, that, according to the provisions of the second article of the Constitution, as it originally stood, the Electors, chosen for the purpose of voting for President and Vice-President, were directed simply to ballot for two persons, of whom one should not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves, without designating which of the two was the person to fill either office. This point was only settled when all the votes came to be counted by the President of the Senate, who was then to declare that person to be the President, who should be found to have the greatest number of votes, provided that number was equal to a majority of the Electors appointed to vote. The person having the greatest number of votes of the Electors, after the choice of President, was declared in the same manner to be Vice-President. But if two persons, having a majority of all the Electoral votes, were found to possess an equal number, then the decision between them, which should be President, devolved upon the House of Representatives, voting by States ; and if the same was the case with the two highest after the choice of President, then the Senate, voting by numbers, was to decide which of them should be Vice-President.

Perhaps no stronger case than this was ever presented, of the difficulty of foreseeing the practical effect even of those laws which, in theory, have been most deliberately matured. At first examination, nothing appears more simple

and easy of execution, than the choice of President by the preceding provisions; whereas, in point of fact, nothing could have been imagined, in its operation, less likely to recommend itself to the habits and feelings of our people. In the first place, a moderation, amounting almost to indifference, appears to have been presupposed in them, as to who should be the Chief Magistrate among a number to be voted for; and, in the second, a discretion, as to the choice, was implied to exist in the Electors, which all parties in the Union have always united in their earnestness to deny. The fact was entirely overlooked, that, in a free, elective government, no two persons ever enjoy exactly the same degree of the popular favor; and that the warmth, with which each individual candidate is advocated by his immediate supporters, becomes so great, as not to admit of being easily cooled or transferred to another, at the simple word of the law. Hence, when two persons received the votes of a party for President and Vice-President, this act could not be done without exciting some feeling of preference for one of those persons to fill the first office over the other; and this feeling would not be immediately quieted or forgotten, if the casual vote of some one or more of the Electors chanced to give the preponderance to that individual whom they did not prefer. But the worst feature of all was, that, by leaving it doubtful who was the person intended to be President, an opportunity was afforded to any, who might find motives, public or private, to such a course, to make use of the literal sense of the rule to destroy its spirit; to press the intended Vice-President into the place of the President, when the popular voice was unequivocally in favor of another individual for the latter situation.

The election of 1800 appears to have furnished the first occasion for observing all the principal defects of the law disclosed at once. The struggle between the two great parties which divided the nation, was not the only one which it involved. There was a subordinate contest going on in the ranks of the Federal party itself, which went quite as far as the principal one, and the decision of which, in fact, decided the other. The object of this subordinate contest was, to avail of the provision of the Constitution already cited, in such a manner as to procure for Mr. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, an equal, if not superior, number of the

votes of the Federal Electors, to that given to Mr. John Adams, who was then President, and who was generally regarded as the true competitor of Mr. Jefferson for the office. To gain this end was the object avowed in the celebrated pamphlet, written by Mr. Alexander Hamilton, against the character and conduct of Mr. Adams, and originally designed to operate upon the Electors, particularly those who were expected to be chosen in South Carolina, the native State of Mr. Pinckney. But, by some underhand means, which Mr. Davis does not explain, Mr. Burr was enabled to procure large extracts from the pamphlet before the moment fixed upon by the author for publication, and in time to make the Federal party pay the penalty which was to have been inflicted only upon its ostensible head. These extracts filled the newspapers ; and as they manifested the existence of an incurable schism in the Federal ranks, and an entire absence of mutual confidence, at the very moment of the popular election, when that confidence was most wanted, it cannot be wondered at, that the two doubtful States, New York and South Carolina, instead of sanctioning the scheme by which Mr. Pinckney was to be made President over Mr. Adams, preferred to abandon both, and vote for Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr.

But, so warm had been the contest, and so doubtful the result, that all the Electors, chosen by the democratic party, in their fear of the loss of a single vote for either of their own candidates, voted equally for both ; and thus another embarrassment arose in the place of the one that had just terminated. The result of the election by Electors had proved decisive of the overthrow of the Federal party as such, but it did not establish, with equal clearness, the victory of their opponents. The equality of votes between their two candidates left the question, which of them was to be President, still unsettled ; and, what was worse, threw the decision of it into the hands of the House of Representatives, where a Federal majority still prevailed. Thus two opportunities occurred, during the election, of making an unwise use of the provision of the Constitution for the choice of the Chief Magistrate. The first happened at the Electoral election, in the endeavour to run Mr. Pinckney over the head of Mr. Adams, when a large majority of the Federalists had never thought of the former in any other light than as a candidate

for the Vice-Presidency ; and the second took place in the House of Representatives, when the wish, on the part of the Federalists, to defeat Mr. Jefferson, tempted them to take up the support of Mr. Burr.

We are not sure, that the time has yet arrived in which to go very fully into an examination of the details of this, the most important election that ever took place under the present form of our government. But inasmuch as our author has evidently intended to create impressions in the public mind, which we believe not to be just, in regard to this matter, we will take the liberty of counteracting their effect, as far as we may, by a calm review of the principal points which are involved in it. While on the one hand Mr. Davis broadly insinuates, that Mr. Jefferson procured his own election by corruption, it will also be recollected, that Mr. Jefferson himself is not sparing of similar denunciations against the conduct of Mr. Burr. Probably there are no two men of our revolutionary times, who have left more clearly defined outlines of themselves to posterity, than the two gentlemen whose characters are in this transaction thus unceremoniously condemned ; and, as we happen to believe that the charges are equally incapable of being substantiated against either, we are glad to seize the occasion for explaining our reasons to justify this belief.

It is perfectly well known, that, according to the organization of the House in this election, the Federalists, when voting by States, were strong enough to prevent the possibility of a choice without their consent, although they were not able to make that choice themselves. As a consequence, the decision of the event in favor of one or the other candidate, depended upon two arrangements. Either a portion of the most lukewarm of the republicans must have voted with the Federal party in favor of Mr. Burr, only three or four of whom would have been necessary to elect him ; or a portion of the Federalists, not greater in number, were called upon to recede from their support of that gentleman, and thus permit the election of Mr. Jefferson. It is manifest from this, that any very positive control over the result rested in very few hands, and that among those few, if anywhere, must the charge of corruption, if it is well founded, be made to rest. Now Mr. Davis insinuates very strongly his suspicions of the motives, under which all of the deciding votes

were given, as well those of the lukewarm Republicans, who as it appears afterwards received appointments to office under Mr. Jefferson, as those made in blank by the Federalists, which ultimately effected his election ; and, to justify his suspicions, he publishes certain depositions made by the actors in the scene, particularly General Samuel Smith and Mr. Bayard, intended to establish the terms of the negotiation made between the parties prior to the decision.

The fact is unquestionable, that the individuals who gave the deciding votes in the delegations from the States of Maryland, New Jersey, and New York, were appointed to office by Mr. Jefferson, in the course of his administration ; but before we go on to draw uncharitable conclusions from it, perhaps we ought to reflect upon the principles by which those votes should be tried. The question presented for decision was a simple one enough. It was, whether the person whom the people had intended to make President should be elected, or whether another person, who had never been thought of by them for that office, should be substituted in his room. The Republican votes given in the House of Representatives for the purpose of carrying into effect the voice of the people by electing Mr. Jefferson, appear therefore to have been offered in a perfectly natural and consistent way, and require in themselves no apology whatsoever. It is only the circumstance of a subsequent appointment to office, which throws suspicion upon an act, which could in no other manner have been considered otherwise than perfectly proper. But that appointment, in order to have any bearing upon the subject, should be shown to have been a consideration weighing in the mind of the voter at the time his vote was given, and to have induced him to give it in a manner different from that, which his judgment and his conscience, when perfectly unbiassed, would have approved. We have never seen a particle of proof, that the gentlemen concerned had ever received from Mr. Jefferson, or any of his friends, either directly or indirectly, any intimation of benefit to accrue to themselves from the vote they might give for him. And we should hardly deem it consistent with political justice, that the mere act should be regarded as having ever after disqualified the parties from an equal right with the rest of their fellow-citizens, to serve in any public capacity for which they might be supposed properly fitted. In order to believe a

corrupt motive at the bottom of their conduct, it is necessary to maintain, that they really and truly regarded Aaron Burr as the safer statesman and better man, and the people as wishing his success. But if they had done so, and had voted for Mr. Burr in consequence, thereby making him the President, how much stronger would have been the ground for suspecting their motives. An appointment to office under those circumstances, would then have carried great reason for uncharitable surmise, which it does not appear to us to do now. We do not believe one single person, then in Congress, of any party, considered Mr. Burr in any light more honest or respectable than Mr. Jefferson; nor can we imagine, that the latter had any reason to offer, even to the most wavering members of his own party, additional inducements beyond those which already existed clearly and strongly, to impel them to the performance of their duty. Had the contest been of another kind, and between persons holding a different relative place in the public esteem, there might have been more reason for hesitation; but, as it was, and considering the exact relation which the candidates bore to each other in the public mind, we more wonder, that there could have been a doubt about it, than that it was settled as it was. The election of Mr. Burr would have been a conclusion, which, from its far more necessary implication of the characters of those engaged in it, would have been deeply to be regretted. We rejoice that it was otherwise, not from any feeling of favor between the persons, but from the single consideration, that, in the actual termination of this hazardous trial, the Constitution of the United States was in form and spirit fully preserved.

It being so clearly understood, that Mr. Jefferson was the person whom a majority of the people really intended to be President, we have always regarded as indiscreet the attempt made by the Federalists in the House to defeat his election. But it cannot be denied, that their action was strictly within the letter, if it did not conform in the spirit, of the constitutional provision. An ordinary construction of the same would even justify the exercise of a sound discretion in the selection of an individual with a view to other qualifications than that of the mere possession of a greater number of votes. The question, however, in the present instance was, whether any such qualifications actually existed in Mr. Burr. We, at this day, think not. But a majority of the Federal

party in the House of Representatives at the time thought otherwise ; and, so far as we know, their belief was earnest and sincere. Most of them acted under habitual apprehensions of the evil consequences likely to flow from Mr. Jefferson's access to power. We see, at every step, the alarm which pervaded their bosoms. They trembled, and not entirely without color of reason, for the fate of the Judiciary, of the National Debt, of the Navy ; and of the official incumbents throughout the Union. And, in the anxiety to save these from the hands of an avowed enemy, they did not scan very narrowly those into which they were inclined to trust them. Still all the inducements under which they acted were public and not personal. They had little communication with Mr. Burr himself, who appears to have kept himself retired and uncommitted. And many of them consented to the delay of the decision, which always continued in their hands, only that they might procure some further assurances to quiet their minds respecting the points of public policy, about which they were uneasy.

That they did in fact obtain, very indirectly, and in a reluctant manner, some assurances of the kind desired from the opposite party, is we think clearly shown by the depositions of Messrs. Smith and Bayard, notwithstanding the denial of Mr. Jefferson himself. And perhaps to these it may be owing, that a very material and important variation in the public language of the latter gentleman on some of the subjects in question, from what it had before been, took place during his presidency. His tone respecting the public debt created by the pending system became less fierce, while in action he did nothing to shake its credit, and, with regard to the other institutions in question, he limited himself to advocating trifling modifications in their form. His administration passed away without realizing to the public the tremendous evils which were prophesied as likely to follow from it. Perhaps the very existence of those predictions had some effect in preventing their verification. Mr. Jefferson was a bold destroyer in theory, but timid when he came to practise. Devotedly attached to his notions of government, which underwent much modification in the different stages of his career, he was yet unwilling to hazard any very serious trial of their efficacy, that might have carried with it a danger of social disorganization. He was content to thunder against

the Supreme Court and Chief Justice Marshall, without ever striking at the foundation of the tribunal, and to claim the right of removing Federalists from office, without carrying it into extensive execution. If we look back and compare his administration with the principles upon which he was brought into power, we shall be disposed to call it essentially conservative ; for which character it may nevertheless have been somewhat indebted to the conscientious forbearance of opposition on the part of his enemies, to which he owed his election. Be this, however, as it may, it did not justify the extravagant apprehensions which had been formed of it, nor the violence proposed as a means of defeating it. The Federalists committed an error in imagining that they could serve any great public interest, to which they were attached, by the method of action which they adopted. But their error appears to have arisen from no corrupt motive, or selfish consideration. It was of that kind, which parties are often led into by the vehemence of their passions, but which the people almost invariably have resented as equal to the greatest crime, because it looks to set aside their will.

It is very well understood, that Alexander Hamilton, who exercised great power over the leading politicians of the Federal school, was decidedly adverse to the project of elevating Mr. Burr to the Presidency. He probably regarded him as in no respect deserving of greater confidence than Mr. Jefferson, and, on the mere ground of policy, it seems as if it was very unadvisable to run the risk of so violent a measure as the perversion of the popular voice, for so poor a chance that ultimate benefit to the country would result from it. And here a moral reflection seems almost unavoidable. For, had Burr been other than he was, his ambition might have come nearer to gratification. Art and intrigue and clever management may at certain times be regarded as the surest methods to attain partial political success ; but at others they will prove the most effectual barrier to the highest stations. Had Mr. Burr, when he came into active competition with Mr. Jefferson, possessed any of the noblest qualities of the statesman and the patriot ; had he raised himself in the estimation of his opponents by his preceding career, instead of incurring the withering censure of their favorite chief, Washington ; had he, in short, been a great man, even in what they held to be his errors, instead of a low party politician,

their extreme dread of Mr. Jefferson's theories would have confirmed itself into confidence, in preferring the alternative presented in Mr. Burr's general character. They would have adhered to his support with greater hope of justifying themselves before the people, and they would have presented to the lukewarm supporters of Mr. Jefferson a most difficult and trying question between the hazard of anarchy and the abandonment of their first choice. The election of Mr. Burr might, in this event, although still a violation of the people's will, have been an honorable testimony of his political enemies to his personal character, and have furnished to him an opportunity for a creditable administration of the government. We cannot say, that we regret at all the happening of another result. For we hold, that the popular will, when expressed according to law, should always with us be respected; and that, however incorrect we may ourselves believe its decision sometimes to be, the way to effect a change is, to operate upon public opinion, instead of setting it at defiance. But to Mr. Burr it made all the difference in the world. For however his election, had it taken place without any interference of his own, might have manifested the confidence placed in his character, the failure, after the attempt was deliberately made, rather shows that he had none to stand upon.

Yet we are not of those who would censure Mr. Burr for the part he took in the election of 1801. We see no evidence to prove the truth of the charges made against him by Mr. Jefferson of direct interference, but on the contrary some internal marks of their absurdity. He committed, to be sure, a crime, in the eyes of his party, by the cold neutrality assumed by him during the period in which he was made the instrument by which the Federalists hoped to prevent Mr. Jefferson's ascendency. Perhaps, in strict duty, he should have declined competing for a situation, for which he had not been intended. There is a latitude allowable in construing the terms of the Constitution, as they then stood, which will release us from absolutely deciding the point against him. Yet, after a consideration of the whole case *in foro conscientiæ*, we do not perceive much in his conduct upon this occasion deserving of censure.

He settled down into the Vice-Presidency, immediately after the contest was over, a second-rate man. The day of

his power had gone for ever. He had failed to secure the confidence of his political opponents, and had forfeited that of his friends. His position became one of great difficulty ; but still it was not one, from which a man of extraordinary qualifications, mental and moral, could not have extricated himself with credit. He failed to do so. His love of the mysterious predominated over his sense of the necessity of being frank. His fear of committing his opinions, in any form which he could not at convenience disavow, removed friends and foes indiscriminately from all the avenues of sympathy with his condition. The less they knew his motives of action, the more they distrusted them ; and, in proportion as they noticed his anxiety to hide them, did they magnify their evil nature. Mr. Burr's career as Vice-President, furnishes the last and strongest proof of his want of merit as a political character. It stands before the nation, a mere blank. Acute in his perceptions, rather than just ; keen in his intellectual powers, rather than philosophical, or capacious ; cunning in his projects, rather than noble or wise ; he seems to have shunned all occasions for any active exercise of a beneficent influence upon public affairs, in order to employ his public hours in contriving new ciphers in which to envelope mean ideas or worthless intrigues, and his private ones in multiplying devices to form degrading relations with weak or profligate women. His standard for all human action was low ; his estimate of the motives of others generally the meanest. In searching the volumes before us, we have been astonished, to find how little can justify the biographer's ascription to him, in any sense, of "high moral elevation." He had it not himself ; he did not believe in its existence anywhere. And, in considering these elements of his character, it is with some feeling of shame to ourselves as citizens of the United States, that we are obliged to remember, that such a man secured a majority of voices in the United States, in favor of his claim to the second office in the gift of the people, and was not entirely without a prospect of arriving even at the first.

When the party friendly to the administration of Mr. Jefferson took their final measures to supersede Mr. Burr in the Vice-Presidency at the next election, the party in opposition, by a habit not uncommon in similar cases, determined to take advantage of any popular sympathy which might

exist in his favor among his ancient friends, and accordingly brought him forward as a candidate for governor in New York. The election was warmly contested, and turned against him, in the end, only in consequence of the interference of General Hamilton, who again exerted his ability to deter members of the Federal party from voting for him, as they would otherwise have done. There is no reason to suppose, that, in this course of repeated hostility to Burr, Hamilton was actuated by other feelings than he professed ; but his vehemence very naturally carried a mark of personal enmity with it to the at once mortified and irritated feelings of the twice disappointed candidate. The accidental publication of a report of some unguarded language, used by Hamilton at a caucus during the election, furnished an opportunity for revenge. A duel followed, and Hamilton fell. The immediate cause of this fatal result has appeared to many to have been so trifling, that they have wondered that it should ever have been suffered to operate ; and a superficial moral has often been drawn from it, which the case appears to us not to justify. Here, as not infrequently elsewhere, the pretext for the duel was but a faint index of the burden of offence weighing in a cumulative manner upon the mind of the offended party. Mr. Burr was not one of those, who suffer anger to evaporate in violent expressions or mere menacing gestures. He seems to have had his temper always at his command. In a worldly point of view he had nothing to gain from shooting his opponent, and much probably to lose. Yet the deliberation, with which he planned his method of attack, shows that he was in a perfect condition to count the cost of his conduct. Mr. Burr seized the occasion of an indiscreet act of a totally indifferent person, to involve his antagonist in responsibility for a great deal more that had been said and done offensively, than had been brought to light by that act. He only closed the net, which his opponent had been spreading for himself, and that in such a manner that nobody could relax his grasp. There is ample evidence to show, that Mr. Hamilton was earnestly desirous of avoiding a duel. But he was dealing with a person, who was as resolute in his purpose of forcing him into it. The published correspondence respecting it is as characteristic of Mr. Burr, as any thing which remains of him. It betrays throughout a cool determination to press his opponent with an alternative, which he perfectly knew it would

not be in his power or his disposition to accept. It shows the desire to settle a long account of injuries received, in the blood of his enemy at the hazard of his own. These injuries were, to be sure, suffered in political contentions. But the line between personal and political invective is so indistinctly defined, that few men possess the calmness of mind, or the reflection, necessary always to observe it. It is not likely that Hamilton had been of the number. He had probably indulged in excessive severity against Burr among his political friends, which he could neither deny nor retract with honor. The lesson ought to be a useful one, although we greatly doubt whether it is ever remembered as such. Mr. Hamilton probably fell a victim to a thoughtless use of intemperate language, whilst Burr earned, by his share of the business, credit for singularly cool, deliberate vindictiveness. Hamilton was indiscreet; Burr bloodthirsty. Last of all, Hamilton laid down his life as the price of the world's opinion; Burr paid the same opinion as the price of his enemy's life. Few incidents have happened in the course of our history, which are more full of materials for reflection than this event.

Nothing remained for our hero, but the prospect of desperate enterprises. He became, more completely than ever, a mere adventurer. A project of some sort of dominion appears to have been in his mind, while presiding officer of the Senate at Washington; and, to further it, he earnestly occupied himself whilst there in forming such connexions as might prove useful to him. But the extension of these, in the section of country proposed by him to be the theatre for his future operations, became the motive for a journey taken in the summer of 1805, in the course of which, from Pittsburg to New Orleans, he appears to have been tracing the features of his plan.

But what these features were, and what the real design, has never fully appeared. We expected from our author some light upon this, the most mysterious incident in our history; but we have not been favored with it. He contents himself with a meagre relation of what he believes to have been the design of Mr. Burr, which leaves unexplained much that is at variance with a supposition of its truth. He moreover decides, rather peremptorily, as we think, that the charge of treason to the United States involved in the transaction

was not only absurd but ridiculous, without showing wherein the nonsense precisely consists. It is a well-known fact, that, upon this particular subject, Mr. Burr himself, during the last years of his life, when he talked freely of most past events, was always extremely reserved. Who were the associates upon whom he relied, and how far they were engaged to go with him, were questions he avoided ; and in this conduct his biographer has steadily followed in his footsteps. There seems a little inconsistency in this. If the plan of Burr was no more than is declared, and confined itself simply to an expedition against Mexico, in failure of which an attempt was to be made to settle a tract of land upon the Washita, it surely could not be deemed likely so injuriously to affect the reputation of the individuals concerned in it, as to require the suppression of their names. On the contrary, justice to them would seem to demand that a publication of the exact truth should relieve them from the suspicion, under which many of them have labored, of worse intentions. At this time, indeed, the exposition would be attended with few consequences to any one living, and is desirable principally in an historical point of view. That there really was a double plot, seems hardly deniable, when we consider the evidence of Generals Wilkinson and Eaton, the substance of whose testimony at the trial at Richmond can hardly be discredited, whatever may be the opinion formed of the men. Mr. Jefferson himself seems to have so understood it, from the official information furnished to him in abundance at the time. This double plot was somewhat characteristic of Burr. He found that he had to contend in the Western country with a decided attachment to the Union and to the administration of Mr. Jefferson. In order to get over this, he gave out, among those likely to be affected by it, that his project was only against Mexico, and that in this he was promised the coöperation of both the American and British governments, whilst, to his more intimate associates, he breathed a spirit nothing short of utter contempt and enmity to the institutions of the United States themselves. From all that we now see, we can only infer, that he hoped to organize his expedition by holding out the idea, always popular in the section of country in which he was acting, of an inroad upon Mexico ; but that, after it was really on foot, he cherished the hope of turning its force upon his country, at least so far as to get possession of

New Orleans, and make that city the centre of a new government of the West. If this is not a true explanation, we know not well how to find one. For Mr. Burr's project, as given by himself, appears so rash, ill digested, and feebly concerted, (fit to spring from the brain of an idiot rather than out of the head of a calculating politician and daring officer,) that, if we are forced to believe his deathbed declarations, we must at the same time admit a striking contradiction to have taken place of the principal characteristics which mark the man throughout all of his preceding life.

It should be observed, that, until the formation of this deep intrigue, the western people knew, personally, nothing of Burr. He had never before appeared among them in order to conciliate towards himself those feelings of deep attachment, without which an enterprise like his is hardly practicable. And, when he came, his system of mystery was little calculated to act upon the warm-tempered, open-hearted men of that region. The consequence was, that there was no cohesion in the chain he was forming. When his small party embarked in his boats at Cincinnati, and looked to either bank of the Ohio and the Mississippi as they descended, for the auxiliaries whom he had engaged, they were destined to meet with nothing but disappointment. These persons feared to commit themselves irrevocably to a man whom they did not fully know. The consequence was, that, when he had reached the proper point to communicate with New Orleans, his force remained too small to impose even upon the imagination of General Wilkinson. That officer, who had previously to this instant been acting very ambiguously, to say the least of it, now found himself constrained to save himself and his reputation by sacrificing Burr. He even contrived to do more, and actually made a merit of his preceding equivocation. Without entering into further detail respecting this, it is only necessary to add, that, from the moment Wilkinson turned his back, Burr's hope was extinguished. The few individuals, who had embarked with him in his voyage down the river, quietly dispersed, the grand scheme which had put the whole Western country in a ferment evaporated in smoke, and its projector and chief executor, upon landing in the territory of Mississippi with a view to escape from justice, found himself utterly unable to resist the

miserable force of the corporal's guard which apprehended him.

Perhaps a more ignominious failure never took place ; and it would seem as if it would have been more expedient in the government of the Union, if it had decided there to let the matter rest. But Mr. Jefferson construed his duty otherwise ; and the consequence was, that Burr was tried for treason by the Court of the United States, sitting at Richmond, over which Chief Justice Marshall presided. His conviction became a political question ; the eagerness manifested to procure which, by the party of the majority, excited a corresponding anxiety in the minority to defeat it. The trial proved to be a test of legal acuteness in technical defence, rather than of truth. Burr stood wholly upon the law of forms, in which he was supported by five of the most distinguished lawyers of Virginia and Maryland. He secured a degree of public sympathy which he scarcely deserved, because the over-earnestness of the President to secure a conviction, which forfeited his life, bore the aspect of personal rancor against a fallen and prostrate foe. Under these circumstances he escaped, only through a result which he himself somewhere calls a drawn battle. Chief Justice Marshall, in pronouncing an opinion, in this perhaps the most critical situation of his life, confined himself strictly within the question of jurisdiction ; and the jury, in bringing in a corresponding verdict, expressly excepted to the general inference in favor of the prisoner which it might occasion. Hence, although Burr was found not guilty of treason within the limits of Virginia, he might have been proved so elsewhere ; and, even if the act should be admitted to have been nowhere susceptible of strict legal establishment in a capital trial, it may now be not unreasonably charged upon him before the bar of reason and conscience.

Although Aaron Burr stepped out of the court-room safe from all further hazard of prosecution, he found himself bankrupt both in fortune and in fame. Nothing to hope or to expect remained to him in America. The party whose ascendency he had done more than any other man in the Union to secure, had become deeply embittered against him for the virulence indulged in by him and his legal advisers, during the trial, against their leader, Mr. Jefferson ; whilst the Federalists, however they might overlook for a time,

could neither forgive nor forget, his murder of Mr. Hamilton. And other persons, including, perhaps, all that numerous class who regard politics as secondary to morals and religion, though they took no active part in the passions excited by the contest, yet had learned enough of the man to regard him with sentiments of dread and the deepest distrust. It was manifest, that to him the game was up in the United States; and no alternative was left, but to bid good-bye to home, and try his fortune in another land.

It was with this view, that, in 1808, Burr took his passage in a British packet bound to England, and that he spent the four succeeding years in a residence in various parts of Europe. At first the hope seems to have been strong within him of enlisting the government of England or of France in support of his long-cherished schemes against some of the Spanish-American States. But the period was not propitious; and, as his prospect of active occupation grew dim, he resigned himself, without a struggle, to a state of listless and unprofitable indolence. Instead of contriving the overthrow of great States, he became content to exercise his restless faculties upon projects of making vinegar out of wood, and improving artificial teeth. It is of the four years now in question, that the "Private Journal," which makes the second of the works named at the head of our article, gives some account. A solitary individual, in a strange land, Burr hit upon a Diary, as an expedient to while away some lonely hours, as well as to amuse the melancholy of the only being in the world, who, through all his fortunes, adhered to him with undeviating attachment, his daughter, Mrs. Alston. This Diary is now given to the world by the same gentleman who furnished the biography. We took it up with greater expectations than were destined to be fulfilled. Any work of the kind, when the product of a thinking and powerful mind, appears to us to promise beforehand much entertainment. It needs only, that the writer should describe scenes of interest in which he lived, or conversations with able men, or simply throw his own thoughts and feelings boldly upon the paper, and his book must inevitably prove an agreeable companion. Unfortunately Mr. Burr has done no one of these three things. His love of the mysterious pervades every page, showing itself in dark allusions, which cannot easily be applied by the general reader, or in enigmatical cir-

cumlocutions, which are not worth the trouble it would take to understand them. It is an amusing circumstance, that a man, who made it a principle, through life, to commit nothing of importance in his own mind, to writing, should have ever thought of keeping a Journal. Indeed, to do him justice, he describes his plan, rather as in the nature of a lawyer's notes, from which he may freely communicate his reminiscences orally to his daughter, than as a full relation of his life. The work itself answers the description he gives; it is like a lawyer's brief, and about as interesting.

Yet there are touches of nature in it, here and there, which prevent one from positively throwing it down in disgust. It is constantly tantalizing us with the hope of something better to come. We collect from it no information of the precise objects of his voyage; yet we see that he communicates with distinguished men. Celebrated names pass in review before us, with as little result as the figures made upon the wall by a magic lantern. We are told, it is true, of that which he ate and drank, of his anxiety respecting a pimple on his nose and a cut lip, but not a hint of what he means to do. We are informed of the merit of *café blanc* and Roussillon wine, much more fully than of the characters of Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Canning, of Denon and Volney, with whom he seems to have had conferences in England and in France. Decidedly the most interesting pages of the Journal are those which disclose his extreme poverty, and the shifts which he made to live from day to day. Otherwise it is as much a blank as it could be made. There is but a single elevated thought, and not one striking, original reflection, coming from Burr, in the two volumes. And that thought is more remarkable as his, than for any other reason, because it is the only one, approaching to any sense of religion, that we are able to impute to him. It may be found near the close of the work, in the account of his voyage from Boston to New York. We must also beg leave to observe, that the typographical execution is by no means creditable to the publishers, who have suffered the French language to be most unjustly tortured in the phrases which Burr so frequently introduces.

There is one disclosure made in this Diary, which appears to us to put the finishing stroke upon Burr's character. We refer to the serious claim advanced by him to the right of

citizenship in Great Britain, in order to secure himself from the inconvenience attending the rigid execution of the alien act. We do not, for ourselves, comprehend how a person, who, according to his biographer, had examined the merits of the question between Great Britain and the Colonies, and who, from the result of that examination, had become a Whig as well by conviction as by feeling, should have advanced any such claim. Nor can we perceive, how his oath of allegiance to Great Britain, due as a citizen, could be reconciled to his having borne arms against her during five years of the Revolutionary war. What estimate are we to form of his motives, when we see him, very contentedly, returning to acknowledge the sovereign, whose tyrannical exercise of power, he had pretended, was so intolerable as to justify armed resistance? We leave this question for more profound casuists to settle, only remarking, that the effect of this movement was decisive upon Lord Hawkesbury, who not only pronounced the claim monstrous, but took immediate measures to remove the claimant from the kingdom. It was only the absence of power to do evil, which could make such an individual perfectly harmless. Yet our biographer, in noticing this, perhaps the most barefaced act of his whole life, passes it off almost without any censure at all. He thinks the claim was "certainly unfounded, and injudiciously asserted, for it probably increased the suspicion and distrust entertained of him;" that is, in other words, that Burr was more to blame for his folly in disclosing his knavery, than for the knavery itself. Surely Mr. Davis can have formed only a very feeble conception of the distinction between right and wrong in political conduct, and can entertain no great veneration for the principles at the bottom of our Revolutionary struggle, if he is ready to designate so shameful and profligate a desertion of them in no more sufficient terms. A man, with whom patriotism did not weigh in the scale with a slight personal inconvenience from the British alien act, only needed the same temptations, into which Benedict Arnold fell, to do as he did, and fully merited the severe sentence, which Washington so early passed upon his integrity.

The dread of his extraordinary powers of intrigue seems to have been felt, alike by the British government, and by Napoleon, then Emperor of France. After a stay of a few

months in London, and a visit to Edinburgh, where he was received with great distinction, he, in his Diary, dated April 4th, 1809, makes the following record.

"*Having a confused presentiment that something was wrong*, packed up my papers and clothes with intent to go and seek other lodgings. At one o'clock came in, without knocking, four coarse looking men, who said they had a state warrant for seizing me and my papers; but refused to show the warrant. I was peremptory, and the warrant was produced, signed 'Liverpool'; but I was not permitted to read the whole. They took possession of my trunks, searched every part of the room for papers, threw all the loose articles into a sack, called a coach, and away we went to the Alien office," &c. — *Private Journal*, Vol. I. p. 189.

Now nobody in the world will suspect Burr of superstition. Therefore it is fair to infer, that a confused presentiment, which was so strong in him as to impel him to remove to new lodgings, and which carried its own verification so immediately as to prevent him from executing his intention, could not have been felt, without a corresponding sense of something previously done or conceived, which might give occasion to so unceremonious a visit. But what this something was, we are left as much in the dark about as usual. There is a break in the Journal from the preceding 19th of March, although, if the vacuum had been supplied, we should not probably have been the wiser. It is enough to add, that his liberation from confinement was upon the condition of his departure from the kingdom within forty-eight hours. He accepted the alternative, and sailed to Sweden, from whence he made his way to France. But he had already attracted the notice of the French police under Napoleon, who directed M. de Bourrienne, his minister at Hamburg, to watch him as a dangerous man. We are, at this day, entirely at a loss to know the reasons for this treatment. Even when he succeeded in reaching Paris, it was only to find himself in strict *surveillance*, without the power to move from the spot which he had chosen. We see that he became pennyless, and obliged to exercise his wits, in order to live from day to day, because all this is shown very fully in the Diary. But why it was, that he was regarded as so important a personage, when he seems to us to have lost all ability equally to injure and to aid, having become a mere cipher in society,

is not explained, and probably never will be exactly understood.

A remarkable characteristic of Burr, presented in his Diary, was his self-control. This was manifested by his suppression of all expressions of indignation against those persons who treated him ill, and of every sentiment of discontent or unhappiness, under circumstances of distress and privation, which have rarely been the lot, in so great a degree, of men so distinguished as he was in life. Mr. Davis says, truly, that "not a discontented or fretful expression is to be found in his voluminous memoranda." "The Journal contains a protracted record of privations, sometimes threatening absolute and hopeless want, but endured throughout with undisturbed and characteristic fortitude and gayety." It may be added, that, when his application for a passport to return to the United States was answered by Mr. Russell, then diplomatic representative of the United States at Paris, in terms of refusal, which appear to us to have been needlessly harsh and insulting, the simple fact is recorded with little of comment. So, whenever he met with marks of the detestation in which he was held by most of his countrymen abroad, who would not bear letters or bundles home for him, if they knew them to be his, he notices them, in this most private communication of his feelings, with scarcely a sign of sensibility. Yet that Burr felt insult, his duel with Hamilton clearly proves. There are but two methods of explaining his conduct. He may have hardened himself to bear, without shrinking, what he saw must be his fate, until he really ceased to feel it; or his early-learned habits of dissimulation led him, as a matter of policy, to suppress all manifestation of sentiments, the indulgence of which might, at any time, inconveniently commit him. We leave it to those, who take sufficient interest in the subject, to select the motive which bears the highest analogy to his general character. No matter what it is, the effect is unquestionably agreeable. We can hardly help liking the man, who is cheerful and resigned. There is a natural sympathy with the patient under adversity, which defies reasoning. And, when we see this adversity increased by the wilful malice or cowardly fears of fellow-creatures, and no symptoms of relenting in pursuit of means to crush an enemy already fallen, whatever may have been our opinions of the sufferer, and however deserving we may

regard him of his fate, censure will give place to pity, and condemnation will not be unmingled with regret.

Burr returned to America, neither a wiser nor a better man than when he left it ; but he came to lose all of the little compensation, which this life had yet to give him, and to linger on the scene, many years, an isolated wretch. Through all his European wanderings, one object appears to have remained bright to him, a polestar, by which to regulate his course. One daughter and her child then still existed, towards whom his affections seemed to yearn, with a degree of warmth increasing as they grew dead to every other being, and whose continuance in life was the only futurity, about which he was uniformly sanguine. But even they were to be taken from him before he was able to see them again, one of them by a natural death, and the other, when upon her way to him, by a melancholy fate, which has never been explained. And thus he became a being thoroughly deserted and desolate, yet to live for more than twenty years, as his biographer describes him, "in a condition more mortifying and more prostrate, than any distinguished man has ever experienced in the United States."

The biographer tells us, that Mr. Burr entertained great contempt for history, and confided little in its details. These prejudices were strengthened, he adds, "by the consideration that justice, in his opinion, had not been done to himself." Mr. Davis seems more than half inclined to believe this complaint well founded, when he ascribes the result to what he deems a great error in Burr, whose practice was, when attacked by the newspapers, "to keep silence, leave his actions to speak for themselves, and let the world construe them as they pleased." This enabled his enemies to create upon the public mind an impression against him, by giving them the advantage of a one-sided story. We are not sure, that, in ordinary cases, we should not consider Mr. Burr's system more judicious, than that recommended by his biographer. A truly virtuous man will live down calumny more certainly in America, than in any other country where that instrument of attack is less boldly and unscrupulously used. There is a tendency in falsehood, when carried to a great extent, to defeat its own purpose. And many public men have derived quite as much benefit from the incredulity of the public about statements made of their errors, as they have in-

jury from the misrepresentation of their good conduct. Neither to affirm nor to deny what was asserted respecting him on indifferent authority, was good policy in Mr. Burr, who never exposed himself to be contradicted by any thing written under his own hand, and who would have been more likely to be injured than benefited by a clear exposition of his true motives of action. He acted in this, as in every other part of his life, upon calculation. And we are inclined to think in his case that calculation just. There might be more doubt, where there was less to conceal. With respect to the injustice, which he felt had been done to him, we are at a loss to know wherein it lies. The purpose of history is answered by recording results, and it cannot be expected unerringly to mark out the separate share which each individual had in producing them. Hence it cannot be a matter of surprise, if mistakes do occasionally arise from confounding the agency of one person in any event, with that of another. Possibly injustice may sometimes be done in this manner, and one man may gain credit, or incur censure, for the act of his neighbour. This is probably the kind of injustice which Burr complained of, but after all it is trifling. The life of any distinguished man is not judged of by one act more or less, nearly so much as by the general complexion of all. Even admitting that Mr. Burr was entitled to complain, that he had been robbed of his merited reward, in one or two instances, (although we know nothing to prove it,) yet we cannot infer from this any thing which should shake the estimate formed of his character. His actions from boyhood to advanced age do speak for themselves, as he said they would; and no effort to cover them with apologies or explanations, as Mr. Davis would have recommended, could have proved effectual. There are none of the leading public men of the Revolution, with the exception perhaps of Washington, who have not left materials behind them, in which a sharper outline of themselves will be perceptible, through all the coats of color and varnish which they may have attempted to lay on, than was traceable in their own age. Mr. Burr has proved nothing against the history he condemns. A friend has furnished to the world all the documents in his defence, which his own care supplied. He has even suppressed what bore hardest against him, and gone as far to palliate and to excuse as he dared. Yet where does Burr now

stand ? Has his fame grown brighter than it was ? and will he yet be one of that noble band, whose good name will be associated with the origin of the United States, to the end of recorded time ? Who can hesitate to answer these questions unfavorably ? And what doubt can there be, that the sentence of his own generation will not be fully confirmed by posterity ?

Yet it may be possible, that the retribution, which was visited upon Burr during his later life, was, although perhaps not greater than he deserved, still much more severe than has fallen to the share of others, who were in fact not a whit better than he. The popular voice has perhaps at other times been more lenient, or more mistaken. It ought not to be forgotten, that Burr's name, scorched as it was by the censure of Washington, came very near being placed upon the same level with his, in the list of those to whom their fellow-citizens have awarded the highest mark of their confidence. Had it been ordained, that Aaron Burr should become President of the United States, and had his ambition, unchastened as it proved to be, exhausted its force in the legitimate channels afforded by the country's institutions, he might have escaped the heavy condemnation he now receives, and have been lauded for virtuous and patriotic motives of action which he never entertained. We may admit, that, in this point of view, history may be often, although we know not that it has been, defective. We are conscious, that

"Gilded wood will many worms enfold,"

and that the principles of man are often the mere consequence of the situation in which he is placed. But what is this to Mr. Burr ? Another fate might have made him appear to us better than he was, but it does not entitle him to complain of that which shows him as no worse. This might justify him in contemning that history, which exalts some into patriots and statesmen, who in other circumstances would have been what he was; but not in moving to arrest the true judgment, which his own thoughts, words, and deeds have brought down upon him.

Of the moral character of Burr, we fear that we have not much to say in praise. With the records of his notorious and abandoned profligacy, which he prided himself in preserving all his life, with the view of giving them afterwards

to the world, we are very glad that Mr. Davis took effective measures to prevent our having any acquaintance. In this, if in nothing else, he has done a great service to the public morals. As a domestic man, we see little to condemn, if not much to praise. Of his wife we find a few letters, which breathe the most ardent affection for him, and a better general spirit, than we should have expected. They are answered by him in terms, at first apparently quite as strong, cooling gradually down until they cease with her death, after which, in all the letters to his daughter, and in his Journal, we do not remember a single instance of recurrence to her memory. Not a sigh at her death, — not a moment set apart as a tribute to her worth. The letters to his daughter go right on, as if nothing had happened. She appears to have taken up all the room he gave to domestic attachment. She became the pride of his heart and the darling of his affections. So far as we may be qualified to judge of her from the perusal of her letters, which form a part of the works before us, we should pronounce her to have been worthy of much regard. The education, which she had received, was, in many respects, peculiar, and grew out of her father's notions on the subject. He prized the masculine virtues much, and hence maintained, that boys and girls should be treated, in youth, upon the same plan. To him, religion seems to have been no essential, and morality rather important as a rule of expediency, than of abstract right. He held the want of genius, which he confessed he perceived in the great number of the female sex, to spring from errors of bringing up, from the force of prejudice and habit, rather than from natural constitution. And the weakness, which he had made it the study of his life to play upon, he declared, could be cured by thorough intellectual developement. In compliance with this system, we perceive him assiduous in overseeing his daughter's studies in Greek, and Latin, and French, her composition, and her external accomplishment, but utterly indifferent to the progress of her social or religious affections. He appears to have wished her to be a politician as bold and as unscrupulous as himself. Mrs. Alston must have been possessed of much native character, to resist, so successfully as she did, the errors of her father's plan of instruction. Her letters, though energetic, do not lose the feminine character, nor fail to show in her, that art cannot wholly weed out

the seeds which nature plants. There is a vein of melancholy running through them all, which makes one sensibly feel, that there was a void at her heart, which her father had created, and which she could not fill. That void was the absence of all inculcated religious principle. So that, when her greatest trial came, and she was deprived of her only child, whom she had made the object of her idolatry in this world, she looked round, and saw nothing more to fear or to hope. "Omnipotence," she says, "could give her no equivalent for her boy." Neither could her father, at that awful moment, compensate her for his failure to teach what alone can have any effect in soothing such a tone of despair, or in producing any resignation to that decree of Omnipotence, the justice of which she so boldly impugns. We can easily understand the desolateness of her condition, and sympathize with the first outpourings of a mother's heart; but, in the midst of it, we cannot fail to ask, what to her, at that instant, would be worth all the schemes, for her, of her father's worldly ambition, compared with the single drop of balm which he had neglected or forgotten to put within her reach. The catastrophe which immediately followed, in the loss of her at sea, comes upon us with little regret, when we remember how few were her remaining motives to live. We look upon her story with much the same feeling, as one might witness the performance of some of those Greek dramas, in which the characters suffer too much by acts which they cannot control, to make it disagreeable to arrive at the end. The scene is too darkly shaded to afford even a ray of sunlight to relieve the gloom.

And after his daughter and his grandson had gone from this world, and Burr thus became a lone man, taking little part in the hopes or fears of his fellows, earning a paltry subsistence by weaving the filmy cobwebs of the law, disliking and disliked, he still continued unchanged in the frivolity of his pursuits, and unsubdued by the severity of the lessons he had been taught. His vicious propensities appear at last to have completely smothered all latent sparks of ambition, until he became nothing more than a living monument of his past history, — an old man whom nobody respected. The case is as singular as it is melancholy. We would fain not say of it so much as we are compelled to think. It is always painful to observe the latter days of any man of note passed without

the honor due to age and services ; and this, even when we are conscious that the cause is to be found in himself. Our pity for Burr is, perhaps, more than he himself would have thought to be called for. The solitary oak which stands for years, after the lightning has furrowed its stem and scathed its summit, turning it to decay, is not a more fitting emblem of desolation, than the moral vegetation of such a human being.

We have but a single word to add ; and this relates to his critical and literary judgment. With a mind possessing acute powers of reasoning, without any definite moral basis, it cannot be wondered at, that he should often be struck with the new rather than the true. Jeremy Bentham and Mary Wolstoncraft seem to have been the great authorities in politics and morals to which he bowed. Whether he borrowed from the former his definition of law, which we have already quoted, we do not know, or whether it was original with himself ; but, in either case, the scale of his moral developement may be equally well understood. His letters to his daughter communicate little beyond the detail of his love affairs, and allusions to local and temporary matters. They are clearly written and vigorously expressed ; for Burr through life thought clearly, however fond of mystery in his actions. But they do not exalt him in our estimation. To sum up all, we think, after regarding him in every light, whether as an officer, a lawyer, a politician, or a citizen, we cannot agree with Mr. Davis in calling him a great man, and shall never think him to have been a good one. Nor can we wonder, that the pure and patriotic mind of Washington should have shrunk from contact with one so decidedly its opposite, or that he should have exercised his influence, in its whole extent, to prevent its evil influence upon our public affairs.

ART. VII. — *The Life and Character of the Reverend Samuel H. Stearns.* Second Edition. Boston: J. A. Stearns. 1839. pp. 252.

A BRIEF notice was taken of the "Life and Select Discourses" of Mr. Stearns in our number for July, 1838. The second edition of the work is wholly in the form of

a Memoir, the Discourses being omitted, with a view, as we are informed in the Preface, to the publication, hereafter, of a larger collection of Discourses by themselves. We would repeat our recommendation of this book as a pleasant biography of an interesting man. We have thought, in reading it, of the importance of self-cultivation in the Christian ministry. We shall aim at nothing more in our present remarks, than a few obvious suggestions upon this point.

A minister's thoughts and concern are officially and necessarily for others. He has his congregation before his mind in his solitary study. He judges of the fitness of a consolation or reproof by the condition and feelings of some of his flock; he determines even what to think upon, or what to write, by his knowledge of the moral state of others. In the pulpit, he thinks, he feels, he speaks, for others; he tries to help the devotions of others in his prayers. He recollects what he has said in public with reference to its probable effect on others, and goes amongst his flock to repeat his instructions and exhortations. If a minister's heart were impressible like wax, and each character he comes in contact with, could stamp it, it would sometimes look like one of Quarles's Emblems; and, again, it would be like a registry on a mountain, where the various travellers have inscribed their joyful, or querulous, or pathetic, or sublime, or ludicrous impressions. Every week he has to be imprinted afresh. New cases of interest continually occur to make a deeper impression than the former. He must go through the houses of his people, if from no better motive, to forestall the half affectionate and half murmuring complaint at his long absence. Though

> "Wide is his parish, and houses fer asonder,
> Yet he must leave nought for no rain ne thonder."

It is evident, that no man can give himself up to such cares and influences without losing all originality and freshness of character and feeling, unless, by a determined and systematic effort, he makes the cultivation of his own mind a prominent object of his life. He cannot for a long time profit others without it. But this is not the motive which we would at present urge. He owes it to himself; he must not neglect himself in caring for others; he is of as much importance as any other individual, considered as an intelligent being; his

own character and influence cannot be formed or sustained without watchfulness against the effect of almost incessant and desultory effort.

He, however, who should withdraw from the world and give himself to solitary study, would soon be unfit for the Christian ministry, and lose perhaps the best of his opportunities for moral improvement. A minister must live and move amongst his people, if he would be successful even as a preacher. Subjects suggested by the experience of a parishioner, and coming, crystallized and sparkling with accretions gained by passing through the well-stored mind of the preacher, will be likely to affect many minds.

All discourses, however, are not, they cannot be, drawn from incidents in a parish. There are themes which are not of the will of man. But even these depend, for their effect upon a congregation, on that power of presenting truth which is learned only by knowing the channels in which the thoughts of men are apt to flow, and on that ability to make a subject practical which is gained by acquaintance with the wants and errors of the human mind.

To this we may add the necessity of constant improvement, from the advancement of the community in general knowledge. Popular lectures make men familiar not only with the various subjects of literature and science, but with the best forms of thought and expression. They bring their instructed minds to the ministrations of the sanctuary ; and, while the preacher has the advantage over all who address them, in his opportunities of reaching their minds and hearts, he must not, in reliance on this superiority, fail to make his "profiting appear to all." He should seek for the best gifts in thinking and writing and speaking, that his instructions may not be held in disadvantageous comparison with those of literary teachers. If, instead of suggesting new trains of thought, or presenting sacred truth in varied and interesting lights, he occupies his discourses chiefly with exhortations, or moralizes effeminately, or abounds excessively in that tropical luxuriance to which an imaginative mind is prone, he will excite the disrespect, if not the contempt, of his hearers. On the principle of self-defence, as a means of continuing in his place, to say nothing of his usefulness, it is essential that the minister take heed to these things. But we now recur to

our original motive for self-cultivation, from which we have thus digressed to magnify its importance.

As the camomile gives out its fragrance and multiplies itself by being trodden underfoot, so the minister, who sacredly attends to the improvement of his own mind, is helped in his intellectual efforts by those incessant and urgent demands upon him, which oppress and overcome one who does not study. The studious minister is a student everywhere; the secretive powers of his mind are always at work; he is getting intellectual and moral nourishment from men and things, from cursory reading, from passing events and scenes. When called to public intellectual effort, if his health and spirits are in a proper tone, he will have an alacrity of thought and feeling from the influence of active duties upon his cultivated mind. In his private ministerial labors, the consciousness of doing his duty to himself as an intellectual being will give him the same alacrity, and a sustaining energy in his business, and amongst men. He verifies Cicero's eulogium upon letters; "Delectant domi, non impediunt foris; — nobiscum peregrinantur." There is an electricity about the mind of such a man, which accumulates thoughts and illustrations wherever he may be. His mind is fertilized, and the seeds of things, which drop into it from books or observation, yield, some thirty, some sixty, and some a hundred fold. The habit of original study gives a man an invigoration, a muscularity of mind, which impresses others with a sense of his strength. He makes a path of his own through every subject.

So long as the studies which a clergyman pursues are not unprofitable (and it is hard to say of almost any thing, as a subject of investigation, that it is useless), and provided he does not become absorbed in it, as eccentric minds are apt to be in their odd selections, we had almost said it is no matter what a man chooses by which to exercise the investigating powers of his mind. A knowledge of the things which lie immediately within the scope of his profession, and those concentric studies which belong to his calling, every one who would write sermons is obliged in some manner to regard. But there is something to be done for the mind, beyond its ordinary occupation with mere professional studies. These will soon fatigue and disgust, if not interchanged with studies which have no immediate relation to the profes-

sion. It is of great use to keep up a course of reading, or the study of some language, or the investigation of some science, which has not, perceptibly, even a remote connexion with one's calling. It gives a vigor to the intellectual powers upon returning to the specific duties of the profession. It imparts a self-respect amongst men ; it opens unexpected sources of illustration.

There will be one effect from a determined adherence to the principle we are considering, which many preachers, we cannot doubt, would find favorable to their increased usefulness. It would lead them to write fewer but more valuable sermons. A conscientious minister is apt to employ his time in intellectual efforts for the pulpit, which on account of their number are necessarily inferior, except that occasionally, in a moment of inspiration, he will produce a discourse which he will dare to rank among his happy efforts. When he looks over his manuscripts, his heart sometimes sinks at the sight of what he cannot regard otherwise than as useless matter ; — though, when he wrote and preached these discourses, they had to his mind the interest of novelty and of a present excitement. Few discourses will have the same interest to the writer's mind at all times ; they should not, therefore, be hastily condemned ; but we believe that the younger clergy, to say the least, generally feel, that they have a collection of manuscripts, prepared amidst the multiplicity of parochial cares, which are unfit to be repeated, or to be read by another.

We believe that this evil can be in a measure remedied, though juvenile efforts will generally appear in an unfavorable light to the mature judgment of the writer. The evil, we believe, can be remedied in part by a solemn determination to make the preparation for the pulpit the first and great labor of the ministerial life, by devoting much time to the selection and arrangement of each subject, and, by right habits of self-improvement, bringing a well-stored mind to its discussion. If a minister sustains himself and makes visible improvement in his pulpit, he is established in the confidence and respect of his people ; but, if he fails here, however laborious and affectionate and faithful he may be elsewhere, the people will soon tire of his services. Now, if, instead of preparing two sermons a week, each hastily written, the time and strength should be devoted to one, the influence of the pulpit would

be greater, the people would be more permanently edified, the preparation of discourses would become easier and more pleasant, and, what is desirable, a great number of them would bear to be repeated. Some plan in connexion with this, with respect to the other service on the Sabbath, such as preaching extempore, or a system of exchanges, will enable the young preacher to advance in his ministerial labor with pleasure and profit.

These remarks have an important bearing upon a topic of peculiar interest to parishes and the clergy at the present day. We refer to the frequent dismission of ministers. We have no doubt, that one cause of this evil is the want of studious habits in many of the clergy, owing in part to the increased benevolent efforts of the times. If a minister considered it a principal object of his life to study, not only would the people be better satisfied with his labors, but he would think less of the inconveniences and trials of his place. He would be so absorbed in his literary and religious pursuits, that he would not feel many of the irritating things to which an indolent habit with regard to study makes him sensitive. Want of support, serious divisions in his parish, or dissatisfaction with his services, of course will follow him into his study, and end, perhaps, without his fault and against his wishes, in his dismission. But a great cause of the removal of ministers at the present day, we have reason to believe, is a dissatisfaction with their places of labor, which might in many cases be prevented by better habits of study. A man, who is conscious of advancement in true learning, will so perceive his ability to profit others, and feel a self-sustaining energy from the natural effect of right mental exercise, as to look upon his people, in a good sense, as his dependents, rather than upon himself as subject to their caprice. Its effect upon him, as to the anticipation or fear of trouble in his parish, compared with a slothful spirit, is, that, whereas in the one case he will "flee when no man pursueth," in the other, he will be "bold as a lion." He will be superior to the petty causes of discontent which so often embitter and finally destroy the ministerial connexion. His spirit will be cheerful in the interchange of parochial duties with sedentary pursuits, provided his habits of study and of relaxation are proper. His advancement in knowledge, and in ability to explain and defend the truth, will be perceived and felt. His

topics of discourse will be so varied, that he will not abound in exhortations which proceed from no definite truth, or which, if they have a form of doctrine for their foundation, remind one of those willows which rise a little way from the earth with a poor, cropped trunk, and straightway dishevel themselves into a multitude of rods.

The habit of perpetual exhortation irritates the minds of men, and does little or no good. Its reflex influence on the preacher is pernicious. Discouragement, temptation to say sharp things, a sour spirit towards those who do not yield to his exhortations, will not unfrequently be the fatal result of such habits of preaching; and then comes a conviction, that his usefulness is at an end in his present place, and that he has a call of Providence to leave it, perhaps like Abram, not knowing whither he goes. Many cases of this kind, we have no question, would have been prevented by suitable habits of study.

It is but of little consequence, after all, to a good and faithful minister, where he is settled, as it regards his own profit, or his influence on the world. A man may be almost buried in a hamlet amongst the mountains. The world may never hear or read his name. He faithfully uses the trust committed to him, and dies almost unknown. Such an one may not only be acknowledged hereafter as a better servant than another, whose name and fame were great amongst men, but it may also happen, that the tradition, if not the contemporaneous record, of his hidden life, is published to the world; and then his simple faith, his unambitious spirit, his devoted love for his Master and his charge, have a greater effect upon the world, than he could have produced, if he had preached to thousands, and had spent his life in the scenes of a great city. There are places, small and inconsiderable, in our own and in other lands, which will probably be known, for many generations, by their association with the name and memory of the minister, who spent his life in their quiet and almost unknown retirements. We are deceived, if we think that our characters or usefulness depend, mainly, upon our places of labor. Young ministers, especially, need to learn, that their usefulness is not to be computed by their immediate and obvious success. Opposite the window, at which we are writing, there is a tall, young elm. Its trunk, black with the rain which is now falling, shows, in strong contrast, the

few tufted leaves which it has yet been able to produce, while, not far from it, a young fruit-tree is already full of leaves and blossoms. The latter will not long retain its present beauty, it cannot yield much fruit ; but the elm will be full and green all summer, even its shade will be better than its neighbour's fruit, and, fifty years hence, it will probably be a suitable emblem of a man of God, beneath whose quiet influence the generations of a people, their flowers and their taller grass, have fallen asleep. This is an age of sudden and violent impulse to do good, to reform mankind, to hasten the cycles of the divine decrees. Young ministers partake, to some extent, of the spirit of the times, and are unlike the nation which the Prophet said, had not, from its youth, been emptied from vessel to vessel. We are persuaded, that one great means of curing the evil is, (not to be less benevolent, not to have a jealousy and fear of all reforms, but) to recognise and practise this truth, that a prominent object of a minister's life should be self-cultivation.

We have spoken chiefly of intellectual culture. The Christian ministry affords the best possible opportunities for moral self-cultivation. In observing examples of excellent goodness, and also of the unsuspected deceitfulness of the human heart, in commending and reproving others, a minister will be reminded of his own deficiencies ; and, while he seeks to make others better, how can he, without hypocrisy, neglect to practise his own teachings ? Secluded from the world in a degree favorable to reflection, and yet continually called into the world, at least by his official intercourse with his people, he fully realizes all that is good in the idea of the monastic life, while he is preserved from its injurious abuse. He is not taken "out of the world," but is in a great measure kept "from the evil." He has advantages for learning all that is of general value in other callings, without the undesirable liabilities and necessities of those callings. His studies, for instance, may lead him into some of the paths of that profession which is concerned with the principles of law ; for a knowledge of these principles is of use in the statement and illustration of Christian truth ; but how different with him is the object and use of such knowledge, from its employment in the perplexing and wearisome contests of man with his neighbour. So with respect to the facts and

principles of almost every other calling ; the Christian minister has an advantage from them, in which, compared with those who are employed in their practical application to the arts and purposes of life, he is like the earth, which drinks in the showers which the sun, and sea, and clouds have wrought. He seems to be set apart, in every respect, by the arrangements of Providence, for the highest advantage to his moral improvement, and, at the same time, he is deprived of no privilege, nor excluded from any thing which is necessary to his consciousness of being a member, in full communion, of the great human family.

The improvement of these opportunities for moral culture will show itself in the character of his appeals from the pulpit. A man, who has done nothing but inform himself, by study, with regard to facts and theories, will address himself only to the understanding, and that with but little success. He will be, perhaps, an instructive, but certainly a hard, dry, uninteresting preacher. We remember Burke's opinion of "the heart of a thorough-bred metaphysician." The subjects, with which a preacher is conversant, and the motives which are supposed to influence him, will, of course, sever his heart from the cold and inhuman influences, which gather round the soul of one, whose chief employment is to practise metaphysical alchemy upon the nature of man. But, next to him, in doing injustice to the nature which God has given us, is the man who sets forth moral and religious truth, as though we had only the power of cold and barren intellection. What a mysterious and dread power is the human conscience ! To approach it, and deal with it successfully, requires more art and care than in approaching a Pythoness ; — to secure its well-instructed aid, to prevent its encouragement of evil doing, is oftentimes a harder work than was the bringing back of Eurydice from hell. The man, who would do it successfully, must be able to say, in sympathy with Apostolic goodness, — "We trust we have a good conscience." He must know its ocean-like depths and changes, its troubled billows, its halcyon peace. He must have experienced the bitterness of sorrow at its silence with regard to his errors and sins, when it was spell-bound by evil desire ; he must have felt its power, when it afterward shouted, like a giant by reason of wine. Of the human conscience, it may be said, "Its roaring is the roaring of a lion, but its favor is as

dew upon the grass." Surely none but he who has made himself a study, can speak of such things successfully to his fellow-men ; and we say, that there are no opportunities for such study more favorable than those which he enjoys, who has the "cure of souls," and is thereby led, if he is a sincere and honest man, to a self-application of the errors, and the self-deceit, and the good moral examples of others.

"The Apostle Poule unto the Romaines writeth, Man shall rejoyce with hem that maketh joy, and wepen with swiche folk as wepen." * Emotion is indispensable to the highest usefulness in preaching ; and there are no circumstances which call into exercise the various emotions of the human soul, to be compared with those which occur in the experience of a parish clergyman. The necessity of sympathizing with the joys and sorrows of his flock, gives one, who is sincerely engaged in doing good to his fellow-creatures, that moral sensibility which is essential to completeness of character. He is forbidden to be a Stoic, by the irresistible appeals which the circumstances of his people make to his heart. He cannot be diligent without having continual occasion for the exercise, and so for the cultivation, of feelings, which, to some, strangely seem unmanly, but without which man is not complete. Pride makes us strive to conceal a softness and delicacy, which nature and the providence of God conspire to produce by things and events around us. We cannot yield ourselves up to the influence of natural objects without being softened ; and the natural influence of many of the events of life is to make us tender and gentle. We need not be ashamed of this, for true genius always has a touch of the feminine. Even in those cases, in which the reign of horrid passions has made the heart desolate of every good thing, no sooner does trouble come, than we discover this same attendant of greatness ; as when the frost falls on an evergreen, the vine, which had hid itself in the changeless tree, turns red, and shows itself, in striking contrast to the unyielding green.

But there is danger, to some extent at the present day, of an undue predominance of sentiment in the character and feelings. The pulpit determines the moral sentiments of men, more than any other instrumentality, when the clergy

* Chaucer. (*Melibœus.*)

are men of proper intellectual and moral influence. The philosophy which they teach, in connexion with religion, pervades the community. They may inculcate a cold, unfeeling system of moral sentiments, and perhaps this is generally the greatest danger. But there is another and an opposite error. By appealing to the religious principle in man, which is intimately associated with the love of the mysterious, it is easy to affect meditative minds with such a passion for spiritualizing, that they will dwell continually in an ideal world. There is a luxury to some in spiritual dreams; a witchery in an imagination, to whose eye new and strange forms of beauty and of supposed truth come forth from common or heretofore unheeded things, investing characters and places with sentimental charms, and making "the sable cloud" of mystery

"Turn out its silvery lining on the night."

It is true enough, that we live in a world where sensitive minds are exposed to painful contact with vulgar people. It is also true, that it is rare to meet with those who are natural and simple in their feelings, who have instinctive and just perceptions of natural beauty, who are artless, and humble, and modest, and free from selfishness. In weariness of the world around them, in the desire for something better than the senses furnish, there is a temptation, with many, to indulge in reveries, and roam in the solitudes of a fanciful creation, and, when they return to every-day life, to feel and think about every thing with a spiritualized habit of mind. The danger from this is a prevailing effeminacy of thought and feeling, and a more exquisite state of the moral sensibilities than is consistent with the absolute duties of life.

We have no sympathy with those who allow no refined sentiments, which are incapable of demonstration by an anatomical knife, or by figures. But when a system of morals, or of natural or revealed religion, is built upon them, and, chiefly, with them, there is cause for alarm. We deplore that austere and unfeeling method of representing religious truth, as though men had no fancy or imagination. He who overlooks these powers, in addressing men, must be strangely ignorant of the history of literature, and the universal sympathy of the human mind with those productions which are characterized by imaginative genius. He must even be igno-

rant of the Bible, of the chosen method in which the Most High, to a great degree, has seen fit to instruct men. With some, every thing which is brought in as a means accessory to a bare declaration of truth, is undervalued and decried. Strange as the ancient match of Vulcan and Venus may appear to us, we could wish that it were more frequently seen, spiritualized, in many pulpits. We have sometimes heard men, in conversation, find fault, almost contemptuously, with the refinements of thought and speech in preaching, of which they manifestly needed an infusion, to correct their overgrown propensities of another kind. It is a great attainment to have such a knowledge of the human mind, as to be able to address truth to it in accordance with its various susceptibilities to impression. But, while it is unphilosophical to set forth truth in such a form that it can affect only the understanding, it is a worse error to consider the fancy or imagination as the governing power of the mind. The characteristic influence of the former method will be, not to do much good; but of the latter, to do much hurt. For he who practises upon the latter principle, will lead men to disregard the old foundations of truth, and rely upon unsubstantial and visionary sentiments. The young are in danger of this tendency, whether they teach or learn. Many are so fascinated with the charms of beautiful and poetic thought, that they seem like one, who, having for the first time looked through a prism, is so delighted with the rich, gorgeous colors, that the common light is afterwards unsatisfying. They who indulge themselves with excessive sentiment, and those whom they instruct, should remember the words of the wise man; "Hast thou found honey? Eat so much as is sufficient for thee, lest thou be filled therewith and vomit it."

The leading and commanding power of a preacher should, no doubt, be investigation and argument. But let him add to his faith, virtue;— let moral sentiments, and feelings coming from the original depths of the soul, blend with his intellectual conceptions. He is only half a man and half a preacher, if he fails of this. His example and authority for it are the teachings of him, who spake as never man spake. Some, who are earnest in preaching against error, preach truth in such forms, and with such absence of emotion, that their truth is practical error. The studies, the meditations, the devotions, the various scenes, which are incident to the

Christian ministry, it would seem, are sufficient to make any one ardent in this calling, and to excite and cultivate those emotions, which are the beauty and excellency of an intelligent mind.

The subject of the Memoir before us furnishes an illustration and confirmation of the preceding remarks. He laid the foundations of his mind in severe and patient study. It was his custom, in his early literary pursuits, to search out the principles of what he learned, in a systematic and thorough manner. In after life, when ill health prevented a severe application to books, he realized the benefit of his early self-discipline ; for the cursory perusal of a book excited his active and well-trained thoughts, and led him to reflections, which were far different from the dreams of desultory thinkers.

"From this period Mr. Stearns resided, most of the time, for several years, with his parents at Bedford. In the mean while, he was not idle. Retired, in a great measure, from the world, by strict attention to diet and exercise, and by occasional travelling excursions, he was able to give up his mind, with much constancy, to his favorite studies and musings. He projected a work on the Moral Nature of Man, to be comprised in three parts. The subject of the first was Conscience; of the second, The History of Man as a Religious Being; and of the third, the Doctrines and Economy of Revelation. The outlines of the first, after long and patient investigation, were sketched. The subjects of the other two parts were to be, it is presumed, among the principal topics of study in after life."

Such occupations as these, by their effect in making him contented in the places where Providence called him to labor or suffer, illustrate the beneficial tendency of systematic, intellectual pursuits to promote the permanency of the pastoral relation. The valuable works, in theology, of our distinguished divines, would not, and could not, we believe, have been produced, if the modern habits of change in the ministry had prevailed in their day.

Mr. Stearns's power, in his ministerial performances, consisted very much in the moral feelings which were prominent in almost every thing that he said or did. These gave an unction to his performances, which made his public ministrations unusually acceptable and profitable. He seemed

to act fully on the principle which we have illustrated in our remarks. Self-cultivation, intellectual and moral, was a prominent object of his life. The following resolution, amongst others, was written just before he left the Theological Seminary ;

"Why should we be for ever undoing the work of life ? Why should we wish to be just like everybody else ? I will be myself, and make the best of it. God grant that I may grow better."

In this resolution is undoubtedly contained the secret of all true greatness in mind and character. It is the only principle upon which self-cultivation will result in original, independent power. All the great works in nature, and all those individuals of a family amongst her products which attract our notice, illustrate this principle. But the reason why so many educated minds have so little individuality, no doubt is, an extreme haste to enter upon professional life. Youth and inexperience catch at the nearest examples and helps. In after life, it is difficult to begin the work of original self-cultivation. There is need, that teachers should, to a greater extent, be teachers of the individual, rather than of classes ; and that the pupil, who is past the season of youth, should have a sense of his separateness of character from other minds. We are glad to see, of late, instances in which provision has been made to instruct those who wish to delay their entrance upon the ministry. The result of it, we trust, will be more minds who will shine by their own light.

There seldom has been a deceased friend, of whom we felt more restrained in speaking descriptively and critically, than of Mr. Stearns. There was such individuality of character about him, such a distinctness of feature in his mind, that we retain, to an unusual degree, an impression of his presence with us. What a strange liberty the grave yields us concerning its inmate ! Had a departed friend merely gone across the ocean, though entirely separated from the knowledge of him, we should not think of publishing his life and character. But while we believe him to be, though dead, as fully conscious and active as ever, and perhaps nearer to us than though an ocean were between us, we generally speak as freely of him as though he had ceased to exist. If we felt inclined to do this, on the present occasion, it would be unnecessary, on account of the excellent Memoir, to which

we have again called the attention of our readers. It is rendered still more valuable, by the addition of a letter from the Rev. Robert Baird of Paris, who saw much of Mr. Stearns while abroad, and particularly within a short time before his death.

We dismiss our notice of the Memoir with strong impressions of the subject of it, as now engaged in pursuing that exalted standard of excellence which he formed on earth. We feel that, with all his generous love for others and admiration of their greatness, he still retains, in a peculiar degree, an individuality of character and of enjoyment, which makes him "a particular star" in the firmament of heaven.

ART. VIII. — *The Adventures of Robin Day*, by the Author of "Calavar," "Nick of the Woods," &c. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 12mo. 2 vols. pp. 249 and 267.

WE noticed Dr. Bird's romance of "Calavar" at the time of its appearance, at some length, and in terms of strong commendation.* Since then, we must needs take shame to ourselves for not having made our due contribution to his rising fame. He has been one of the most prolific of our writers, and we take him to be one of the most popular. "Calavar" has, we believe, gone to a third edition, while it has been followed by at least four other publications of equal size and pretension, previous to that which is now before us.

If we were to undertake to discuss the merits of "Robin Day" as a work of art, nobody probably would be more amused by our simplicity than the author. Its plot embraces love, delay, and trouble, misunderstanding, mystery, murder, and at last marriage; and so far it is a novel. But the writer seems to have set himself about it with no more definite plan, than that of getting his hero into a succession of serious and at the same time ridiculous scrapes, each a little worse than the last, and then getting him out of them with as little violation of probability as the limited machinery he has allowed himself admits. There is a competent pro-

---

* *North American Review*, Vol. XL. pp. 232, *et seq.*

vision of mutes and make-weights ; but the business of the piece is transacted by three characters, or rather by two characters and a hero. The scene, opening in New Jersey, is shifted through Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Tennessee, to Florida, the Creek nation, the Gulf, and Cuba. "Modò me Thebis, modò ponit Athenis." But whithersoever the fated Robin Day betakes himself, to wild or city, camp or blue sea, there is already the haunting demon, Captain Brown, to help him into trouble, and the tutelary demon, Dickey Dare, to help him out of it. With such scant resources as the capacities of these two contraries afford, it cannot be supposed that every thing belonging to the repeated embarrassments and extrications of the hero can be brought about in such a manner as to seem to the reader entirely natural. But we must do the author the justice to say, that he has moved his few pieces admirably well. The reader sees, from the beginning, that he has undertaken to accompany a very unlucky person ; but the details of the plot are so well managed, that each new perplexity (at least we can speak for ourselves) takes him by surprise. They come in the proper time and place, but without casting their shadows before.

This is a great charm of the work. Other things in it are excellently well done. The dialogue, with occasional exaggerations in parts designed to be particularly characteristic of the speakers, is on the whole sustained with ease, spirit, and effect. Here and there we find a strain of good-natured satire upon besetting follies of the country and time. As far as we know, the two characters, upon whom alone the writer seems to have bestowed any pains (unless M'Goggin, who appears only in an interlude, is to be considered another of his favorites) are, in some respects, originals. We do not happen to remember, within the range of this department of writing, any other example of a bullying, tyrannical schoolboy, grown up into an adventurer, hot-headed, vain, "jealous in honor," with intelligence enough for the common purposes of a soldier's life, and with no pretensions to any more, like the militia-captain Dare ; nor of a scoundrel as unredeemed as any of Lord Byron's worthies, but at the same time light-hearted, taking the world comfortably as he finds it, and ready to do a neighbour a service when nothing is to be got by robbing or murdering him, like the pirate-captain Brown. Some of the descriptions are full of life, and several scenes,

particularly towards the close, very effectively wrought up. And, what is extremely pleasant to observe, there appears none of that straining after something better than is to be easily had, which in "Calavar" really detracts considerably from the reader's enjoyment. On the contrary, the writer seems everywhere conscious of possessing plenty of such materials as he wants, and bounds joyously through his work.

Robin Day, who lives to tell his own story, is a human waif, who, after a shipwreck on the coast of New Jersey, falls to the share of Mother Moll, a distinguished matron of a neighbourhood of wreckers, he being then an infant about a year old. As soon as he attained to an age to be useful, he was sent out, in stormy nights, to regulate the performance of a decayed horse, who, with his legs tied together, was driven up and down a beach, that, for the benefit of mariners on a lee-shore, his stumbling motion might give to the lantern, hung to his side, the appearance of a light in a vessel in the offing. Such honest employments, together with the retribution which waited upon any remissness in them occasioned by fatigue, cold, or hunger, caused Robin to lead an uncomfortable life; so that, at seven years of age, he was glad to be first stolen, and then bought, from his adopted mother, by a hard character of the name of Day, whose name he consequently took.

Day, otherwise called Duck, was the skipper and owner of a shallop, called the Jumping Jenny, a wrecker and smuggler, and how much worse, few people knew but himself. His ship's company consisted, already, of himself and another; and Robin, advanced to be their cook, to his great joy, (for he had that notion of food, which is expressed in the proverb, "Omne ignotum pro magnifico,") found, before long, that he had no great reason to congratulate himself on the promotion. Five years did he endure all sorts of brutality, till he became, in mind and body, a sort of boy Orson; "a wretched little stunted thing, to appearance not more than nine years old; a picture of raggedness, emaciation, and misery; a creature with no more knowledge, intelligence, or spirit, than a ferryman's horse, or a sick ape." The account of the incident, which brought about his release from this thraldom, is a striking thing in its way. As he sat, one day, upon the bowsprit of the little craft, which lay at anchor, and in which he

had been left alone, to make preparation for his patron's dinner, a party of youth, in a boat near by, with the amiable instinct of boyhood, employed themselves in pelting him with stones and oyster-shells. One of the missiles inflicted a severe wound, and, at the same time, the graceless urchin, who had launched it, lost his balance and fell into the water, which was deep, with a strong current running.

"The hero of the scene, whose disaster I regarded with sentiments of complacency and approbation, as being nothing more than he deserved for the unprovoked injury he had done me, sunk to the bottom, whence in a moment he came whirling and gasping to the surface, and was swept by the tide against the sloop's cable, which he attempted to seize, but without success; for, though he had hold of it for an instant, he was not able to maintain his grasp. In this state of the adventure, the little fellow was immediately under me, where I sat on the bowsprit; and as the tide swept him from the cable, he looked up to me with a countenance of such terror, and agony, and despair, mingled with imploring entreaty, — though being on the point of strangling, he was neither able to speak nor to cry out, — that I was suddenly struck with feelings of compassion. They were the first human emotions, I believe, that had entered my bosom for years. And such was the strength of them, that, before I knew what I was doing, I dropped into the river, — gander and all, [this he had been busy picking], — to save the poor little rascal from drowning.

"Such a feat did not appear to me either very difficult or dangerous, for I could swim like a duck, and had had extraordinary experience in the art of saving life in the water; not, indeed, that I had ever performed such service for anybody but myself; but, in my own case, I had almost daily occasion; for nothing was more common than for Skipper Duck to take me by the nape of the neck and toss me overboard, even when on the open sea; though the mate always threw me a rope to help me on board again, except when we were becalmed, or at anchor; in which cases, he left me to take care of myself. In the present instance, however, as it proved, the exploit was not destined to be performed without difficulty; for, dropping down with more hurry than forecast, right before the stem, and with a force that carried me pretty deep into the water, I was swept under the shallop's bottom, which, in the effort to rise to the surface, I managed to strike with my head, with a violence that would undoubtedly have finished me, had not that noble excrescence been, in those days, of unusual thickness. The shock was, however, sufficient to stun and

confound the small quantity of wits I possessed, and to such a degree that I lost my hold of the gander, which, up to this moment, I had clutched with instinctive care ; besides which, I was swept, before I had time to recover myself, along the whole of the sloop's bottom ; and this being pretty well studded with barnacles, young oysters, and the heads of old nails, I had the satisfaction of enjoying as complete and thorough a keelhauling as was ever administered to any vagabond whatever, my jacket, shirt, and back being scratched all to pieces. Of this, however, as well as of the loss of the gander, I was for a time quite unconscious, being confused by the shock my head had suffered ; and the moment I succeeded in passing the rudder, and reaching the surface, I had all my thoughts engaged in rescuing the boy, who had now sunk two or three times, and was, I doubted not, sinking for the last time ; for he was quite insensible, when it was my good fortune to reach and seize him by the collar.

"The batteau had, by this time, been borne by the tide against a projecting wharf, whither I easily swam with my charge ; and then giving him up to his companions, who had now, by dint of yelling, brought several men to their assistance, I took to my heels, hoping to regain the sloop before Captain Duck, who had gone ashore, should return and discover my absence. My only way of getting on board was that in which I had departed, namely, by swimming ; and to this I betook me, by running a little up the stream, and then leaping again into the river.

"My haste, however, was vain ; the worthy skipper reaching the vessel an instant before myself ; and when, having clambered up by the hawser and bobstay, I succeeded in jumping on deck, I, — who was in such a pickle, what with my clothes torn to shreds, and dripping with water, and the blood trickling down my face, as the reader cannot conceive, — found myself confronted with my tyrant face to face. He gave me a horrible stare of surprise, took one step forward, so as to bring me within reach of his arm, and exclaimed, —

"'You draggle-tailed tadpole ! where have you been ?' — which question he accompanied with a cuff on the right cheek that tossed me a full fathom to the larboard.

"'Please, Sir,' said I, in as much terror as my stupidity was capable of, — 'overboard, sir.'

"'Overboard, you son of a tinker's cowbell !' cried my master, giving me a cuff with the other hand, that sent me just as far starboard ; 'what have you been doing overboard ?'

"'Please, Sir, saving boy's life, sir,' returned unhappy I, beginning to be conscious of the enormity of my offence.

" 'Saving a boy's life, blast my fishhooks!' ejaculated Skipper Duck, knocking me again to larboard; and here I may as well observe, that this was his usual way of conversing with me, or rather of pointing his conversation; his stops being usually but three, a cuff to the right and a cuff to the left, which he alternated with extreme regularity, at every other speech; and a full period, used at the close, by which I was laid as flat as a flagstone. 'Saving a boy's life!' cried the Skipper, boxing me as aforesaid: 'I wish all the boys were in Old Nick's side-pocket, roasting! — Where 's the gander?'

" The gander? ay, *where* was the gander? The question froze my blood. I remembered the loss; by this time the gander was a mile down stream, if not already lodged, in divided morsels, in the capacious jaws of a hundred catfish.

" The skipper noticed my confusion, and his face of a sudden became small, being puckered by a universal frown, that began at forehead and chin and the two ears, and tended to the centre, carrying these several parts before it, till all were blended in a knot of wrinkles scarce bigger than his nose. He stretched forth his hand and took me by the hair, of which I had a mop half as big as my whole body; and giving his arm a slow motion to and from him, like the crank-rod, or whatever they call it, of a locomotive, just as it is getting under way, and making my head, of course, follow in the same line of traverse, thundered in my ears, —

" 'The gander! you twin-born of a horse-mackerel! where 's the gander?'

" 'Please, Sir,' I spluttered out, in a confusion of intellects that was with me extremely customary, — 'boy was overboard, — jumped overboard to save him — '

" 'D — n the boy!' quoth my honest master; 'where 's the gander?'

" 'Please, Sir, jumped overboard,' I repeated; 'got under the keel; knocked head, — senses out, and — and — '

" 'And the gander? blast my fishhooks! the gander?'

" 'Please, Sir; could't help, — 'most drowned, — lost it!'" — Vol. I. pp. 25–29.

The chastisement, which he received for this mishap, was the last to which he was destined from the same quarter. The father of the child whom he had rescued, a worthy and opulent physician, receives him into his family, and undertakes to provide for, and, if possible, humanize him; Captain Duck, meanwhile, having been subjected, by the intelligent indignation of the town's people, to an infliction of keel-haul-

ing, shaving, tarring, feathering, and banishment, all in pursuance of a sentence of Lynch Law.

Dr. Howard, Robin's patron, places him at school, with the intention of introducing him honorably into life. All things might now seem to be going merry as a marriage-bell. But care, which follows all men to the fleet, follows our hero from it, and he has a dismal story to tell, — though no worse, we suppose, than most others, who were brought up at the same time, — of the treatment he received at the hands of the ingenuous youth, his school-fellows. We have great compassion for brutes, and hold in high respect the principles of Mr. Martin's Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. But of all animals, we take the most pitiable, and the most worthy of the attention of the humane, to be the human animal at school in the fighting age ; say, from six to fourteen, or later. A friend of ours, who summed up the enjoyments of boyhood in the three particulars of being "washed, and whipped, and sent to school," we think, omitted the chief pleasure of that interesting season. It is that of being whipped *at* school, and this not by the master, — such castigation is fair enough, and what one calculates upon, — but successively by all the boys a little larger, or, worse, a little smaller than one's self. If to be beaten black and blue, when one is not only entirely innocent of any intention of offence, but has been most punctiliously careful not to give it, from a lively sense of the consequences, — if to be thus beaten, day after day, (except at intervals, when a hollow peace may be bought by showing some two-fisted dunce his lessons, or promptly meeting his demands for toys and gingerbread,) were a less evil than it really is, still "little things are great to little men," and to them a drubbing, that does not amount to murder or mayhem, is felt to be a sore discomfort. Nor is that reality, when it comes, any worse, if so bad, as the bitter mortification endured in shrinking from the arbitrament of battle, when it is offered by another youngster, by pushing a chip off the hat, — which was the approved form of challenge in the circle where we bought our experience, — or by scratching a button, which was the method in that of Robin Day. With a profound sensibility, we commend the matter to the attention of some society of our philanthropic age. There is many an association, already making no small figure in its own reports, which would be

much more usefully employed, if it would transfer its attention to this abuse, from what it actually has in hand. The scheme would offer the great advantage of giving the confederates plenty to do, which some of them seem now chiefly perplexed to find. And, the more such a society should enlarge its list of juvenile members, the better ; a statement, which possibly does not hold equally true of all societies which enlist such support.

Robin Day's school-fellows were not only very pugnacious, but, as not uncommonly happens (for there is no sublimated philosopher like your dare-devil), very speculative withal, and ready to go to the death for their theories. Richard Dare, son of a soldier of the Revolution, and leader of one of the parties in the school, — Robin having fought himself, in due time, to the head of the other, — introduces to his mates, in a good stump harangue, the doctrine of school-boys' rights, and illustrates it so happily by analogies drawn from the movements of 1776, as to carry all before him. No sooner said than done. Mr. Burley, bear-keeper to these young hopefuls, having occasion, before long, to chastise their leader, finds, to his cost, that the revolutionary train has been but too well laid.

" 'I won't be trounced,' said Dickey Dare, 'except by a vote of the boys ; for I goes on the popular principle, and —' But Dickey had not time to finish his sentence ; for Burley immediately rushed forward to seize him, which Dickey was fain to avoid by leaping over his desk to the floor ; where, being closely followed, he let fly his inkstand, by which he did great damage to the head of one of his schoolmates, without, however, hurting the master, and then dropping like a log on the floor, whereby the autocrat, whose legs he dexterously seized upon, was suddenly overturned, with a shock that left him for a moment quite helpless. 'Now, fellers ! — them that ain't cowards, fall on !' cried the hero to his fellow conspirators ; who, having been somewhat horrified by the sudden rally of the enemy, now recovered courage, and rushed upon him pell-mell ; so that, when he recovered from the shock of his fall, not Gulliver himself, waking from his first nap in Lilliput, was more multitudinously overrun by the bodies, or more hopelessly secured in the toils, of his pigmy foes.

" 'Bang away,' roared General Dare, the patriot ; 'down goes all tyrants ! Freedom and equality for ever ! All them that 's got sore bones, pay him up old scores.'

"Horrible were the din and confusion that now prevailed; and horrible also, for a moment, were the struggles of the downfallen monarch; who, however, being somewhat troubled with an asthma, became, after a time, completely exhausted, and incapable of further resistance; upon which Master Dare demanded handkerchiefs to bind him securely; which being effected, this incomparable putter-down of tyrants snatched up a birchen twig, and dispensed, with uncommon coolness, a dozen thwacks upon the victim's shoulders. Nor did he rest here, but, passing the rod from hand to hand, compelled every member of the new-born republic to administer, in like manner, the same number of blows; which were, in general, laid on with exceeding good will. This being accomplished, he called for three cheers; after which we all took to our heels, leaving the deposed ruler to his meditations."—Vol. I. pp. 55, 56.

If this scene smacks a little of the school-rebellion in "Roderick Random," it has enough that is peculiar to redeem it from the charge of being a copy. The success of the insurgents was altogether beyond their hopes. Not only did they escape that domestic discipline, which they had a fearful looking for, when, dispersed to their several homes, they should lose that security which resides in union, but, most of their parents being, like themselves, of a thoughtful turn, and suspicious of time-fortified prejudices, they unexpectedly found themselves exercising what recent discoveries have shown to be the rightful prerogative of youth,—that of being leaders in a great revolution of opinion. The late successful rising against oppression commanded a wide sympathy with the principles on which it had proceeded.

"It set the town people to discussing the merits of the flogging system of education; which, being now brought under consideration for the first time, was pronounced by the majority entirely unsuited to the character and genius of a republican people; whose children, it was demonstrated, ought to be brought up with the highest ideas of personal independence and honor, of freedom and equality, which the tyranny of the rod must inevitably beat out of their tender spirits. To subject them to the sway of a despot in youth, was to prepare them for slavery in their riper years, to render them the ready prey of any designing demagogue, who might aim at the liberties of the people. In short, this question, (there being a minority opposed to the new doctrine,) produced a furious ferment in the town, and would, I doubt not, in time, have resulted in

an entire change in the State government (for it was fast assuming a political aspect), when it was put an end to by the minority yielding the point, and agreeing with the others, that the Academy should thenceforth be governed on republican principles, — that is, that there should be no more flogging." —Vol. I. p. 58.

The scheme, however, did not work so well in practice, as it looked in principle. The first master was discouraged, and took leave in a fortnight's time. A second, who was more persevering, discovered, that it was not a question of liberty, but of who should be master, and, because he might not use force, had to terminate his sway, or rather his fraternization, by a forcible expulsion. The third, says Robin,

"met the views of all concerned, being a very amiable, indolent personage, who agreed the more readily to adopt the republican system, as he had just brains enough to perceive it would save him a vast deal of trouble. He seemed very well content we should do as we pleased, get our lessons when we liked, and as we liked, come in and go out, laugh, talk, play, fight, or do any thing else, just as we thought proper; a degree of forbearance that won our entire love and respect, which we were accustomed to show by peppering him, whenever he was in a brown study, with potato popguns and showers of ripe elder-berries; by emptying the ink bottle on his chair, when he appeared in white trowsers, and strewing it with pin caltrops when in brown; and by sundry other innocent tricks, wherewith tender juvenals delight to show their affection. These little freedoms, it is true, sometimes drove him into a passion, when he scolded at us with great energy and emphasis; but they gave him no disgust at the school, in which he might have perhaps remained the president to this day, had it not been for a discovery made by some busy bodies, which brought his administration to a close, after six months' sway, and wrought somewhat of a change in public opinion on the subject of the new system.

"The discovery was, that, under the said system, learning was at a stand-still, the boys having actually advanced in nothing but mischief during all that period. The system was again brought under discussion; the minority, who had originally opposed it, repeated their denunciations; and, after another squabble, which, at this time, bade fair to shake even the National government, (so hot, furious, political, and patriotic were the passions it excited,) our enemies prevailed, and schoolboy rights and schoolboy glory fell for ever.

"It was now urged, that the best way to bring up the boys of a republic in detestation of tyrants, was to put tyrants over them during their school-days, and thwack them into a thorough appreciation of the horrors and inconveniences of oppression. In short, it was agreed, that the *ancien régime* should be restored, and the birch used as before; or, at least, so far as was necessary to help us along with our books, and keep us on our best behaviour." — Vol. I. pp. 60, 61.

But *facilis descensus; revocare gradum, hic labor.* It is not easy to bend those to the yoke, who have once tasted the sweets of freedom. One teacher after another was made to know, by woful experience, what doom he merits, who would shackle the movements of the free-born soul. At length the exigency became extreme; and the trustees, adopting as usual the policy of seeking refuge from the intolerable brutishness of many in the barely tolerable brutishness of one, are fain to commit their interesting charge to the supervision of a sort of Irish Ogre, whose introduction to his "delightful task" is thus described.

"We were assembled at the Academy door, comparing accounts, when the new President was pointed out by one who had seen him before, crossing the street to a turnstile, which led into the schoolhouse green, through a fence full five feet high. We all pronounced him a giant, and some one said, he looked as if he could 'walk over the fence like nothing'; a declaration, which, though made in jest, was justified by the event; for the gentleman, neglecting the stile, either because he did not see it, or scorned to pass by a mode so humble and common-place, suddenly leaped into the air and over the fence, without so much as laying his hands upon it; which, indeed, he could not do, both hands being occupied by two mysterious-looking bundles, the nature of which, at that distance, we could not make out. The facility with which he performed this wondrous feat, as if it were a matter of every day's occurrence, and the appearance he had in the air, so like a fiery dragon or a flying dromedary, struck a kind of terror into the youthful republicans, who looked upon one another with blank visages; and then, as Mr. M'Goggin drew nigh, slunk away silently into the school, and betook them to their seats.

"In a moment more, M'Goggin entered; and we then saw that the two bundles he carried were composed of goodly birchen twigs, there being at least a gross of them altogether; and this sight, it may be supposed, did not banish the chill of

our first impressions. These odious emblems of rule, carried on his shoulders like the fasces of a Roman lictor, he bore to the master's desk, situated on a platform ; which having ascended, he turned upon us the light of his countenance, and roared (for his voice was like the bellow of a bull) in tones that made the glasses rattle, and, I might almost add, some of our bones into the bargain, — 'Good morrow till ye, ye spalpeens ! I'm your masther and t'acher, — Get up and make me a bow, to show your good manners.'

"Now, whether it was that there was electricity in his tones, or that we were all willing to prove we were well-bred young gentlemen, it is very certain that every soul in school, at these words, bounced up and fell to scraping and ducking with the utmost civility ; which being done, the invader, dropping down upon his chair, roared out again, before we could follow his example and resume our seats, which we were about to do, — 'Stand at aise ! — as ye are, ye rapperees, 'till I lay down the law till ye ! '

"In this, also, he was obeyed ; though I cannot say any of us actually stood at our ease, but, on the contrary, we remained casting wild and anxious glances one upon another, as if doubting whether we had not of a sudden got some dangerous nondescript animal, instead of a new preceptor, among us. But the gentleman gave us no time for pondering. 'Now, ye blackguards ! ' he cried, 'listen to my spache, and remimber it every letther ; and him that doesn't, belave me, I'll have the skin of him. D'ye hear, ye vagebones ! Now, thin, I'm tould ye're an iligant set of Divil's imps, one an' all, that knows nayther manners, nor obadience, nor dacency of behaviour ; but, arrah, ye divils, look me in the face, till I tell ye what I am of *meself*, that is the masther over ye ! '

"Every eye was at once obediently turned upon the gentleman, who, with furious voice and hideous contortions of countenance, like a bulldog taking physic, continued ;

"'Be the powers, I'm nothing at all at all, only jist the gentleman that will bate the wickedness out of ye ! D'ye hear that, ye rapscallions ? '

"And with that, Mr. M'Goggin, whose ire seemed to rise at the sound of his own voice, jumped up again ; and flourishing his birches, a whole bundle at a time, again burst forth ; 'D'ye want to be licked, ye divils ? I 'm tould, ye're grand fighting ganiuses. But d'ye want it ? Does any of ye want it ? If so, spake ; spake up like big little fellows, any of ye ; for, be my sowl, I 'm itching to begin wid ye ! '

"This harangue, or rather defiance, for it was nothing less, the horrid fellow concluded by marching round the room, and

prying into every countenance, as if for the purpose of finding some one disposed to try conclusions with him ; and it is wonderful with what pacific modesty every eye was cast to the floor, the moment Mr. M'Goggin stood before its possessor. Even General Dicky Dare, who, we thought, could face old Nick himself, was observed to become so studious and intent upon a sum he was working on his slate, as the Gorgon passed, as to be quite unable to lift his eyes up to it. In short, we were all very peaceably inclined that morning, and stood the challenge with patience, — because, as we agreed, as soon as we got out of school, Mr. M'Goggin was a stranger, and it was not worth while to quarrel with him at the first introduction. Besides, as we also concluded, it would be just as well to wait awhile, to know what sort of a person he was.

" In this particular, Mr. M'Goggin did all he could to gratify us, by laying open his characteristics as fast as possible. I should rather say, his characteristic, for he had but one ; and that was a raging desire to get an opportunity to trounce some of us. He sat upon the watch all day long, birch in hand, threatening, fifty times an hour, if a boy did but look up, or scratch his head, or drop a book, or stir on his seat, or do, in fact, any thing at all, to 'bate' him, if he did that again ; and as we were all too intent upon the study of his characteristics, as above, to think of giving him such an opportunity of quarrelling with us, it so happened, that, for five whole days, to the infinite astonishment of the whole town, we were the best behaved boys that were ever seen in a school-room." — Vol. I. pp. 64 – 67.

But we have not space to undertake to follow our hero much further in his adventures, either at school, or after his emancipation from it, and entrance upon what people pretend to call more active life. The star of his ill-luck regains the ascendant, and he becomes unintentionally involved in a conspiracy against M'Goggin, in which that formidable teacher is believed to have come to his end, and Robin, under the heavy displeasure of his patron, (who, however, makes every generous provision for his safety and comfort,) has to flee for his life. Pursuing his way, by night, with his comrade, Richard Dare, they are stopped by a food-pad, at whom the latter discharges a pistol, and they escape, leaving him upon the road. The report frightens their horses, which, becoming unmanageable, compel them to part company. Robin brings up among a party of wagoners, who disperse in search of the robber, and in good time come back with him to the inn,

where Robin, meanwhile, had been recovering his breath and his courage.

"He was a stout, sinewy, middle-aged man, dressed like a sailor, with a tarpaulin knapsack on his back, a new blue cloth jacket, and old canvass trowsers, exceedingly well daubed with pitch, and no hat or cap, that covering having been lost in the scuffle. He had a most savage countenance, covered with whiskers, beard, and hair, all black and grizzled, with a swarthy skin, that was now, owing to faintness and loss of blood, of a cadaverous leaden color; and there were drops of blood on his forehead, coming from some wound on the head, and a more plentiful besprinkling on his shirt, that added to the grimness and ferocity of his appearance.

"The roughness with which he had been dragged from the road had stirred up the latent powers of life; and he was beginning to rouse from his insensibility, as the wagoners brought him into the room, vociferating a thousand triumphant encomiums upon their own courage, and as many felicitations upon the prospect they thought they had, both of being rewarded by the Governor of the State for apprehending such a desperate villain, and of seeing him hanged into the bargain. Being in such a happy mood, they agreed with great generosity to treat their prisoner to a glass of grog, with a view of enlivening his spirits and recalling his wits; and this, being accordingly presented, and immediately swallowed with great eagerness, had the good effect of restoring him at once to his faculties. This he made apparent by suddenly bending an eye of indignant inquiry on his captors, who held him fast by the collar, and by exclaiming, in corresponding tones,— 'Sink my timbers, shipmates! do you intend to murder, as well as rob me?'

"This address, which filled them with surprise, the wagoners answered by telling him, 'they were no robbers, but *he* was, as he should find to his cost;' a charge that, to my amazement, the honest man, instead of admitting in full, repelled with furious indignation, swearing that, instead of being a robber, he had himself just been robbed by a brace of rascally land-rats on the road under their noses,— plundered of a huge store of prize-money, the gains of a whole year of fighting, which he was carrying to his wife and children in Philadelphia, and knocked on the head into the bargain; that he would have the blood of the villains, whom he could swear to, and would pursue to the ends of the earth; and if they, the wagoners, were honest fellows, and loved a sailor that had been fighting their battles on the stormy seas, they would help

him to catch the rascals, instead of jawing him like a thief and a pirate,—they would, split him.

"This address, delivered with matchless effrontery, and with an air of injured and insulted innocence quite indescribable, had the effect of staggering several of the captors, who evidently began to think they had made a mistake; while others laughed it to scorn; and one of them called me forward (for I had kept, from modesty and fear, in the background) to confront the fellow; which I did, though with no good heart, having a great dread of his ferocious looks. But, however terrible the robber appeared in my eyes, I, it seems, possessed an appearance equally alarming in his; for no sooner had he caught sight of me, than he roared out, 'That 's one of the land-sharks, sink me!' and starting back, with the air of one endeavouring to overcome a fit of trepidation, called upon some of the company to give him a pistol or cutlass, and upon the others to 'hold the villain fast, for he could swear his life against me.'

"I was confounded at this sally; and, as the sailor had every appearance of being in earnest, and the wagoners looked as if vastly inclined to believe his story, I began to have my doubts whether I was not a robber in reality. To complete my confusion, the innkeeper now swore '*he* had had his suspicions of me from the first,' and said, I ought to be searched for the sailor's money. A furious contention arose among the wagoners, some insisting that I was, others that I was not, the robber; the former arguing my innocence from the fact of my coming of my own accord into their camp; while the others, among whom was the man upon whose back I had been pitched, declared the visit was not voluntary, but that I had been thrown among them by my horse, entirely against my will, and had invented the story of my having been robbed, only to prevent their arresting me as the robber.

"And during all this time, the real Simon Pure, the highwayman himself, kept up a terrible din, calling me a thief and pirate, demanding a weapon, insisting that the wagoners should hold me fast; and, in the midst of all his rage, discovering so much disinclination to come within arm's length of me, who was, on my part, ready to swoon with dismay, that some of the company were scandalized at his cowardice; which was the more remarkable in one of his age and warlike profession, and assured him 'the little boy,' as they contemptuously termed me, 'would not eat him.'

"Encouraged, or pretending to be encouraged, by this assurance, (for the crafty knave was merely playing a part,) he threw aside his fear, seized me by the collar, and gave me a

furious shaking, overwhelming me with denunciations and maledictions; and the others of the company, moved by the same imitative impulse, which, when one dog of a village attacks a currish visitant, leads all the other dogs of the town to set upon the stranger, in like manner, fell upon me likewise; so that I thought I should have been shaken to death among them.

"It was in vain I remonstrated, and protested my own innocence and the guilt of the sailor. The latter worthy grew more furious and determined every moment; and, finding that I had a horse at the door, he carried his audacity to the pitch of claiming him as his own, or rather as his captain's, which, he said, he was carrying to Philadelphia for his commander; swore I had knocked him off that very beast's back, and then run off with him; and ended by jumping upon Bay Tom's back, and riding immediately off, for the purpose, as he said, of hunting up my accomplice, 'the other villain,' who had made off with his prize-money; in which undertaking he invited the assistance of the wagoners, promising a handsome reward to any who should help him to a sight of the pirate. This induced two or three of them to mount their horses; and I had the satisfaction of seeing the scoundrel, whose unparalleled impudence had thus carried him through, gallop away with my patron's horse, leaving me a prisoner in his place."—Vol. i. pp. 109–113.

The reader has here his first taste of the quality of the pirate Captain Brown, who exercises the most sinister influence on our hero's fortunes through the whole of the tale. Robin drops from the window of a garret, where it was arranged to confine him till there should be an opportunity to deliver him up to justice, and makes his way on foot to Philadelphia, from the sharpers of which city, its negroes, and, above all, its wits, he suffers multitudinous annoyance. To the last class belonged a tobacconist, whose shop he visited to provide himself with the means of protection against the second, who would give him no room upon the sidewalks.

"Upon my demanding if he had any very strong snuff, he replied, with a grin,—'he had some so strong the box wouldn't hold it;' and, when I told him of my mishap with the pottery, he declared, that 'that was only a way of taking pot-luck uninvited.' He consoled me for the imposition practised upon me with the four notes, by saying that, 'whatever we might think of them, they were undoubtedly counterfeit,—which he supposed, in plain English, meant fit for the coun-

ter.' In short, this happy personage astounded me by a multitude of quibbles, which he produced as a hen does her eggs, with a furious cackle after each; and then dismissed me with my box of snuff, which, its violence setting me sneezing as I left the door, he declared was, nevertheless, 'not to be sneezed at.'" — Vol. I. p. 126.

Going in search of Mr. Bloodmoney, to whom his patron had furnished him with a letter, intended to procure him an opportunity of going to sea, he falls in with a person, who in reply to his request to be directed to Mr. Bloodmoney's house, assumes that gentleman's name, and helps himself to the letter, and to its contents of bank notes. This is no other than a second appearance of Captain Brown. Brown, personating Bloodmoney, guides Robin late at night to the latter's house, which they enter together by means of a key, produced by Brown, he enjoining silence upon Robin, that they may not disturb his invalid wife.

Robin, in short, begins his career of city life by being unintentionally a burglar. No harm, however, comes of the adventure at present, to either of the parties. Each makes an escape on his own account, Robin charging himself to take a lesson from his grievous mishap, and be very circumspect about trusting fair-seeming men again. His "vaulting ambition" of prudence for this time "o'erleaps its sell." He is overtaken by John Dabs, the constable of Dr. Howard's town, who, by reason of his skill in finding the track of people who would rather not be followed, has been sent after him by that gentleman, to inform him, that M'Goggin's life is in no danger, and invite him to return home. Satisfied that Dabs has but come to inveigle him by this story into the hands of justice, he uses vast address to put that officer off his guard, and, getting out of his way on the first opportunity, congratulates himself past measure on this achievement of his dear-bought sagacity.

Full of patriotism and valor, Robin Day repairs to the neighbourhood of the Chesapeake, — it was at the time of the prodigious exploits of Admiral Cockburn, in that bay, in the last war, — and, falling in with a military party, in motion for an engagement, promptly volunteers, not finding out, till he is already in action, that he has enlisted on the wrong side. He is conveyed on board a vessel of the British fleet, and, liking better to be still a volunteer than a prisoner of war,

takes up with the former character till he shall find an opportunity to escape. At Havre de Grace, in a spasmodic endeavour to run away, he gets the credit of fighting with desperate bravery. At Craney Island he has better luck, so far as to reëstablish himself upon American ground, though at the risk, when recognised, of being tried by a court-martial for treason ; a *désagrément*, from which he is only saved by the interposition of his old friend, Captain Dare, who turns out to be one of the heroes of that well-fought day, and who dismisses him in safety, but with a volley of contumelious reproaches, of the most patriotic description.

A third time a fugitive for unintended felony, Robin Day is accosted in the woods by Captain Brown. Misfortune, which "makes strange bed-fellows," makes equally strange travelling companions. They set out together on their forlorn pilgrimage ; and Robin, before he knows what he has undertaken for, finds himself concerned with Brown in the itinerant practice of the healing art, — a new style of the *médecin malgré lui*, — he, in the character of an East Indian conjuror, prescribing medicines which Brown administers. The adventure ends by his being sold, under his Indian disguise of a dark complexion, to a Virginia planter, who pays Brown an enormous price for him, in consideration of his marvellous skill.

From this difficulty, and various others beyond, the author successfully extricates him. Those who would see how he does it, we must refer to the volumes themselves, which, we repeat, they will find spirited and amusing in no common degree. The story of the "Bloody Volunteers" of Tennessee, to the command of whom Captain Dare advances himself by force of his military virtues, is told with genuine humor, and the conception of incidents at sea, towards the close of the story, is marked with power of a different and higher kind.

Art. IX. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *An Address at the Annual Cattle Shows of the Worcester, and the Hampshire, Hampden, and Franklin Agricultural Societies, October*, 1838. By Henry Colman, Commissioner for the Agricultural Survey of the State. Boston : Otis, Broaders, & Company. 8vo. pp. 23.

Agriculture, the first pursuit of civilized man, has been the last to receive the direct attention and patronage of governments. Commerce, navigation, manufactories, the mechanic and fine arts, science and letters, had commanded much respect, and reached high degrees of excellence, before the cultivation of the earth, either for the purposes of profit or embellishment, found favor among the affluent and enlightened, or was deemed an object worthy of the careful consideration of statesmen and legislators. But, when nations have reached an advanced position in prosperity and refinement, and other more attractive or lucrative branches of industry have been so extended, as to employ a large portion of the population, an immensely increased amount of products is required, to meet the augmented demand of consumption ; and the necessity of rendering the earth more prolific becomes so apparent, that what had been improvidently neglected, and was, in fact, the most substantially momentous interest of the country, at last imperiously commands the most grave consideration.

As the commercial and mechanical enterprise and capacity of England began to be rapidly developed after the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, the demand for subsistence became so much greater than the domestic supply, that vast quantities of wheat were annually imported, until, by bounties, and an improved system of tillage, the wheat crops of the island were so much increased, as not only to be sufficient for the supply of all the inhabitants, but to become a staple of exportation.

Still there was not that general and strong interest excited, for advancing the science and art of agriculture, which has been so conspicuously evinced within the last fifty years, before the great land proprietors actively coöperated for collecting and diffusing intelligence throughout every portion of the kingdom ; for, although there had been several eminent writers on rural economy, from Fitzherbert, in 1534, down to the practical and admirable Tull, in 1730, whose successful

experiments and valuable treatise form an era in the history of British tillage, very few of the actual cultivators of the soil bestowed any attention on the literature of their profession, till Marshall, Young, Anderson, Bakewell, and Sinclair became distinguished, by their numerous, interesting, and invaluable publications.

But the greatest, and perpetually operating, impulse was given by the establishment of a Board of Agriculture in 1793, when *Surveys* of all the counties in England were immediately undertaken, in conformity to a method, which had been suggested by Marshall, several years before, to the Society of Arts in London. The reports of the several commissioners being very voluminous, as they contained exact details relating to practical operations in every department of rural economy, digests were made, to render them more available, by the indefatigable projector and collaborator in the execution of this enlarged and efficient plan for advancing the important interests of the whole country. But even in that reduced form, with the other materials which he had individually collected during a period of nearly twenty years, which had been devoted to the subject, for compiling "a Compendious System of English Agriculture," the work consists of fourteen volumes.

The expenditures of Great Britain having rapidly and immensely increased, from the commencement and during the progress of the war which followed the French revolution, and nearly half of the whole revenue being derived from direct taxes and the excise, it became of still greater consequence to the land-owners and their tenants, from whom that vast amount of income was chiefly received, to render each acre more productive, by the introduction of every possible improvement in the science and art of cultivation, which genius and skill could create or introduce, from the practice of any other age or country. Interest, knowledge, and industry were, therefore, actively and zealously united in a common cause, and the beneficial results have been truly wonderful. With a territory, whose area is not a third, and whose population is only half, that of France, and with a soil and climate not so propitious, the agricultural products of England are quadruple those of that empire. This astonishing difference is owing entirely to the superior methods of tillage, which have been so successfully extended over the whole island, and have rendered it the most perfectly cultivated, prolific, and beautifully embellished domain, in all the appropriate appendages which a refined taste in ornamental planting can devise and execute, that has existed at any period in the history of the human race; while, in large portions of France, as well as Spain, Portugal, and many

of the Italian States, no favorable change has been introduced since the time of Virgil, and the implements, as well as the whole process of management, in rural affairs, is that described by the Roman bard. But, within fifteen or twenty years, the government of France has made highly commendable exertions to elevate the character and condition of its rustic population, by the establishment of agricultural and horticultural societies, experimental farms and gardens, the introduction of new plants, and awarding premiums for valuable experiments in all those departments of national industry.

The same enlightened and patriotic spirit, which induced many of the most intelligent and eminent men in Great Britain to combine in an application to Parliament, to aid them in measures for facilitating their honorable efforts to render the labors of the farmer more profitable to himself and more useful to the country, was simultaneously evinced in this Commonwealth, and with like happy consequences. The "Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture" was incorporated soon after that which was established in England; and the example has been emulously followed in most of the counties throughout the State, while all have been encouraged and fostered by the seasonable and liberal endowments of the government. Much has been thus accomplished within the present century; but, acting from a yet more enlarged and generous policy, the executive and legislature of the Commonwealth, with a munificence which reflects upon them the greatest honor, directed, two years since, an agricultural survey of each county to be made; and a gentleman was appointed, as the commissioner for performing that difficult and laborious duty, who, from his attainments, industry, ardor, and practical experience, was eminently qualified for the station.

This may undoubtedly with propriety and justice be considered one of the most important measures, that have been adopted since the organization of the government; for it is immediately interesting, and must be directly beneficial, not only to every citizen who depends upon the cultivation of the earth for his support, but to the whole population, of which the farming class constitutes at least seven tenths, being, at the same time, the grand nursery and constant source of supply for filling all the other diversified occupations in society.

With a soil naturally as capable of tillage, and to as high a degree of perfection, as that of any other region, Massachusetts has been dependent on other States, for a large portion of the most indispensable products of agriculture, which are annually consumed; not from a deficiency of territory, for, compared with the population, ours is double that of England, — nor because

it is not capable of yielding a sufficient quantity to meet the demand ; but mainly from an imperfect system of husbandry, and the general disinclination of the people to submit to the quiet, noiseless, apparently slow and doubtful process of acquiring an ample, independent support, by a perpetual cultivation of the earth. Besides these adverse causes, commerce, navigation, the fisheries, manufactories, the mechanical arts, and the mighty tide of emigration have made rapidly increasing drafts from the agricultural population, and thus produced a continually augmenting difference, between those who consume and those who produce, which has long since made it indispensable to expend the wealth acquired from other sources of income in procuring supplies from other parts of the Union ; and ultimately, so great became the disparity between the supply and the demand, that, as a nation, we have been compelled to resort to foreign countries for the first necessaries of life.

It is our duty, then, to make every possible exertion to avert such alarming conjunctures in future ; for no nation can be said to be truly independent, and secure in its position and institutions, which is not at all times, and under all circumstances, fully capable of furnishing food and raiment, and whatever else is requisite, for the support and comfort of the whole people.

From the first report made by Mr. Colman, there is ample testimony to warrant the assertion, that Massachusetts is capable of yielding more than triple the amount of agricultural products, which have hitherto been obtained. There is not a county, which the commissioner has visited, that has not presented examples of tillage, and experiments in all the branches of New England culture, which fully illustrate the immense advantages, that are derivable from a skilful application of science to the practical arts of husbandry. This verified and consequently most useful of all kinds of knowledge, but which has been confined within very limited and far separated circles, will hereafter be as universally possessed, through the medium of the reports on each county, as that which has been collected and published on every other subject connected with human industry ; and the whole, when completed, in the lucid, exact, and satisfactory manner, in which the first has been presented, will, allowing for the extent of territory surveyed, form the most accurate and valuable agricultural cyclopædia, which has appeared in any country. It will include the actual operations of each individual, who has best perfected that portion of rural economy to which his attention had been most exclusive-

ly directed, from the nature of the soil, and geographical position as respects a market.

Hitherto, all the publications which have appeared on agriculture, have been principally compilations from the various treatises that have been written on that all-important subject, since the period of the illustrious Columella ; and, however laborious may have been the authors, and ingenuously faithful in design, or desirous of producing a work, which might the most perfectly subserve the purposes of the region of country for which it was intended, it is notorious, to every experienced and well instructed farmer and gardener, that they have invariably failed to accomplish, what had been so confidently anticipated ; and it is evident, to even the most superficial observer, that there is no other mode of concentrating, in a really useful form, the requisite information, for the general guidance of the uninstructed as well as experienced cultivators of the earth, and of enabling them to participate in the advantages which have been derived from the most approved methods of conducting the multifarious labors of a farm, than that, which has fortunately been undertaken by the government of Massachusetts, and which, from what has already been done, we have the fullest confidence will be thoroughly executed. Each of the most skilful and enlightened experimentalists, whose results will be given in the reports of the Agricultural Commissioner, must have consulted the most celebrated authors, and to some extent taken them as guides, for directing them in their diversified operations ; and the benefits obtained will be at the command of every citizen.

The agricultural survey is but the continuation and completion of a system, which has been projected for obtaining accurate information, as to the physical geography, topography, natural history, and general statistics of the Commonwealth. Massachusetts has been the first, of all the States in the Union, to cause a correct map to be constructed, based on the triangulation of its whole area, which involves astronomical observations for establishing the latitude and longitude of the most remarkable features and positions, and which, from the difficulties and expense to be encountered, has been applied only in France and Great Britain, to include a whole nation. Happily, however, for the navigation of the United States, the same operation is in progress, under the direction of the national government, for forming complete hydrographical charts of the coast from Passamaquoddy to the Sabine.

Connected with these important labors, a geological survey was undertaken, which has been most ably completed by Professor Hitchcock ; and the other departments of natural his-

tory, including the animal and vegetable realms, have been directed to be explored, and the duty has been confided to several scientific gentlemen, from whom may be expected full and interesting accounts of the quadrupeds, birds, fishes, reptiles, insects, and plants, which are peculiar to the State.

These works will be honorable monuments of the enlightened and expanded views of the legislature, reflect lasting honor upon the chief magistrates, under whose direction they have been so successfully prosecuted, and entitle the enlightened and meritorious gentlemen, who have participated in the very responsible labors, to the respect and gratitude of the present and all future generations.

We have indulged so far in the general remarks, which the very interesting subject of agriculture has suggested, that there is left only sufficient space to commend to the real friends of the country the instructive Address, which the Agricultural Commissioner delivered, before the assembled yeomanry of several of the interior counties, during the last autumn. It is an impressive appeal to the farmers, urging them strenuously to endeavour to render their condition as prosperous and happy as their pursuits are respectable and important, by renewed efforts in the acquisition of intelligence, and to illustrate, by example, how independent and deserving of the highest consideration are those, who zealously emulate the hardy virtues and rural industry of their adventurous Anglo-Saxon ancestors.

---

2. — *The Law Reporter.* Edited by P. W. Chandler. Boston : Weeks, Jordan, & Company. 1839. Vol. I. Nos. 1 – 12. pp. 370.

The main object of this work, as originally announced, is to give to the legal profession a monthly condensed report of the most important cases decided in the Superior Courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction in the United States, whether *in bank*, or at *nisi prius*. To these are added digests of such contemporary English cases as are deemed interesting to American lawyers ; brief accounts of the principal legislative acts in the several States ; critical notices of new legal publications ; obituary notices of distinguished jurists ; and a miscellaneous head of essays and intelligence on legal subjects. The plan, thus sketched, has been executed, in all its departments, with much ability and tact, by the industrious editor, in the twelve numbers composing his first volume ; and, as

we judge, in a manner completely successful. Such a work had long been called for by the profession in this country ; and may well be supposed as essential here as in England, where "The Legal Observer," a periodical on a similar plan, has already reached its seventeenth volume. The volume before us is said to contain upwards of one hundred cases not before published ; and the editor numbers among his correspondents some of the most eminent of our judges and lawyers, of whose articles it has been remarked, that, while they add greatly to the value of the work, they prove the sense which these gentlemen entertain of its merits and character. We deem this a valuable aid to the cause of legal science ; which seems at present to be cultivated in this country with a freedom, liberality, and zeal, not surpassed in that from which the elements of our jurisprudence are derived.

---

3. — *The Teacher, or Moral Influence employed in the Instruction and Government of the Young.* New Stereotype Edition, with an Additional Chapter on "the First Day in School." By Jacob Abbott, Late Principal of the Mt. Vernon Female School, Boston, Mass. Boston : Published by Whipple & Damrell. 1839.

Among the endless variety of systems and plans for education, it is comfortable to think, that bright scholars and excellent men have come out from under the most unpromising regimen, and have often formed themselves without any rule or system whatever. This is not saying, however, that all systems are equally good, or that it is matter of no consequence what system is pursued. And, whatever plan is determined on, it ought to propose, as the most important preparatory step, to teach a child the habit of fixing his attention for a certain time upon a certain thing ; and this, not because it is particularly pleasant, or attractive in itself, though care should be taken that it should not be made unnecessarily otherwise. When a child finds, that, by giving his attention for a very short time to a given subject, either the letters which make a word, or any thing else, he conquers a difficulty, and fixes the word or the number in his mind, he enjoys the pleasure of successful labor, and has learned a lesson he will not forget. He will be willing to make a similar effort the next day ; and, by patiently going on in this way, a good habit of study will be formed, with very little time spent at each separate trial.

This of course can be done best at home, where the hours and moments are under the teacher's control, and where, the moment the point is gained, the child can be set at entire liberty. It forms a most excellent preparation for school ; as the pupil, having learned the art of application, and having been taught in this way to study, will be able to enter with pleasure into the routine of the school, the operations of which, however, should be varied as much as possible, since young children so soon weary of real application.

Even at school, however, something like this sort of training would not be impracticable. If the teacher could devote the time which he spends in hearing a class spell, for instance, to hearing the pupils which compose it, each in succession, spell the words from the book, two or three times, (and it would hardly take longer to do this, than to hear the words boggled over and passed down the class as is often the ease,) the time would be better spent, and the children would know more about the words, than if they had sat in the usual listless way over their books for an hour. After this exercise, the books might be put away, and the attention of the children turned to something else ; and they would thus escape the danger of getting listless, idle habits, which are so apt to follow the usual methods of studying in school. They know that they must stay there a certain time, whether they are idle or not, and they know that they must hold the book and try to study till the time comes to recite ; and they learn to make the best of the matter, and amuse themselves as well as they can in looking round the school, and taking notice how others are occupied.

When this habit of fixing the attention is formed and forming, a good exercise for it is, to strengthen the memory by getting things by heart, as we say. This practice has been abused, and it is not uncommon, at the present time, to hear the attempt to store the memory with words and facts spoken of with disapprobation. But the great facility children have in committing things to memory seems to show, that nature has intended some use should be made of this power in early life. There are many things of a mechanical and technical kind, which it is very important to have fixed in the mind, which, learned in childhood, are never forgotten, and which are acquired much easier in early childhood than in after life. And this very acquisition strengthens the memory. A person, who expects to have a great treasure poured in upon him, is not thought unwise to prepare a commodious receptacle for it, and to strengthen it by every means in his power, that he may be able to receive and retain his treasure as it comes to him ; and a well-trained memory, filled in early youth, when acqui-

sitions are easily made, with a valuable store of words and facts, will not be found a bad foundation for almost any superstructure which it may be desirable to raise upon it.

Mr. Abbott's work will be found a very valuable aid in the great work of education. It contains a record of the experience of a careful, conscientious, and highly successful teacher of youth. His views are illustrated by real and imaginary examples, showing the effects of his system. The book contains a description of the method of conducting the Mount Vernon Street school, from which much assistance, and many valuable hints on the subject of education may be drawn. Mr. Abbott says ;

"There is perhaps no way, by which a writer can more effectually explain his views on the subject of education, than by presenting a great variety of actual cases, whether real or imaginary, and describing particularly the treatment he would recommend in each. This method of communicating knowledge is very extensively resorted to in the medical profession, where writers detail particular cases, and report the symptoms and the treatment for each succeeding day, so that the reader may almost fancy himself actually a visiter at the sick bed, and the nature and effects of the various prescriptions become fixed in the mind, with almost as much distinctness and permanency as actual experience would give." — p. 242.

Mr. Abbott's plan of giving, every hour or half hour, a recess in the school from labor, in which speaking, and moving about the room for two or three minutes are permitted, is an arrangement which must prove highly useful both to the teacher and pupils, by sparing the former the annoyance of individual applications, and refreshing the latter by changing the positions of the body and the operations of the mind. He describes at length the operation of this rule, and the apparatus by which it was regulated.

The advice in the following quotation is truly admirable.

"Never get out of patience with dulness. Perhaps I ought to say, never get out of patience with any thing. That would perhaps be the wisest rule. But, above all things, remember that dulness and stupidity, and you will certainly find them in every school, are the very last things to get out of patience with. If the Creator has so formed the mind of a boy, that he must go through life slowly and with difficulty, impeded by obstructions which others do not feel, and depressed by discouragements which others never know, his lot is surely hard enough, without having you to add to it the trials and sufferings, which sarcasm and reproach from you, can heap upon him. Look over your schoolroom, therefore, and, wherever you find one whom you perceive the Creator to have endued with less intellectual power than others, fix your eye upon him with an expression of kindness and sympathy. Such a boy will have suffering enough from the selfish tyranny of his companions; he ought to find in you a pro-

tector and friend. One of the greatest pleasures which a teacher's life affords, is the interest of seeking out such an one, bowed down with burdens of depression and discouragement, unaccustomed to sympathy and kindness, and expecting nothing for the future but a weary continuation of the cheerless toils, which have embittered the past; and the pleasure of taking off the burden, of surprising the timid, disheartened sufferer by kind words and cheering looks, and of seeing in his countenance the expression of ease, and even of happiness, gradually returning."— pp. 98, 99.

The whole tone and spirit of the book is excellent, and it hardly seems possible, that any one engaged in the work of education, either publicly or privately, can read it without pleasure and advantage.

---

4. — *The Moral Teacher ; designed as a Class Book for the Common Schools in the United States of America.* By a Clergyman. New York : Robinson & Franklin. 1839. 12mo. pp. 196.

We are no great friends to the practice of writing *down* to the capacities of children. The usual success of such an attempt is, that the author writes himself *down*, to all intents and purposes. The truth is, that, if a subject is within the reach of a child's intellect, he will understand it, if treated in the ordinary language used by people of good sense, who have passed the age of legal majority. If the matter in itself is too deep for him, he will comprehend it not a whit the better, though it be discussed in terms which savor strongly of the pap-spoon and nursing-bottle. And, as an affair merely of taste, we object decidedly to the use of baby-talk in the higher walks of philosophy. If it be absolutely necessary to enlighten the minds of children on such profound topics, — to teach them how to eat meat before they have cut their first teeth, — better proceed *per saltum*, and give them solid nutriment at once ; put the standard treatises on ethics and metaphysics into their hands, and let the unbreeched philosophers run their chance for comprehending what they may, and acquiring an early taste for grave and substantial reading. Cowley and Pope wrote good verses before they were ten years old ; why, ask our modern reformers, should not the precocious intellects of the present day study moral philosophy and political economy at a still earlier period ? Miss Martineau will lend them a helping hand in the latter science, if they meet with difficulties, and

the number of her coadjutors, in the other departments of science, is rapidly increasing.

We dislike the plan and object of the little work now before us, though the intrinsic merits of its execution place it very high in the class of works to which it belongs. The writer is evidently a man of talent, well acquainted with the subject which he treats, and, we seriously believe, more capable of discussing it to the profit of men and women of full age and mature capacities, than of initiating school-boys into its mysteries. He has even some acquaintance with the infant mind, though, we maintain, it is an imperfect and unphilosophical one, or he would never have written his "Moral Teacher." As the title purports, it is an introduction to the science of ethics, with some words upon political philosophy, taste, literary criticism, and religious belief, — all designed for the use of *very youthful* pupils in common schools. In the table of contents, we find such titles to the various chapters and sections as the following; "What Morality is;" "What tells us we should do right? Something within and born with us"; "Origin of Civil Society"; "Objects of Civil Society"; "Beauties of Art and Literature"; "Revelation, — presupposes our Moral Capacities." And all these high and mighty themes are illustrated by stories about marbles and pencils lent in schools, and sometimes returned, sometimes not; about Washington, who was naturally passionate, and yet governed his temper remarkably well; about little Sarah, who was once sent to carry a basket of apples, and refused to give one of them to her companion, lest she should become a thief. Now it does not require a Solomon to foresee, that the writer of such a book, however praiseworthy may be his intentions, and ingenious the execution of his task, must fail of attaining the end proposed.

Should he be disposed to revise his present work, or to prepare another, with a similar object in view, we would earnestly call his attention to the following advice. Teach practical morality to children, as much as you please; illustrate the precepts, if you will, by little apologues, the fables of Esop and Pilpay, or even historical anecdotes, and have no fear, if the narrative be a pertinent one, that it will go beyond the child's understanding. But pray leave the deep and dark problems of theoretical ethics to the consideration of full-grown minds. The child suffers, not merely perplexity, but positive moral harm, when he is officiously informed of difficulties, that never would have occurred to his unprompted intellect. Tell him, that the Spartans encouraged their

boys to steal, and that "there is a tribe of Indians in Missouri, who regard the aged as a useless burden to the community," and there is danger, that he will recollect the facts after he has entirely forgotten your abstruse explanation of them. Should his honesty or filial duties be subsequently exposed to some sore temptation, this recollection may supply an argument on the wrong side, and fairly turn the scale. We do not attribute too much ingenuity to him by this supposition. A smart, but roguish child, in making excuses for some fault, will show ten times as much cunning as is here supposed. If those, who write books for children, would only give their pupils credit, on all subjects, for possessing one half the acuteness and reflective power, which they frequently display in mischief, we would venture to predict an entire reform in the contents of our juvenile libraries.

---

5. — *A Critical Exposition of Mental Philosophy, or the First Principles of Metaphysics; embracing a Critical Analysis of Ideas, the Elements of Reasoning, and the Philosophy of the Feelings and the Will. Adapted to Academic and Popular Use.* By Leicester A. Sawyer, A. M. New Haven: Published by Durrie & Peck. 1839. 12mo. pp. 316.

A volume of original speculations, on mental philosophy, by an American writer, is a curiosity; and we feel disposed to welcome its appearance, without instituting any very strict inquiry into its merits. It is true, that a portion of our countrymen have evinced, of late, considerable interest in abstract investigations, and metaphysics have been brought within the reach and comprehension of a greater number of persons, than were ever before engaged in such sort of reading. But the appetite, as yet, has been gratified only by foreign nutriment. Numerous translations have appeared, of the most recent French and German treatises on philosophy; and, while the rapidity of their sale shows how much curiosity is excited on the subject, the rather unsatisfactory result of a perusal of them has probably stimulated the desire for fresh inquiries. Whether speculation has not lost as much in depth, as it has thus gained in popularity, — whether a taste has not been created for showy and superficial disquisition, and for forming hasty and sweeping theories on all subjects, — is a question that may admit of doubt, and which

cannot be safely answered, till we have had further experience. But we shall not complain of this state of things, if it leads other persons, of as much talent and modesty as Mr. Sawyer, to follow his example, by presenting the public with the results of their private studies.

His work contains the fruits of much reflection, rather than of extensive reading, and is more successful in pointing out new subjects for attention and research, than in shedding light upon the much vexed questions, which have perplexed the wits of ancient and modern philosophers. The author has borrowed little, but thought a great deal ; and has here given us the fruits of his labors, in a neat, plain, and generally lucid style, without any attempt at fine writing, hair-spun reasoning, or paradoxical statements. Good taste and correct judgment are apparent throughout the book. Free from affectation and rhetorical artifice, and occupied entirely with abstract subjects, it will be relished by a small class of students, but will probably find few purchasers, and still fewer readers, among the multitude. The writer is unaffectedly modest, though his manner of frequently stating conclusions, without giving the arguments on which they rest, often appears like dogmatism. We know nothing of the circumstances under which the book is written ; but there is good internal evidence, that the writer has had too much respect for the public, to hurry before them with undigested opinions and a slip-shod style, and has carefully reviewed and elaborated his matter, until it displays regularity of feature and general comeliness.

Perhaps if Mr. Sawyer had confined his attention, for the present, to one branch of a most comprehensive subject, his speculations would have gained in point of unity and compactness, and the reader would be less confused by frequent and sudden transitions. As it is, he has gained a sort of completeness, by touching lightly on all the ramifications of metaphysical inquiry, and admitting no doctrines from other writers, which had not been carefully weighed and remodelled in his own mind. But we frequently feel, that the discussion of a single topic is incomplete, and that the remarks are loose and disjointed. Even a hypothetical system, though dangerous in many respects, may be of use to a writer in this department of knowledge, by enabling him to fuse scattered hints and unconnected opinions into one methodical whole. The phraseology is generally accurate and clear, the innovations, in the use of words, which philosophical writers are so strongly tempted to make, being, in this

case, carefully studied and conformed to the genius of the language. Sometimes, however, where technical terms are introduced, which have but lately taken root in English soil, they are applied somewhat variously, in different parts of the work, as if only a wavering and confused idea was attached to them in the mind of the author. We notice this fact, particularly, in the case of the two very convenient correlative terms, *subjective* and *objective*, which are used sometimes in the common and sometimes in the technical sense, so that the reader is often bewildered between them.

But these are small blemishes, and detract but little from the praise due to the writer, for the preparation of a thoughtful and ingenious treatise on an abstruse and difficult subject. If opportunity served, we might break a lance with him in argument on one or two of his favorite opinions. But as this pleasure is denied, it only remains to offer him our thanks for the mingled instruction and entertainment which we have drawn from the perusal of his lucubrations.

---

6. — *A Practical Treatise on Arithmetic ; to which is added a Description of Book-keeping, with Examples for Practice.* By George Leonard, Jr. Boston : George W. Light. 16mo. pp. 347.

The circulation of school-books of the right kind in this country is a matter of great moment, and we hail the appearance of such an one, as we esteem this volume of Mr. Leonard to be, with peculiar satisfaction. It is the greater, when we consider the currency frequently obtained by such things, and the corresponding good or evil they must be continually effecting. Few persons are probably aware, for example, of the extent to which Pike's Arithmetic has been used, and even still is ; or some half a dozen others which might be named, including Adams's, one of the most modern, of which, according to a statement in the author's Preface, some forty thousands had been printed, as long ago as 1831. It is a fact well authenticated, we suppose, that some of our school-books have been sold in numbers ranging from one hundred thousand to three hundred thousand, within the first ten years of their existence ! The appearance of a new candidate for currency like this, with any thing like specious pretensions, may be deemed, we repeat it, a matter of national interest.

It is very evident to us, that Mr. Leonard has not lost sight

of these considerations ; nor yet of another circumstance, equally interesting to the cause of education,—that, in the crowd of these candidates for the lucrative public favor of which we have spoken, there must be something rather remarkable in the character of a new one, to give it much prospect of a profitable rivalry with its fellows. A fresh Arithmetic is not the imposing phenomenon it once was. It must not only advance claims to improvements of some sort over its predecessors, but it must sustain them too, sooner or later. It must endure examination. Slovenly or spiritless compilations and abridgments will never do.

Such a book is not Mr. Leonard's. It is evident on every page, that great labor has been spent upon it, and that of no blind or dull description, but by a mind impressed with clear views of the subject, and accustomed to make its industry *tell* to some good account. Not that this Arithmetic contains a large proportion of new matter, or proposes many original ideas. We should at once have doubts of its value suggested to us, if it affected any such thing. The improvements it seems to us to present, are those of greater convenience than show. Mostly, they must needs be matters of arrangement, rather than of substantive innovation. McAdam was not the first man who used broken stones in road-making. He used them in a slightly different manner from others ; but he altered the whole face of countries by the change. Mr. Leonard has done something, we think, to *Macadamize* arithmetic.

The chief merits of his book may be soon stated. Many of them are comprised in the one important word, simplification ; by which we mean to express its character in respect not merely to details, but also to system and order, prevailing coherently throughout the work. Intended, we presume, for the use of common schools, it assumes that the learner is able to read ; and beginning at this point, it goes on from one subject to another in a manner which appears to us eminently rational and natural. Every principle is explained, either by simple questions preceding the statement of it, so that the pupil reasons it out for himself, or by the discussion of an operation performed at length in figures. To do this, or attempt it, more or less, is a common practice ; but the extent to which these explanations and illustrations accomplish their object, must of course depend upon each author's skill. In this work we consider them to be unusually practical, simple, and clear. These, as all teachers well know, are important points. Brevity is another, and this too has been studied. Most of the school-books multiply useless words, to the great embarrassment of youthful minds. Others have attained the merit of

brevity too often at the expense of clearness, — sometimes omitting matter in fact indispensable to the complete comprehension of the subject, and perhaps for the sake of introducing what is, to say the least, of doubtful value. Mr. Leonard's book is remarkably free from these faults. Where it is really necessary, he uses as many words as other authors, but very seldom where it is not. Let us take one specimen. A rule has been adopted in many of our most respectable courts of justice for computing interest when partial payments have been made. In the New York Chancery Reports, this rule is thus stated by Chancellor Kent ; —

"The rule for casting interest, when partial payments have been made, is to apply the payment, in the first place, to the discharge of the interest then due. If the payment exceeds the interest, the surplus goes towards discharging the principal, and the subsequent interest is to be computed on the balance of principal remaining due. If the payment be less than the interest, the surplus of interest must not be taken to augment the principal; but interest continues on the former principal until the period when the payments, taken together, exceed the interest due, and then the surplus is to be applied towards discharging the principal; and interest is to be computed on the balance, as aforesaid."

Thus we find this rule in the recent Arithmetics. Mr. Leonard seems to us to have gained much and lost nothing by expressing it as follows ;

"Cast the interest to the time when the money paid shall at least be equal to the interest, then discharge the interest from the money paid, subtract the excess, if any, from the principal, and cast the interest on the new principal as before, and so on."

His management of interest may be referred to as a specimen of his style. Generally the scholar carries off from common treatises no single simple rule that will really serve the purposes of business. He learns, — that is, commits to memory, — a number of half-formed ones, none of which proves available in the end, and he finally gets to performing the operations in question by a process which he owes to his own unaided common sense. The Numeration in this work, the statements of all the simple rules, and the method of proving certain operations (as multiplication), may generally be compared with corresponding portions of common treatises, much, we think, to the advantage of the former.

This is a recommendation which applies to details. A more comprehensive one is deserved by the arrangement at large. The author's study has evidently been, to make this such throughout that one subject would naturally call up another, introducing us from each to each by an obvious and pleasing

gradation ; so that any article, as *Fractions*, *Decimal Fractions*, *Federal Money*, &c. when once discussed and explained, instead of being laid aside altogether, is made to recur practically, — not, as it were, intruding, but yet insisting upon being remembered and well understood. This merit would seem to be indispensable ; but, as we have before hinted, authors have attained to it mostly but in imperfect as well as widely-various degrees. For example, Mr. Leonard's first rule in *Decimal Fractions* is for changing a common fraction to a decimal. All the treatises have such a rule. It is as easily explained in one place as another. Now the position of it is important, and herein is the difference between the arrangement before us, and others which occur to our recollection. In them it is placed at the end of Decimals. Here, coming first, its principles can be employed in addition, subtraction, &c., of Decimals, which follow it. Thus the pupil has the advantage of reimpressing an important process upon his mind, at the same time that he performs an operation similar to those which occur in the actual practice of business, and so reminding him of the real utility of the rule. So, in most of the treatises, we find *Federal Money* placed just after *Division.* Of course, many rules must be given, and a long article appears. In the work before us, the subject comes *after Decimals*, and every operation in it is performed by reference merely to *them.* So, in *Compound Numbers*, where *Fractions* are to be applied to them. Mr. Leonard here has inverted the common order. In ordinary text-books, possessed too of much merit, the arrangement makes it necessary to crowd part of *Compound Numbers* into *Fractions ;* and hence follows omission as well as repetition, with a needless enlargement of the volume, and confusion of the pupil's mind. Our meaning will be understood by a reference to *Reduction of Fractions*, or of *Decimals*, in the common treatises and in Mr. Leonard's. *Percentage* is another case in point, and there are many more. We specify these merely as illustrations.

The form and name of that ancient stumbling-block to novices, the *Rule of Three*, are retained as usual. So are the old distinctions generally, which on the whole we think wise. Such a compliment to custom and habit, were it nothing more, need occasion no inconvenience. It is perfectly easy to do so, and yet thoroughly work the old processes over anew. The learner, in this book, is led on through the subject in question with a good deal of tact. Much reliance is placed on examples, to be performed by the pupil, and these are of all conceivable varieties which may be of use to him.

At the same time nothing is solved by algebraic proportion; and in this point the author agrees, so far as we recollect, with Colburn alone. The reason is clear enough. It costs the pupil more to simply state the examples in such a form, than it does to perform them without any statement at all. Nor do many persons, in actual business, make any statements in proportion, in similar cases. They work, in fact, just as it will be seen Mr. Leonard has led his learner by his right explanations to do. It is obvious to remark, that there are a vast many questions in the *Rule of Three*, which hardly admit of being stated in proportion at all.

This is an instance of judicious omission; and there are many more such, though the treatise embraces, we believe, all the modern improvements in Arithmetic, which deserve to be so called. *Position*, *Permutations*, and *Combinations*, are among these omissions. The two last are algebraic subjects, of limited utility, and not to be explained in arithmetic. The first is wholly useless. One of our popular authors acknowledges this in his preface, though he still inserts the article in his book, apparently from mere deference to habit. Mr. Leonard would perhaps have made a good exchange, in rejecting all these Rules, had he only gained by it the insertion of *Specific Gravity* which is of utility, and the writing out of *Mensuration*, and the *Mechanical Powers*, without the customary mutilation. These articles contain much matter of real value, especially to young mechanics; and, though an arithmetic is not a treatise on mechanics, we must decidedly commend the author's policy, observed in many other cases as well as this, of furnishing in his book all the matter which is really wanted by the class he writes for in actual ordinary life, and which is not to be had from other sources. Every mathematical subject of prime necessity, in fact, belongs to an arithmetic, and so does every important branch of business which contains mathematical calculation. After all, we have but the simple elements of mensuration given here. They occupy little space, though obviously applicable to surfaces and bodies so extensively, that the intelligent student can hardly fail, after making himself master of these principles, to measure correctly any thing which is likely to come in his way. So among the Mechanical Powers, we have a description of the second kind of lever as well as the first. For this a good reason exists. The second is in common use, perhaps as much so as the first. And yet we do not now remember any other

instance of its finding a place in an arithmetic. So in *Gauging*, it is usual to give a rule for finding the capacity of a cask in ale and wine gallons only. In this treatise it may be measured in bushels, or in imperial gallons ; the latter of which, at least, is of some moment, inasmuch as this measure is exclusively used in Great Britain, and, to some extent, (like the bushel measure,) in our own country also.

Such, generally, is the practical character of the work ; and we consider it no small merit. Other illustrations of it occur to us in the excellent little department devoted to *Book-Keeping*, adapted to popular use, to business-forms, to the divisions of the dollar, as adopted by auctioneers, and to the account of the moneys in which the value of small articles is usually named in the various parts of the United States. These may look at first like trifles ; but it is trifles like these which make up, in the aggregate, the real availability and true worth of the work. Every traveller must have learned the utility of the statements last named, — not to say every reader of newspapers. Probably the least indispensable part of the work is the article on *Foreign Measures*, *Weights*, and *Moneys*, being chiefly intended for one class, the merchants ; but it is obvious, that a remark like that just made respecting domestic information equally applies, as regards these other matters, to every person who would consult foreign histories, or travels, or even a common journal.

The leading recommendations of Mr. Leonard's book, then, are its simplicity, clearness, and practical character. More can scarcely be said in favor of such a work. We ought, however, to mention, that not a few cases occur of the correction of long-established errors, especially in the form of rules, some of which, popular as they have been and still are, must frequently be productive of most incorrect and inconvenient results. A striking instance of this kind will be found in *Mensuration.* At the same time, the book, doubtless, is not perfect itself. We have detected a few errors in the *answers* here and there, and there are some cases, where the author has relaxed a little from his rigorous principle of making things perfectly plain to the most indifferent understanding. For example ; "Per cent. is a contraction of the Latin *per centum*, which signifies *per* hundred." But these are trivial things, easily corrected in another edition.

7. — *The Characters of Schiller ;* by Mrs. Ellet. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Company. 1839. 12mo. pp. 296.

This is a volume of a very interesting character. It shows a fine literary taste, and very considerable attainments ; and the subject of it, to wit, the genius of Schiller as displayed in his dramatic characters, is one of great and daily increasing interest to the lovers of German literature. There is no controversy in the minds of men, in regard to Schiller. On all hands he is acknowledged to be a poet of a very high, if not of the highest order ; and the warmth and honesty of his heart, which shine out in his writings, are acknowledged with an equally harmonious consent. In this respect, his fate is widely different from that of his great contemporary, Goethe, whose indifference to the stirring interests of the age is daily operating to diminish his fame, and to weaken the love with which his memory is regarded.

As a dramatic author, Schiller had several great faults. He had but little power in depicting, or rather in representing, men as men, — as living beings, — with the foibles and virtues which mark them in actual life. His characters, it is said, are almost all *ideal*, which means, that they are not *real ;* that they are compounded of qualities in such proportions as are not found among men. They are not human beings, but only personifications of those qualities ; and the sentiments they are made to utter, are not such as men would actually utter under the given circumstances, but such as the poet himself feels in contemplation of the imaginary scene. It is this which makes Schiller so preëminently what the Germans call a *subjective* poet. Now it is plain, that the dramatic characters of such a poet open but few questions for criticism to decide. The aim of each character is distinctly seen at once. We are not obliged to ponder upon it, as we do in deciding on the merits of a character of real life. We know at once what the poet means by it, provided we comprehend the import of his language. There are no hidden motives influencing conduct ; no half-betrayed idiosyncrasies, which are to be traced out by a long and scrutinizing comparison of words, and hints, and actions. When we read a play of Shakspeare, we are strongly persuaded of its reality ; his men and women come and go, talk and act, exhibit one or another part of their characters, just as we have seen men and women do every day of our lives ; and, when the action or the sentiment rises into the tragical

or heroic, and beyond our experience, we are borne upon and with it, as it were on the wings of the poet's genius, into a higher region, where we seem to see with our own eyes, and hear with our own ears ; and where we are made to feel the beauty, and consistency, and reality, of the poet's imaginary world. Hence we discuss the virtues and faults of Shakspeare's characters, just as we would those of men and women whom we have known ; and doubts remain upon our minds in regard to them, just as happens in regard to our every-day acquaintances.

Mrs. Ellet, therefore, labors under the disadvantage growing out of the peculiarity of Schiller's genius, which we have very briefly indicated. The field of discussion is a narrow one, and the questions started in it are by no means difficult of solution. Still the discussion is interesting, as it throws a broad light on the admirable character and genius of the poet. And though, as we have said, there are no intricate questions to be solved, as to the real drift of Schiller's dramatic characters, still the simple description of them is an interesting task for a person of literary taste.

Mrs. Ellet's book will have to undergo the ordeal of a comparison with Mrs. Jameson's incomparable work on the characters of Shakspeare, by which it was evidently suggested. If it should be found to fall below that exquisite work, it will be no discredit to Mrs. Ellet ; for Mrs. Jameson is the most accomplished and brilliant literary woman since Madame de Staël ; and, where Shakspeare is read and appreciated, there will Mrs. Jameson be acknowledged as one of the most profound and elegant of his illustrators.

---

8. — *Travels of Father Hennepin.* (*Democratic Review, for April*, 1839.)

In a late number of our Journal, while treating of the early discoveries in the West,* we had occasion to speak of the Travels of Father Hennepin. It is well known, that, from the first publication of these Travels, the author's veracity, on certain points, has been more than doubted. In the article above alluded to, we expressed our opinion, after a pretty thorough investigation of the subject, that these doubts were well founded, and that the pretended discoveries

* *North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII. pp. 63 *et seq.*

of Father Hennepin *below* the mouth of the Illinois river were unworthy of credit. His narrative of a voyage down the Mississippi, we believed, and still believe, to have been fabricated in Europe, several years after he left America.

A writer in the "Democratic Review" has assumed the other side of the question, and undertaken to relieve the memory of Hennepin from the burden of these charges. He endeavours to answer some of our objections, and seems to look to us for a reply. We do not perceive, however, that he has brought forward any facts, which had not already passed under our notice, or that he has removed any of the obstacles, which stand in the way of the credibility of Hennepin's narrative. He has accumulated probabilities, to which due weight should be allowed, though, for reasons which we gave in treating the subject, they do not satisfy our minds. He points out no error in our statements, and neither produces new testimony, nor new materials of any kind, which, in our opinion, affect the merits of the question. He is so far from referring to any book which we had not consulted, that, for any thing that appears, he obtained most of his facts from our article. As to Ellicott and Stoddard, whom he finds fault with us for not mentioning with sufficient consideration, we did precisely that which these writers failed to do; that is, we compared the two works of Hennepin together, and the supposed spurious one with that attributed to Tonti. The grounds, upon which, on a previous occasion, we had referred to the latter, were also fully stated by us.* So far from leaving any room for doubt, whether we were acquainted with Charlevoix's objections to it, we expressly cited and canvassed those objections. † And as to another fact, in respect to which the writer in April finds occasion for a rebuke to us, we had ourselves recorded it in January, in the paper on which he was commenting; — we refer to Tonti's not being known to have returned to France, after his departure from it with La Salle. ‡

The editors of the "Democratic Review" suggest their intention of investigating the subject to a greater length; and, when this task shall be executed, we shall not be reluctant to recur to it, should they succeed in collecting additional facts. The subject, being one merely of historical inquiry, should be discussed without prejudice or bias, and with no other aim than that of arriving at the truth. In this spirit we shall be ready to continue the discussion whenever occasion may offer.

---

* *North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII. p. 81. † *Ibid.* pp. 81, 82.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 97.

In reviewing the writer's statements, however, we cannot forbear to express our surprise, that he should have so entirely overlooked the voyage of Father Marquette from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas, about which there is no question, and which was performed *seven years before Hennepin saw the Mississippi.* He lays much stress on Hennepin's map, and speaks of it as follows. "Hennepin gives a map of the country, *till then unknown*, from Florida to the South Sea, and traces the Mississippi considerably below the point to which La Salle authorized him to go below the Illinois, and beyond which its course was so *utterly unknown*, that La Salle himself hoped to reach China by it. In this map, nevertheless, Hennepin continues the course of the river, by a dotted line, to the Gulf of Mexico, fully intimating his knowledge of its *débouche*, nearly two years before the information acquired by La Salle was communicated to Europe." Now this map was published in 1683, *ten years after* Marquette's voyage, the particulars of which were well known in Canada, as Joliet, the companion of Marquette, remained there. Moreover, Marquette's narrative, accompanied by a map of the Mississippi from the Wisconsin to the Gulf of Mexico, was published at Paris, in 1681, *two years before* the publication of Hennepin's map. It is likewise to be observed, that Marquette's map is remarkable for the accuracy with which the rivers and other conspicuous objects are delineated. Where is the wonder, then, that Hennepin, with this map before him, should be able to construct another map, in which the same objects are delineated?

Again, the writer says; "A singular feature in the whole matter is, *the absence of authentic information respecting the discovery of the Mississippi until* 1697. No trace of any account of it occurs in any remarks that we have met, written on the subject." And yet, *twenty-four years before this date*, Marquette had not only discovered the Mississippi, but had sailed down its waters from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas, a distance of more than one thousand miles; and, *sixteen years before*, the account of these discoveries had been published in Paris!

In the same tone, the writer adds; "Hennepin transferred to the literature and language of the old world, the Indian name of the great Mississippi, the hoary father of waters, *which he first explored.*" An extraordinary assertion; as Marquette had called the river constantly by that name, and affixed the name to "the hoary father of waters" in his map. The writer also speaks of "Hennepin's name of

Illinois," although Marquette had both mentioned this name, and explained its meaning in the Indian language.

From these remarkable oversights, we should infer, that the writer had never heard of Marquette's narrative, if he did not allude to it in a way that leads the reader to suppose he was not ignorant of it. At any rate, it would have been better for him to spare such broad assertions, till he had thoroughly possessed himself of facts, and examined all the bearings of his subject. As they now stand, they essentially weaken his argument, and create the suspicion, that, if he could fall into such grave errors in one branch of the discussion, he may not be free from them in others. If this is a specimen of the accuracy, with which the editors propose to pursue their inquiries, it is to be feared, that their results will not contribute much to increase our stock of historical knowledge. Before they proceed further, we recommend to them a careful perusal of Marquette's narrative, and an inspection of his map, and we apprehend they will find there the substance of nearly all such particulars, contained in Hennepin's description of the lower Mississippi, as could not be easily supplied by a fertile imagination. Nor is it the least of Hennepin's delinquencies, that, even in his first work, he should not have given due credit to a traveller, who had preceded him in a large part of his actual discoveries on the upper Mississippi.

The writer in the "Democratic Review" desires us to give further information relative to the map of Tonti, referred to by us. We wish we had it to give. But he will see, on a more careful reading, that, so far from professing to have seen the map in question, we expressly referred to Mitchell's preface to Joutel's "Journal," as authority for our description, and added, that "the only original copy of the Journal, published as by Tonti, which we have seen, (that in Harvard College Library,) has no map."* On the other hand, what could this writer have had in his mind, when he suggests, that the map, thus referred to by Mitchell, must have been contained in the reprint of Tonti, given in the "Recueil de Voyages au Nord"? Mitchell's edition of Joutel was printed in 1714. Was there any edition of the "Recueil" earlier than this? Was there any till twenty years later?

On the latitude given by Tonti, the "Democratic Review" says, an important point in the controversy turns. If the controversy respecting Hennepin's veracity be meant, we do not see how that latitude affects the question. There is

* *North American Review*, Vol. XLVIII. p. 82. note.

no doubt, that Hennepin's latitude, and description, of the mouth of the Mississippi, are more correct than that of the work ascribed to Tonti; nor is the authenticity of that work upheld by us. We referred to his supposed map, incidentally, in speaking of our reasons for rejecting Charlevoix's general denunciation of his Journal. We do not suppose that Hennepin got his latitude from Tonti, for it agrees neither with his text nor the map mentioned by Mitchell.

---

9. — *Letters to the Honorable James T. Morehead, on Transylvania University, and the Necessity of a System of Education in Kentucky.* By William Pitt. Smithland, Kentucky: Charles A. Fuller. 1837. 8vo. pp. 28.

These very sensible and spirited letters we have understood to be from the pen of a gentleman, who, having a few years ago won a high reputation for talent and accomplishments at our Massachusetts University, has since been laboring, with an admirable zeal, to excite the people of his native State to efforts for the establishment of a system of education, corresponding to their wants and means, and to the important place which Kentucky holds in the Union. The best testimony to the wisdom and energy of his exertions, made as well through this little publication as in other ways, is the fact, that, in consequence of them, (in addition, it is likely, to other endeavours to the same end, with which we are less acquainted,) an unusual attention has been awakened, in that community, to the subject of education in all its departments, and arrangements of the most liberal description have been made for its advancement. A literary fund, amounting, if we are correctly informed, to a million of dollars, has been established by the legislature, and a Superintendent and Board of Education have been appointed, under whose administration it is believed that a system of common schools will soon be in successful operation throughout the State. Meanwhile, energetic steps have been taken to raise the University at Lexington to a condition of greater usefulness, with a view, as well to the supply of competent teachers for the schools, as to the other objects of seminaries of instruction of the highest class. Among other means, to this end, more than seventy individuals have subscribed to its funds five hundred dollars each, to be paid in annual

instalments of one hundred dollars. One of the conditions of this endowment being, that the State of Kentucky, or the city of Lexington, should contribute an equal amount to that furnished by private bounty, the State legislature, being not yet prepared to make the appropriation, transferred part of its authority over the University to the city of Lexington, which, thereupon, with a noble liberality, endowed it with the sum of seventy thousand dollars; appropriating, from this amount, forty-five thousand dollars to the building of a Medical College and the provision of a Medical library and apparatus, and five thousand dollars to the increase of the library of the Law school. The Medical and Law departments of the University have, for many years, been in high repute. The former numbers, this year, about two hundred and forty students; the latter about sixty. To revive the Academical department, which has been less prosperous, the pecuniary means are mainly as follows;

Real estate, including the College buildings, and land adjoining	$100·000
Morrison fund, for the support of a professor of Mathematics	20·000
Appropriation by the city of Lexington .	20·000
Avails of the recent subscriptions by individuals, more than	35·000
Making an amount exceeding	$175,000

In possession of this property, in addition to the receipts from students, the prospects of the Academical department wear a very encouraging appearance; and we confidently expect, as well as earnestly desire, to see the hopes entertained by those truly intelligent and meritorious citizens, who, by pecuniary aid, and still more by personal exertion, have taken part in this movement, amply fulfilled by the event. Kentucky has few sons, to whom she is under weightier obligations, than to them.

Besides the University at Lexington, there is a College, under Catholic management, at Bardstown; the Presbyterians have one at Danville; the Methodists, at Augusta; the Baptists, at Georgetown; and the Cumberland Presbyterians, at Princeton, in the Southern or Green River section of the State. There is also a College at Shelbyville, — we do not know under what administration.

10. — *A l'Abri, or the Tent Pitched.* By N. P. Willis. New York : Samuel Colman. 12mo. pp. 172.

This little volume is made up of letters, written by Mr. Willis while living in the country, and first published in the "New York Mirror." They are composed in a sprightly, dashing style, and present very agreeable pictures of country life, and now and then very lively descriptions of scenery. But they are occasionally disgraced by a spice of dandyism, both in thought and style, which Mr. Willis would do well to throw aside, as a folly of literary youth, unworthy to be cherished in riper years. Yet even with this deduction, — which, in the eyes of many readers no doubt, will be found a great attraction, — the book is one of the most readable of the season. Open it anywhere, and you find something agreeable and sprightly. Mr. Willis's prose style has the elements of rare beauty and excellence ; but he writes too much, and too hastily, and deforms his writings altogether too much with the mincing and affected phraseology of the fashionable scribblers and novelists. All this will do well enough for readers of circulating libraries, but fails to command the respect of men of sense.

NOTE

TO ARTICLE I. OF THE PRESENT NUMBER.

While the Article on Prison Discipline was passing through the press, we received the report of the Committee of the Legislature of New York, who, during the past winter, visited the State Prison at Sing Sing. We have never attended to a more melancholy disclosure. From this report it appears, that the board of inspectors of this prison, instead of taking upon themselves the discharge of the duties required by law, have, in effect, surrendered their principal duties, and committed the entire management and control of that prison, its offices and affairs, to the agent. "The agent has uniformly appointed the assistants; fixed their salaries ; at his pleasure removed them ; and the board of inspectors have never done more than to give their assent to his acts." The agent has furnished, at his discretion, all articles for the use of the prison, and provisions for the convicts, and has conducted the "sale of all wares and articles produced at the prison." "The

assistant-keepers have entered upon the duties of their appointment without taking the oath of office," and they all "exercise discretionary and unlimited power in the punishment of convicts," subject, indeed, to a provision requiring a written report of each case of punishment, which provision, however, has been commonly evaded.

It also appeared in evidence, that the convicts, under this system, were not supplied with a sufficient quantity of wholesome food; that, during the year 1837–8, convicts failed to perform their usual tasks, and, when reprimanded for such omissions, they would allege, *with tears in their eyes*, their inability, arising from want of food, to sustain them; that, when they applied for additional food, they were frequently beaten away by the superintendent of the kitchen without it; that, instead of the legal rations of beef and pork, codfish had been substituted, at one time, from August to January; and that, instead of molasses with mush, the grease skimmed from the pots was substituted; and that the convicts were, on various occasions, seen snatching offal from the swill-barrel, in order to satisfy the cravings of hunger. It was also proved before the committee, that cruel and unreasonable punishments have been often inflicted within the prison. "For small offences, eighty or a hundred strokes upon the bare back and legs have been given by an instrument which multiplies every stroke by six;" that severe "punishments have been inflicted on persons manifestly insane;" "*in one case, one thousand lashes were inflicted on a maniac, in the space of a week;*" "convicts have been disabled by scourging," so as to require treatment at the hospital; "assistant keepers have stripped and whipped a convict, for insults offered to such officers before conviction;" discharged convicts have been seized and compelled to work again at the will of officers.

This is bad enough, in all conscience, but the worst remains to be told. Upon the reception of this report, Governor Seward immediately sent a message to the legislature stating the facts, and recommending the removal of the inspectors, in whom by law is vested the appointment of the agent and his subordinates. This *recommendation was not acted upon.* The inspectors were suffered to remain, and the members of the legislature went home to their constituents, with this report of their committee in their pockets. As soon as the legislature adjourned, the work of reform commenced in the prison, by *turning out of office every person who had testified to these shocking abuses before the committee.* At least, so state the daily papers. *Will the Empire State bear this?*

A course of similar proceedings occurred during the past

year in the prison at Auburn. There, however, to the credit of Western New York, be it said, the public indignation waxed so strong, that the agent saw fit to retire, and his successor has already been appointed.

We mention these circumstances, because we desire to put the community in possession of all the facts in the case. They teach us, that there is no inherent efficiency in any form of prison discipline ; but that every system is *liable* to shocking abuse. None can succeed without vigilant public inspection, and without the efficient superintendence of a board, composed of the ablest and most honorable men in the community. We are happy to say, such men compose the board of inspectors of the Massachusetts' State Prison. We hope that the other States will imitate her example.

NOTE

TO ARTICLE I. OF NUMBER 100.

A LETTER, from a friend at Marietta, points out an error in our recent article upon the history of Ohio. It is therein stated, (Vol. XLVII. p. 48,) that the Reverend Manasseh Cutler was with Mr. Guilford at Columbus, at the passage of the School Law, in 1825. It was not Manasseh, but his son Ephraim. The former died in 1823.

A few other statements in the article are thought by our correspondent to be erroneous. We cannot, on present evidence, consider them so. He says, for instance, that Cutler, and not Parsons, applied to Congress, for the lands on the Muskingum. But in the fourth volume of "Journals of the Old Congress," (at p. 755,) appears the report on Parsons's application, and, at p. 17 of the Appendix, the final report of Congress on the same, with their reference to the Board of Treasury, which led to the communication of Cutler and Sargent.

Again, he thinks, that the territory of the original contract did not run to the Scioto. In the places above referred to, however, that river is named by Congress as the western boundary, and was accepted by Cutler as such. The other boundary was fixed five years later. See "Land Laws," p. 364.

We hope our correspondent will fulfil his purpose of giving a full account of the settlement of the Muskingum from original sources. Some of our statements were, from the nature of the case, made upon individual authority. We used none to which we do not ascribe the highest credit ; but we shall cordially welcome any further evidence, whether it contradict or corroborate our present views.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

AGRICULTURE.

Second Report on the Agriculture of Massachusetts. By Henry Colman, Commissioner for the Agricultural Survey of the State. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 194.

The American Fruit Garden Companion, being a Practical Treatise on the Propagation and Culture of Fruit. Adapted to the Northern and Middle States. By Edward Sayers, Gardener. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 12mo. pp. 174.

The American Flower Garden Directory, containing Practical Directions for the Culture of Plants in the Flower Garden, Hot House, Green House, Rooms, or Parlour Windows, for every Month in the Year; with a Description of the Plants most desirable in each, &c. &c. By Robert Bruist, Nursery-man and Florist. Philadelphia: E. L. Carey & A. Hart. 8vo. pp. 380.

The Silk Culturist's Manual; or a Popular Treatise on the Planting and Cultivation of Mulberry Trees, the Rearing and Propagating of Silk Worms, &c. Addressed to the Farmers and Planters of the United States, by John D'Homergue. Philadelphia: Hogan & Thompson. 12mo. pp. 406.

A Treatise on the Culture of the Dahlia and Cactus. By E. Sayers, Author of "The Flower Garden Companion." Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 18mo. pp. 72.

Dennis's Silk Manual; containing Complete Directions for Cultivating the Different Kinds of Mulberry Trees, Feeding Silk Worms, and Manufacturing Silk to Profit; adapted to the Wants of the American Cultivator, and believed to contain more Practical Information than any similar Work now before the Public. By Jonathan Dennis, Jr., of Portsmouth (R. I.) New York: Mahlon Day & Co. 18mo. pp. 107.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

The People's Presidential Candidate; or the Life of William Henry Harrison of Ohio. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 18mo. pp. 211.

Biography of Revolutionary Heroes. Containing the Lives of Brigadier-General William Barton and Captain Stephen Olney. By Mrs. Williams, Author of "Religion at Home," &c. &c. Providence: Published by the Author. New York: Bailey & Putnam. 18mo. pp. 312.

The Life of William Wilberforce; by his Sons, Robert Isaac Wilberforce, M. A., and Samuel Wilberforce, M. A. Abridged from the London Edition, by Caspar Morris, M. D. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 12mo. pp. 544.

Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Munson and the Rev. Henry Lyman, late Missionaries to the Indian Archipelago, with the Journal of their Exploring Tour. By Rev. William Thompson. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 196.

Memoir of Mrs. Sarah Lanman Smith, late of the Mission in Syria, under the Direction of the A. B. C. F. M. By Edward W. Hooker, Pastor of the First Congregational Church, Bennington Vt. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. 12mo. pp. 407.

Memoir of Normand Smith, Jr., or the Christian Serving God in his Business. By Rev. Joel Hawes, D. D. Hartford: Spaulding & Storrs. 18mo. pp. 77.

Transplanted Flowers, or Memoirs of Mrs. Rumpff, Daughter of John Jacob Astor, Esq., and the Duchess de Broglie, Daughter of Madame de Staël. With an Appendix, by Robert Baird. New York: John S. Taylor. 12mo. pp. 159.

Memoir of Mrs. Elizabeth McFarland; or Full Assurance of Hope, the Reward of Diligence in the Christian Life. By Nathaniel Bouton, Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Concord, N. H. Concord: Marsh, Capen, & Lyon. 18mo. pp. 319.

The Life of Mrs. Isabella Graham, by her Daughter Mrs. Joanna Bethune. New York: John S. Taylor. 18mo pp. 144.

A Biographical Sketch of the Honorable John Boyle, in an Introductory to the Law Class of Transylvania, November 7th, 1838. By George Robertson, LL. D., Professor of Constitutional Law, Comity, and Equity. Frankfort, Ky.: A. G. Hodges. 8vo. pp. 22.

EDUCATION.

A Synopsis of Natural History, embracing the Natural History of Animals with Human and General Animal Physiology, Botany, Vegetable Physiology, and Geology. Translated from the latest French Edition of C. Semmonnier, Professor of Natural History in the Royal College of Charlemagne, with Additions from the Works of Cuvier, Dumard, Lacepède, &c., and arranged as a Text-book for Schools; by Thomas Wyatt, A. M., Author of "Elements of Botany," "Manual of Conchology," &c. Philadelphia: Thomas Wardle. 8vo. pp. 191.

An Introduction to Geology; intended to convey a Practical Knowledge of the Science, and comprising the most important Recent Discoveries, with an Explanation of the Facts and Phenomena which serve to confirm or invalidate various Geological Theories. By Robert Bakewell. Third American, from the Fifth London Edition. Edited, with an Appendix, by Professor B. Silliman of Yale College. New Haven: B. & W. Noyes. 8vo. pp. 596.

The Beauties of History; or Examples of the Opposite Effects of Virtue and Vice, drawn from Real Life. For the use of Families and Schools. With Questions for the Examination of Students. By L. M. Stretch. Philadelphia: Grigg & Elliot. 12mo. pp. 336.

The Bible Reader; being a new Selection of Reading Lessons from the Holy Scriptures, for the use of Schools and Families. By William Bentley Fowle, Author of the Primary Reader, &c. &c. Boston: Published by the Author. 12mo. pp. 283.

The First Reader. For the Use of Schools. By S. G. Goodrich. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 16mo. pp. 96.

The Second Reader. For the Use of Schools. By S. G. Goodrich. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 16mo. pp. 144.

The Third Reader. For the Use of Schools. By S. G. Goodrich. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 12mo. pp. 180.

HISTORY.

The History of Greece. By Thomas Keightley. To which is added a Chronological Table of Contemporary History, by Joshua Toulmin Smith, Author of "Comparative Views of Ancient History," &c. &c. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 8vo. pp. 490.

The History of the Navy of the United States of America. By J. Fennimore Cooper. In Two Volumes. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 394 & 481.

The Northmen in New England, or America in the Tenth Century. By Joshua Toulmin Smith, Author of "The Progress of Philosophy among the Ancients," &c. &c. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 12mo. pp. 364.

A Familiar Conversational History of the Evangelical Church of New York. New York: Robert Carter. 18mo. pp. 222.

Thirteen Historical Discourses on the Completion of 200 Years from the Beginning of the First Church in New Haven, with an Appendix. By Leonard Bacon, Pastor of the First Church in New Haven. New Haven: Durrie & Peck. 8vo. pp. 400.

Historical Letters on the First Charter of Massachusetts Government. By Abel Cushing. Boston: J. N. Bang. 18mo. pp. 204.

An Inquiry into the Origin of the Antiquities of America. By John Delafield, Jr., with an Appendix, Notes, &c. New York: Colt, Burgess, & Co. 4to. pp. 143.

History of Michigan, Civil and Topographical, in a compendious Form; with a View of the Surrounding Lakes. By James H. Lanman. With a Map. New York: E. French. 8vo. pp. 397.

JUVENILE BOOKS.

Caleb in the Country, a Story for Children. By the Author of the Rollo Books. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 18mo. pp. 180.

The School Boy; or a Guide for Youth to Truth and Duty. By John S. C. Abbott, Author of the "Mother at Home," "Child at Home," &c. &c. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 18mo. pp. 180.

Arthur Lee and Tom Palmer; or the Sailor Reclaimed. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 18mo. pp. 78.

A Visit to the Country. A Tale. By the Author of "Letters to a Mother," "Ellen," &c. &c. Boston: William Crosby, & Co. 18mo. pp. 132.

Tales of Truth for the Young, or Waters from the Living Fountains, flowing at all Seasons. By R. Babcock, D. D. Philadelphia: George W. Donahue. 18mo. pp. 144.

Instruction from Trees and Flowers. Boston: Joseph Dowe. 18mo. pp. 78.

Charles Hartland, the Village Missionary. Revised and prepared by William A. Alcott, Author of "The House I Live in." Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 18mo. pp. 191.

Juvenile Music; originally published in the Sabbath School Visiter. Furnished by Lowell Mason, Professor in the Boston Academy of

Music. No. I. Revised by the Committee of Publication. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. 18mo. pp. 36.

Ellen Hart; or the Little Servant Girl. Boston: American Sunday School Union. 18mo. pp. 106.

LAW.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Judicature, and in the Court for the Correction of Errors, of the State of New York. By J. L. Wendell, Counsellor at Law. Vol. XVIII. Albany: W. & A. Gould & Co. New York: Gould, Banks, & Co. 8vo. pp. 700.

A Practical Treatise on the Law of Contracts not under Seal, and upon the usual Defences to Actions thereon. By Joseph Chitty, Jun. Esq., of the Middle Temple. Fourth American Edition, from the second London Edition, Corrected and greatly Enlarged by the Author; with the Notes of former Editions; to which are now added, copious Notes of American Decisions, to the Present Time, by J. C. Perkins, Esq. Springfield: G. & C. Merriam. 8vo.

Opinion of the Court of Appeals of Maryland in the Case of the University of Maryland, delivered by Buchanan, Chief Justice. Baltimore: Lucas & Deaver. 8vo.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of the State of Maine. By John Shepley, Counsellor at Law, Volume II. Hallowell: Glazier, Masters, & Co. 8vo.

An Abridgment of the American Law of Real Property. By Francis Hilliard, Counsellor at Law. Boston: C. C. Little & J. Brown. 8vo.

A Treatise on Law, relative to Sales of Personal Property. By George Long, Esq., Barrister at Law. Second American edition, with Additions, by Benjamin Rand, Esq., Counsellor at Law. Boston: C. C. Little & J. Brown. 8vo.

Remarks on the Exclusion of Atheists as Witnesses. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 8vo. pp. 10.

MEDICINE, ANATOMY, AND SURGERY.

A Lecture on Loxarthus or Club Foot. By Thomas D. Mütter, M. D., Lecturer on Surgery, Fellow of the College of Physicians, &c. &c. Philadelphia. 8vo. pp. 104.

The Dental Art, a Practical Treatise on Dental Surgery. By Chapin A. Harris, M. D., Surgeon Dentist. Baltimore. 8vo. pp. 384.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Advice to a Young Gentleman, on Entering Society. By the Author of "The Laws of Etiquette." Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 18mo. pp. 295.

The Young Lady's Aid to Usefulness and Happiness. By Jason Whitman, Author of "The Young Man's Assistant." Second edition, improved and enlarged. Portland: S. H. Colesworthy. 18mo. pp. 288.

Lecture on War. By William Ellery Channing. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 50.

The Theory of Money and Banks Investigated. By George Tucker, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Virginia, and

Member of the American Philosophical Society. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 412.

Legal and Political Hermeneutics, or Principles of Interpretation and Construction in Law and Politics, with remarks on Precedents and Authorities. Enlarged Edition. By Francis Lieber. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 12mo. pp. 240.

A Dictionary of Commerce and Commercial Navigation. By J. R. McCulloch, Esq. Edited by Henry Vethake, LL. D., one of the Professors in the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Thomas Wardle. Part I. 8vo. pp. 144.

Lectures on the Science of Human Life. By Sylvester Graham. In Two Volumes. Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. 12mo. pp. 562 and 660.

Tales and Sketches from the Queen City. By Benjamin Drake.

These short "Tales and Sketches" breathe the freshness of the West. They are gracefully written, and abound in characteristic touches, that show them to have been drawn directly from nature. Life in the West is certainly something different from any thing the world has ever seen anywhere else; and the literature, which shall adequately describe it and embody its experiences, must be strongly marked by raciness and originality. Mr. Drake has been a worthy and successful laborer in this field. Of the Sketches in this volume it is not easy to make a selection; perhaps that called "Putting a Black Leg on Shore" is as striking as any. The "Kentucky Election" is capital.

With the general merits of this pleasing little volume, there are some literary blemishes, which ought to have been avoided. Words are sometimes used with a false meaning: as, for example, "the founders of our towns, who, feeling themselves the *prototypes* of Romulus and Remus," &c. p. 19. The printing is sometimes very inaccurate, particularly in the quotations from the French. A book that is worth printing at all, is worth printing well; a writer who possesses so much graphic power as Mr. Drake, ought to write accurately.

City and Country. By Dr. William A. Alcott. Boston: George W. Light. 12mo. pp. 24.

Phrenology in the Family; or the Utility of Phrenology in Early Domestic Education. Dedicated to Mothers. By Joseph A. Warne, A. M. Philadelphia: George W. Donahue. 18mo. pp. 291.

A View of the Action of the Federal Government in Behalf of Slavery. By Wm. Jay. New York: John S. Taylor. 12mo. pp. 217.

Conversations with Goethe in the Last Years of his Life. Translated from the German of Eckerman, by S. M. Fuller. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 12mo. pp. 414.

Remarks on the Slavery Question, in a Letter to Jonathan Phillips, Esq. By William Ellery Channing. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 91.

Means and Ends, or Self-Training. By the Author of "Redwood," "Hope Leslie," &c. &c. Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. 18mo. pp. 278.

Considerations in Favor of Classical Studies; a Lecture delivered in the Irving Institute. By Charles H. Lyon, A. M., one of the Principals. New York: 8vo. pp. 19.

Principles of Statistical Inquiry, as illustrated in Proposals for Uniting an Examination into the Resources of the United States, with the

Census to be taken in 1840. By Archibald Russell. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo. pp. 263.

The New England Gazetteer; containing Descriptions of all the States, Counties, and Towns, in New England; also Descriptions of the Principal Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Capes, Bays, &c., and Fashionable Resorts within that Territory. Alphabetically arranged. By John Hayward, Author of "The Columbian Traveller," "Religious Creeds," &c. Boston: John Hayward. Concord: Boyd & White. 8vo.

Selections from German Literature. By B. B. Edwards and E. A. Park, Professors in the Theological Seminary, Andover. Andover: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. 8vo. pp. 472.

The Beauties of the Honorable Daniel Webster. Selected and Arranged, with a Critical Essay on his Genius and Writings, by James Rees. Second edition, with a Portrait and Considerable Additions. New York: Edward Walker. 18mo. pp. 196.

Strictures on the New School Laws of Ohio and Michigan; with some General Observations on the Systems of other States. By O. S. Leavitt. Cincinnati. 8vo.

Review of Dr. Channing's Letter to Jonathan Phillips, Esq., on the Slavery Question. Boston: John H. Eastburn. 12mo. pp. 77.

Contributions to Electricity and Magnetism. By Joseph Henry, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the College of Princeton. (Extracted from the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 6.) Philadelphia: J. Kay, Jr. & Brother. 4to. pp. 51.

France and Mexico. Examination of the Difficulties between those Powers. By a Citizen of the United States. 1839. 12mo. pp. 24.

Letters on the Internal Improvements and Commerce of the West. By Henry A. S. Dearborn. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 119.

Register of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the Navy of the United States, including Officers of the Marine Corps for the year 1839. Printed by order of the Secretary of the Navy, in Compliance with a Resolution of the Senate of the United States of August 2d, 1813. Washington: Langtree & O'Sullivan. 8vo. pp. 83.

Selections from the Works of Edward Everett, with a Sketch of his Life. Boston: James Burns. 32mo. pp. 180.

Proceedings of the Peace Convention, held in Boston, at the Marlborough Chapel, September 18th, 19th, and 20th, 1838.

An Address on the Origin and Evil Influences of Money. By Edward Palmer; who has nothing to do with Money, being convinced that it is an Engine of Oppression, and an Anti-Christian Institution. Boston. 12mo. pp. 45.

Essays on Asylums for Inebriates. By Samuel B. Woodward, M. D., Superintendent of the Hospital at Worcester, Mass. 8vo. pp. 38.

An Article on Literary Property. From the New York Review, No. VIII. New York. George Adlard. 8vo. pp. 35.

A Series of Separate Pamphlets, Elucidatory and Defenditory of the New Doctrine of Expulsion. By its Originator, John James Flournoy. Athens, Ga. 8vo. pp. 67.

The Tusculan Questions of Marcus Tullius Cicero. In Five Books. Translated by George Alexander Otis, Esq., Member of the Amer-

ican Philosophical Society; Translator of Botta's History of the War of American Independence. Boston: James B. Dow. 12mo. pp. 316.

NATURAL HISTORY.

A Catalogue of the Shells, arranged according to the Lamarckian System; together with Descriptions of New and Rare Species, contained in the Collection of John C. Jay, M. D., Member of the Lyceum of Natural History, New York, &c. &c. Illustrated by several Plates. Third edition. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 4to. pp. 126.

NEW PERIODICAL.

The Literary Examiner and Western Monthly Review. Edited by E. Burke Fisher and Wm. H. Burleigh. Pittsburg: William H. Whitney & Co. Vol. I. No. I. 8vo. pp. 80.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

The Merry Tales of the Wise Men of Gotham. By the Author of "The Dutchman's Fireside," "Westward Ho!" &c. &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 236.

Behemoth; a Legend of the Mound-builders. New York: J. & H. G. Langley. 12mo. pp. 192.

The Phantom Ship. By Captain Marryatt. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 216 and 192.

Isabel; or Sicily. A Pilgrimage. By Henry J. Tuckerman, Author of "The Italian Sketch Book." Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 12mo. pp. 230.

The Prophets! Where are they? Founded on Fact. Boston: Whipple & Damrell. 18mo. pp. 36.

John Smith's Letters, with "Picters" to Match. Containing Reasons why John Smith should not change his Name, Miss Debby Smith's Juvenile Spirit, together with the only Authentic History extant of the late War in our Disputed Territory. New York: Samuel Colman. 12mo.

My Cousin Mary; or the Inebriate. By a Lady. Boston: Whipple & Damrell. New York: Scofield & Voorhies. 18mo. pp. 62.

ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES.

Introductory Lecture, delivered by H. Willis Baxley, M. D., Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the University of Maryland. Baltimore. 8vo. pp. 29.

The Art of Prolonging Life briefly considered; a Lecture delivered before the Athenian Institute, January, 1839. By J. Pancoast, M. D. Philadelphia. 8vo. pp. 40.

An Inaugural Address, delivered at Mercersburg, Pa., at the Annual Commencement of Marshall College, September 26th, 1838. By Albert Smith, Professor of Ancient Languages in the Institution. 8vo. pp. 28.

Lecture on the Nature, Character, and Value of our Civil Institutions, and the resulting duties of Citizens. Delivered before the Elkton Lyceum; by Hon. Willard Hall. Elkton. 8vo. pp. 16.

An Address delivered before the Mercantile Library Association, at its Eighteenth Annual Meeting, Jan. 8th, 1839. (Embracing a History

of the Association.) By John N. Gourlie. New York: James Van Norden. 8vo. pp. 20.

Address before the Dialectic Society of the Corps of Cadets, in Commemoration of the Gallant Conduct of the Nine Graduates of the Military Academy, and other Officers of the United States Army, who fell in the Battles which took place in Florida, on the 28th of December, 1835, and the 25th December, 1837; the former called Dade's Battle, the latter the Battle of Okee-cho-bee. Delivered at West Point, N. Y., on the 29th December, 1838. By Lieutenant Benjamin Alvord, U. S. A. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 8vo. pp. 62.

A Discourse on the Social Influence of Christianity, delivered at Providence, R. I., Sept. 1838, at the Instance of the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Brown University. By Caleb Cushing. Andover: Gould & Newman. 8vo. pp. 28.

An Inaugural Address, delivered Aug. 21st, 1838. By Elias Loomis, A. M., Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Western Reserve College. New York: John F. Trow. 8vo. pp. 38.

A Discourse on the Life, Services, and Character of Stephen Van Rensselaer, delivered before the Albany Institute, April 15th, 1839. With an Historical Sketch of the Colony and Manor of Rensselaerwick, in an Appendix. By Daniel D. Barnard. Albany: Hoffman & White. 8vo. pp. 144.

Thoughts on the Duty of the Episcopal Church in Relation to Slavery; being a Speech delivered in the New York Anti-Slavery Convention, Feb. 12th, 1839. By John Jay. New York: Perry & Reed. 12mo. pp. 12.

POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

Athenia of Damascus. A Tragedy. By Rufus Dawes. New York: Samuel Colman. 12mo. pp. 118.

Bianca Visconti; or the Heart Overtasked. By N. P. Willis. New York. Samuel Colman. 12mo. pp. 108.

The Last of the Lenapé, and other Poems. By Samuel M. Janney. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 12mo. pp. 180.

Poems. By Mrs. Follen. Author of "Married Life," "The Skeptic," &c. &c. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 16mo. pp. 192.

Tortesa, the Usurer. A Play. By N. P. Willis. New York: Samuel Colman. 12mo. pp. 149.

The Battle of Saratoga; a Poem, with Historical and Explanatory Notes. By James Rees, Author of the "Wanderer," &c. New York: William Osborn. 12mo. pp. 20.

Sacred Songs for Sunday Schools, Original and Selected. By Mrs. Follen. Boston: B. H. Greene. 18mo. pp. 54.

Velasco; a Tragedy, in Five Acts. By Epes Sargent. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 110.

Indecision, a Tale of the Far West; and other Poems. By J. K. Mitchell, M. D. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 12mo. pp. 212.

THEOLOGY AND SERMONS.

Religious Thoughts; or Observations on the subject of Practical Religion. By the Rev. Jacob M. Douglas, Rector of St. Matthew's Church, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. 18mo. pp. 162.

Outline of a Work of Grace in the Presbyterian Congregation at New Brunswick, N. J. during the year 1837. By Joseph H. Jones, Pastor of the Sixth Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 18mo. pp. 148.

A Treatise on Justification. By George Junkin, D. D., President of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. Philadelphia. 12mo. pp. 328.

Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection; with other kindred Subjects, illustrated and confirmed in a series of Discourses designed to throw Light on the Way of Holiness. By Rev. Asa Mahan, President of the Oberlin Institute. Boston: D. S. King. 12mo. pp. 237.

The Three Last Things; The Resurrection of the Body, the Day of Judgment, and Final Retribution. By Rev. Joseph Tracy. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 18mo. pp. 104.

Select Family and Parish Sermons. A Series of Evangelical Discourses, selected for the Use of Families, and Destitute Congregations. By the Rt. Rev. Charles P. McIlvaine, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Ohio. With a Preliminary Address by the Same. Columbus: Isaac N. Whiting. 8vo. 590.

Aids to Preaching and Hearing. By Thomas H. Skinner. New York: John S. Taylor. 12mo. pp. 305.

The Mode and Subjects of Baptism. By Milo P. Jewett, A. M., Late Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Marietta College. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 18mo. pp. 121.

A Review of Edwards's "Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will," Containing, I. Statement of Edwards's System. II. The Legitimate Consequences of this System. III. An Examination of the Arguments against a Self-determining Will. By Henry Philip Tappan. New York: John S. Taylor. 12mo. pp. 300.

The Theory and Uses of Natural Religion; being the Dudleian Lecture read before the University of Cambridge, May 8th, 1839. By John Gorham Palfrey, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Biblical Literature. Boston: Ferdinand Andrews. 8vo. pp. 76.

The Works of Joseph Stevens Buckminster; with a Memoir of his Life. In Two Volumes. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 435 & 438.

A Discourse delivered at the Dedication of the Church of the Messiah in Broadway, New York. By the Rev. Orville Dewey, Pastor of said Church. New York: Stationer's Hall Press. 8vo. pp. 26.

Spiritual Improvement; or Aid to Growth in Grace. A Companion for the Christian's Closet. By Roy Palmer, Pastor of the Third Congregational Church in Bath, Me. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. 12mo. pp. 239.

The Unruly Member; or Offences of the Tongue. By the Author of "A Teacher's Gift." Boston: New England Sunday School Union. 18mo. pp. 138.

A Funeral Discourse, occasioned by the Death of the Honorable Stephen Van Renssellaer; delivered in the North Dutch Church, Albany, by Thomas E. Vermilye, D. D., Pastor of the Church. Albany. 8vo. pp. 43.

Missionary Fanaticism opposed to Christian Zeal. A Discourse delivered in St. John's Church, Brooklyn. By Evan M. Johnson, Rector. New York: Louis Sherman. 8vo. pp. 32.

A Dictionary of the Church, containing an Exposition of Terms, Phrases, and Subjects connected with the External Order, Sacraments, Worship, and Usages of the Protestant Episcopal Church, with an especial Reference to the Church in the United States. By the Rev. William Staunton. New York: Louis Sherman. 12mo. pp. 474.

A Sermon delivered in Winchendon, Feb. 19th, 1839, at the Funeral of Colonel Jacob B. Woodbury, who departed this life Feb. 17th, aged 82, with a Brief Account of his Life. By Daniel O. Morton, A. M., Pastor of the Congregational Church in Winchendon. Andover: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. 8vo. pp. 23.

The Voice of a Friend; or Youth instructed from the Word of God. By J. W. Baynes, Minister of the Gospel. Boston: Massachusetts Sunday School Depository. .18mo. pp. 51.

Helps for Young Christians, with Introductory Remarks. By Jason Whitman. Portland: S. H. Colesworthy. 32mo. pp. 192.

A Sermon, delivered at the South Congregational Church in Lowell, on the Sabbath following the Funeral of the Hon. Luther Lawrence, who died April 17th, 1839. By Henry A. Miles. Lowell: Leonard Huntress. 8vo. pp. 14.

Our Benevolent Institutions. A Discourse occasioned by the Death of Julius R. Friedlander, Principal of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Blind, and delivered Sunday, March 24th, 1839, by W. H. Furness, Pastor of the First Congregational Unitarian Church, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: C. Sherman & Co. 8vo. pp. 24.

A Discourse, delivered in the West Church in Boston, March 3d, 1839, by Cyrus A. Bartol, Associate Pastor of the West Boston Society. Boston: Freeman & Bolles. 8vo. pp. 14.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Travels in South Eastern Asia, embracing Hindostan, Siam, and China; with Notices of numerous Missionary Stations, and a full Account of the Burman Empire; with Dissertations, Tables, &c. By Howard Malcom. In Two Volumes. Boston; Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 12mo. pp. 273 and 321.

Impressions of Travel in Egypt and Arabia Petræa. By Alexander Dumas. Translated from the French, by a Lady of New York. New York: John S. Taylor. 12mo. pp. 318.

A Residence in the Sandwich Islands. By C. S. Stewart, U. S. N., late Missionary to the Sandwich Islands. Fifth Edition, enlarged. Including an Introduction and Notes; by Rev. Wm. Ellis. From the last London Edition. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 12mo. pp. 348.

Narrative of a Journey across the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River, and a Visit to the Sandwich Islands, Chili, &c., with a Scientific Appendix. By John K. Townsend, Member of the Academy of Natural Science of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 8vo. pp. 352.

Narrative of a Journey to Guatemala, in Central America, in 1838. By G. W. Montgomery. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 8vo. pp. 195.

Letters on Palestine and Egypt, written during Two Years Residence. By J. D. Paxton, A. M. Lexington, (Ky.): A. T. Skilman. 12mo. pp. 320.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CV.

OCTOBER, 1839.

ART. I. — *Life of Joseph Brant*, [*Thayendanegea*] ; *including the Border Wars of the American Revolution, and Sketches of the Indian Campaigns of Generals Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne*, &c. &c. By WILLIAM L. STONE. In Two Volumes. New York : George Dearborn & Co. 1838. 8vo. pp. 513 and 601.

THE border wars of the American Revolution were full of deep interest. The Indian tribes, having long fought to no purpose against the power of Britain, which seemed ever ready to support the "Long-Knives" in their encroachments upon Indian lands, suddenly found the state of things reversed. The red-coats were with *them*. White had turned against white, brother against brother ; and the English everywhere cheered on the savage against the very settlers who were, the year before, English themselves. The red men were, and well might be, puzzled at this sudden division of their old foes into British and "*Bostonais*" ; but in it they saw cause for hope. The spirit of Pontiac bade them be of good cheer, and strike once more for their homes and hunting-grounds. From Lake Superior, along the North to Maine, and southward to the Gulf of Mexico, the oppressed and broken tribes took courage again ; and, had Tecumthé then been but a full-grown man, God alone knows what

might have been the result of our own Revolution. For, had the Western tribes been guided by one spirit, and that acting in concert with the power of England, the "stations" of Kentucky would soon have been tenantless; and, with the West in possession of Britain and her red allies, man cannot say how our armies might have withstood the enemy.

But it was not so ordered. Pontiac was dead; Tecumthé a little child; and Brant, able as he was, had neither the temper nor position of those great chieftains. If he was not a half-breed,* neither was he in training and tone a full Indian.

The border wars of the Revolution, we say, were full of interest. They were the wars of a falling race, struggling for all that was dear to them; and, though we must shudder over the bloodshed and the burnings, we cannot compare the acts of the savage man with those of the civilized and Christian man of those days, without feeling pity and sympathy for the former. What was the scalp-taker of the wilderness, in point of atrocity, when measured with the scalp-buyer, Hamilton? What were the worst acts of the red men, when placed side by side with the massacre on the Muskingum?†

These wars, Mr. Stone has proposed to himself to delineate. But we do not think his plan a happy one. His history is less a living whole, than a skeleton hung together with wires. Had he written Brant's life, and, in a separate work, given us the history of the wars, we believe his purpose would have been much better answered. As it is, his volumes contain a little of the common Revolutionary history, and a little of the Backwoods history, and a little of Brant, and a little of many other people. And yet they are full of good and rare matter; nay, of matter that has never appeared before. We owe Mr. Stone many thanks for his industry in collecting, but very few for his judgment in selecting materials. We fear, also, that he did himself injustice by writing hastily. A complex history needs to simmer a long while in the author's brain; and one of more than eleven hundred pages is not to be prepared in a few months, or even one or two years. However, though the work before us wants unity, clearness, and a sustained interest, it is valuable for its facts, and abounds in curious and interesting

* Some suppose Brant to have been the son of Sir William Johnson. See Stone, *Life of Brant*, Vol. I. pp. 1, 2.

† For an account of Hamilton and of the Moravian massacre see below.

details. The general reader may nod over it, but the historical student will prize, and often refer to it. We would that there were more of such collectors as Mr. Stone. They are of incalculable value; and though rather to be ranked as quarriers than architects, they are entitled to feel and say, that, without them, temples could not be built.

Mr. Stone has not, then, as we think, written such a history of the Border Wars of the American Revolution as might, and should be written. Nor do we know, that, among all our writers, any one has this subject in hand. Why is it not undertaken by some one of the many competent to its successful treatment?

To understand the border wars of the Revolution, we must first understand the position of the Indians when those wars began.

In the remote northeast, were the Penobscots and their kindred tribes; while amid those wild regions, through which Arnold passed on his way to Quebec, dwelt "Natanis, the last of the Norridgewocks," with the poor remnants of those nations, among whom Father Ralle, the Catholic,* long labored, but who were too poor, even in 1775, to stop, or annoy the troops which were toiling along the Kennebec and Dead River, on their way to the capital of Lower Canada.†

In New Hampshire were a few lingering bands of the Penacooks, and other warrior tribes of that Granite land. In Massachusetts there remained the portion of the Mohegans, called the Stockbridge Indians, together with a few Pequots and Narragansets. In New York, still stood that famous and much-feared alliance, known as the Iroquois, or Six Nations; an alliance from of old bound to England by strong ties, and, at the opening of the Revolution, under the direct control of the Johnson family, a set of staunch Tories. To the south of the Six Nations were the Delawares, a race of the most noble character, and whose councils were divided between those who wished to throw off the yoke of the white man, and those who saw that the white man must rule, and wished to live in peace and good faith with him. West of the Six Nations and the Delawares, that is to say, west of the Muskingum river, in what is now the State of Ohio, came the Shawanese, fierce, bold, cruel, and wholly adverse to the

* See *Lettres Edifiantes.* † Sparks's *Washington,* Vol. III. p. 112.

Europeans; the Wyandots, of whom it was said, in after days, that one could not be taken alive; the Miamis, once the head of a confederacy mightier even than that of the Iroquois, and still strong and determined; the Ottawas, Chippeways, and all the painted nations of the northwest. South of this great band, and on the other side of those Kentucky stations, which had sprung up between the rival nations of the north and south, lay the Creeks, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Catawbas; while, in the extreme southern country, though not within the limits of the British colonies, were the Seminoles, and other yet unconquered races of the *hammocks* and swamps.

Thus was the little band of Provinces fairly hemmed in by the tribes of red men; most of them certain foes.

The influence which these tribes might have upon the Revolutionary contest, was evident to both parties. Lord Dunmore, in the autumn of 1774, made peace with the Shawanese upon the Scioto, and stopped the progress of the Virginians, who had just gained a victory at Point Pleasant, under the undoubted influence of calculations, respecting the policy of having a strong force to hang upon the rear of the rebellious colonists.* He also, by his course, pacified the Six Nations, who had taken some part in that war. It arose, indeed, out of the wrongs done to Logan and a few others, and was immortalized by the speech of Logan, and he was a Cayuga.† In truth, the influence of the Indians could not be lost sight of; for, notwithstanding the peace of Fort Charlotte, made by Dunmore, the Shawanese of the Miami valleys never ceased from annoying the settlers within striking distance; in March, 1775, Boone and his party of surveyors, then engaged in laying out the first road in Kentucky, lost several men by the Indians; and from that time forward a partisan warfare was kept up. ‡

In the north, meanwhile, the Americans had seen the dangers to be feared from the action of the Indians, and early in April the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts wrote to the Reverend Samuel Kirkland, then a missionary among the Oneidas, informing him, that, having heard that the British

---

* See Doddridge's *Notes*, p. 236.

† For proofs of the feelings of the Iroquois with regard to Dunmore's war, see Stone, Vol. I. pp. 65 and 68.

‡ Butler's *Kentucky*, 2d ed. p. 27.

were trying to attach the Six Nations to their interest, it had been thought proper to ask the several tribes, through him, to stand neutral. Steps were also taken to secure the co-operation, if possible, of the Penobscot and Stockbridge Indians; the latter of whom replied, that, though they never could understand what the quarrel between the Provinces and Old England was about, yet they would stand by the Americans. They also offered to "feel the mind" of the Iroquois, and try to bring them over.*

But the Iroquois were not to be easily won over by any means. Sir William Johnson, so long the King's agent among them, and to whom they looked with the confidence of children in a father, had died suddenly, in June, 1774, and the wild men had been left under the influence of Colonel Guy Johnson, Sir William's son-in-law, who succeeded him as Superintendent, and of John Johnson, Sir William's son, who succeeded to his estates and honors. Both these men were Tories; and their influence in favor of England was increased by that of Mr. Stone's hero, Brant, now nearly thirty-three years old. This trio, acting in conjunction with some of the rich old royalists along the Mohawk, opposed the whole movement of the Bostonians, the whole spirit of the Philadelphia Congress, and every attempt, open or secret, in favor of the rebels. Believing Mr. Kirkland to be little better than a Whig in disguise, and fearing that he might alienate the tribe, in which he was, from their old faith, and, through them, influence the others, the Johnsons, while the war was still bloodless, made strong efforts to remove him from his position. Of these efforts Mr. Stone speaks at some length, though with a confusion of dates, as we read his account. The first attempt was made, he says, in February, 1775 (Vol. I. p. 60). The cause of this attempt, he suggests, was a correspondence which took place the following April (p. 55). It failed, however, but was renewed and succeeded in the spring, as appears by a letter, dated January 9th (p. 61).†

* Stone, Vol. I. pp. 55–58. — Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. III. pp. 495, 496.

† The date, "January," may be a misprint for "June"; but we think not, as no reference is made in the letter to the communication from Massachusetts, as a cause of suspicion. Mr. Stone is a little careless. Thus (p. 64) he refers to Guy Johnson's fears of seizure in May, and says, that Schuyler had his eye on him, and gives as authority Washington's order to Schuyler in the following month.

Nor were the fears of the Johnsons groundless, as is shown by another of the original papers presented us by Mr. Stone, the address of the Oneida Indians to the New England Governors, in which they state their intention of remaining neutral during so unnatural a quarrel as that just then commencing. But this intention the leading tribe of the great Indian confederacy meant to disturb, if possible. The idea was suggested, that Guy Johnson was in danger of being seized by the Bostonians, and an attempt was made to rally about him the savages as a body-guard ; while he, on his part, wrote to the neighbouring magistrates, holding out to them, as a terror, the excitement of the Indians, and the dangers to be feared from their rising, if he were seized, or their rights interfered with.

So stood matters in the Mohawk valley, during the month of May, 1775. The Johnsons were gathering a little army, which soon amounted to five hundred men ; and the Revolutionary committees, resolute never to yield one hair's breadth, "never to submit to any arbitrary acts of any power under heaven," were denouncing Colonel Guy's conduct as "arbitrary, illegal, oppressive, and unwarrantable." In truth, the Colonel was fast getting obnoxious. "Watch him," wrote Washington to General Schuyler in June ; and, even before that order was given, what with the Tryon county men above him on the river, and the whole Provincial force below him, he was likely to be well watched. Finding himself thus fettered, and feeling it to be time to take some decided step, the Superintendent, early in June, began in move westward, accompanied by his dependents and the great body of the Mohawk Indians, who remained firm in the British interests.* He moved first to Fort Stanwix, (afterwards Fort Schuyler, near the present town of Rome,) and then went on to Ontario, where he arrived early in July, and held a Congress with thirteen hundred and forty warriors, whose old attachment to England was then and there renewed. Joseph Brant, be it noted, during all this time, was acting as the Superintendent's secretary.

All of the Six Nations, except the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, might now be deemed in alliance with the British. Those tribes, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Kirk-

* Stone, Vol. I. p. 77.

land, were prevented from going with the others, and upon the 28th of June, at German Flats, gave to the Americans a pledge of neutrality.*

While the members of the Northern Confederacy were thus divided in their attachments, the Delawares of the upper Ohio were by no means unanimous in their opinions as to this puzzling family quarrel which was coming on; and Congress, having been informed on the first day of June, that the Western Virginians stood in fear of the Indians, with whom Lord Dunmore, in his small way, was, as they thought, tampering,† it was determined to have a Congress called at Pittsburg, to explain to the poor red men the causes of the sudden division of their old enemies, and try to persuade them to keep peace. This Congress did not meet, however, until October.‡

Nor was it from the northern and western tribes only, that hostilities were feared. The Cherokees and their neighbours were much dreaded, and not without cause; as they were then less under the control of the whites, than either the Iroquois or Delawares, and might, in the hope of securing their freedom, be led to unite, in a warfare of extermination, against the Carolinas. We find, accordingly, that early in July, Congress having determined to seek the alliance of the several Indian nations, three departments were formed;§ a northern one, including the Six Nations and all north and east of them, to the charge of which General Schuyler, Oliver Wolcott, and three others, were appointed; a middle department, including the western Indians, who were to be looked to by Messieurs Franklin, Henry, and Wilson; and a southern department, including all the tribes south of Kentucky, over which commissioners were to preside under the appointment of the South Carolina Council of Safety. These commissioners were to keep a close watch upon the nations in their several departments, and upon the King's Superintendents among them. These officers they were to seize, if they had reason to think them engaged in stirring up the natives against the colonies, and in all ways were to seek to keep those natives quiet and out of the contest. *Talks* were also prepared to send to the several tribes, in which an attempt was made to illustrate the relations between England

* Stone, Vol. I. p. 81.
† *Old Journals*, Vol. I. p. 78.
‡ Heckewelder's *Narrative*, p. 136.
§ *Old Journals*, Vol. I. p. 113, &c.

and America, by comparing the last to a child ordered to carry a pack too heavy for its strength. The boy complains, and, for answer, the pack is made still heavier. Again and again the poor urchin remonstrates, but the bad servants misrepresent the matter to the father, and the boy gets ever a heavier burden, till at last, almost broken-backed, he throws off the load altogether, and says he will carry it no longer. This allegory was intended to make the matter clear to the pack-carrying red men, and, if we may judge from Heckewelder's account, it answered the purpose; for, he says, the Delawares reported the whole story very correctly. Indeed, he gives their report upon the 137th page of his "Narrative," which report agrees very well with the original speech, preserved to us in the Journals of the Old Congress.*

The first conference, held by the commissioners, was in the northern department, a grand congress coming together at Albany in August. Of this congress a full account may be found in Colonel Stone's first volume.† It did not, however, fully represent the Six Nations, and some, even of those who were present, immediately afterwards deserted to the British; so that the result was slight.

The next conference was held at Pittsburg with the western Indians. This was in October, and was attended by the Delawares, Senecas, and, perhaps, some of the Shawanese. The Delaware nation were, as we have already said, divided in their views touching the Americans. One of their chieftains, known to us as Captain White-Eyes, a man, as it would seem, of high character and clear mind, of courage such as became the leader of a race, whose most common virtues were those of the wildman, and of a forbearance and kindness as unusual, as fearlessness was frequent, among his people, — this true man was in favor of peace; and his influence carried with him a strong party. But there were others, again, who longed for war, and wished to carry the whole nation over to the British interest. These were led by a cunning and talented man, called Captain Pipe, who, without the energy, moral daring, and unclouded honesty of his opponent, had many qualities admirably suited to win and rule Indians. Between these two men there was a division from the beginning of the Revolution till the death

* Vol. I. p. 115. † pp. 94–104. Appendix iv.–xxxi.

of White-Eyes. At the Pittsburg Conference, the Peace-Chief, as he was called, was present, and there asserted his freedom of the Six Nations, who, through their emissaries present, tried to bend the Delawares, as they had been used to do. His bold denial of the claim of the Iroquois to rule his people, was seized upon, by some of the war-party, as a pretext for leaving the Muskingum, where White-Eyes lived, and withdrawing toward Lake Erie, into the more immediate vicinity of the English and their allies.

The Shawanese and their neighbours, meantime, had taken counsel with Guy Johnson at Oswego,* and might be considered as in league with the king. Indeed, we can neither wonder at, nor blame these bewildered savages for leaguing themselves with any power *against* those actual occupants of their hunting-grounds, who were, here and there in Kentucky, building block-houses and clearing corn-fields. Against those block-houses and their builders, little bands of red men continually kept sallying forth, supplied with ammunition from Detroit and the other western posts, and incited to exertion by the well-known stimulants of whiskey and fine clothes.†

However, it is hardly correct to say, that this was done in 1775, though the arrangements were, beyond doubt, made in that year; Colonel Johnson having visited Montreal, immediately after the council with the Shawanese and others at Oswego, for the purpose of concluding with the British governor and general upon his future course.

During 1775, therefore, there was no border war, if we except the small predatory incursions into Kentucky. In the South all remained quiet; in the West there were doubt and uneasiness, without action; in the North, a distinct siding with the King by the great part of the Indians, though no warfare.

But the next year found the mass of the red men openly in arms against the colonies. Brant, who had gone to Canada in the pacific guise of Colonel Johnson's secretary, in 1776 appeared at the head of the most numerous tribes of the Iroquois, threatening, with all the horrors of Indian warfare, the valley of the Mohawk.‡ His preparation for this service was of a curious nature, being nothing less than a visit to London, where for a time he was the lion of the city,

* Stone, Vol. I. p. 102. † Ibid., Vol. I. p. 187. ‡ Ibid., Vol. I. p. 149.

and particularly patronized by Boswell, for whom he had his portrait taken. Returning thence in time to be present at, and share in, the battle of the Cedars in May, he, for unknown reasons, suffered the summer and autumn to pass without taking any decisive step ; keeping the poor women and children of Cherry Valley and the neighbouring settlements in a state of continual anxiety to no purpose.

In the West, however, there was more of movement. Traders were stripped, men slain, and stations attacked. The Shawanese and the Wyandots were both at war for England ; and great efforts were made to involve the Delawares.*

But it was in the South, that the border wars of our Revolution first broke out in all their strength and horror. Upon the 30th of July, Congress was informed, that the Cherokees had commenced hostilities ; and from that time, or rather from the 15th of that month, when the war began, until the middle of October, the forces of the Carolinas, Georgia, and Virginia, were engaged in one of those protracted contests which have ever marked the struggles of the whites and southern Indians. But at length Colonel Andrew Williamson, who commanded the South Carolina forces, carried his arms into the interior of the Cherokee country, destroyed their villages, and brought them to terms. Of the details of this war we know very little. The causes of it, the means by which the Indians were induced to rise, and all the after-steps, have been but very imperfectly exhibited, as yet, by any writer. We trust, however, that some one, with the industry and perseverance of Mr. Stone, may be led to turn his attention that way, and compile the Annals, if not the History, of that time in the South.†

The year 1776 might be said, then, to have passed without any serious injury to the colonists from the various tribes, although it was clear, that those tribes were to be looked on as engaged in the war, and that the majority of them were with the mother country. Through the West and Northwest, where the agents of England could act to the greatest advantage, dissatisfaction spread rapidly. The nations, nearest

---

* Heckewelder and Butler.

† Holmes *Annals*, Vol. II. p. 258. — *Journals of the Old Congress.* — Ramsay, &c. — Washington (Sparks's Ed. Vol. III. p. 210) refers to evidences of efforts on the part of Britain to engage the southern savages in 1775.

the Americans, found themselves pressed upon and harassed by the more distant bands, and, through the whole winter of 1776–7, rumors were flying along the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, of coming troubles. Nor were the good people of New York less disturbed in their minds, the settlers upon the Mohawk and upper Susquehanna standing in continual dread of incursion.* No incursion, however, took place during the winter or spring of 1777 ; though why the blow was delayed is what we cannot well know, until Great Britain has magnanimity enough to unveil her past acts, and, acknowledging her follies and sins, to show the world the various steps to that union of the savages against her foes, which her noble Chatham denounced as a "disgrace," and "deep and deadly sin."

That blow was delayed, however ; and, alas ! was struck, at length, after, and as if in retaliation for, one of those violent acts of wrong, which must ever be expected from a frontier people. We refer to the murder of Cornstalk, the leading chieftain of the Scioto Shawanese ; a man, whose energy, courage, and good sense, place him among the very foremost of the native heroes of this land.† This truly great man, who was himself for peace, but who found all his neighbours, and even those of his own tribe, stirred up to war by the agents of England, went over to the American fort at Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Great Kenhawa, in order to talk the matter over with Captain Arbuckle, who commanded there, and with whom he was acquainted. This was early in the summer of 1777. The Americans, knowing the Shawanese to be inclining to the enemy, thought it would be a good plan to retain Cornstalk and Redhawk, a younger chief of note, who was with him, and make them hostages for the good conduct of their people. The old warrior, accordingly, after he had finished his statement of the position he was in, and the necessity under which he and his friends would be of "going with the stream," unless the Long-Knives could protect them, found, that, in seeking counsel and safety, he had walked into a trap, and was fast there. However, he folded his arms, and, with Indian calmness, waited the issue. The day went by. The next morning came, and from the opposite shore was heard an Indian hail,

* *Journals of the Old Congress.* — Stone, &c.

† See Stone, Vol. I. p. 191. — Doddridge's *Indian Wars*, &c.

known to be from Ellinipsico, the son of Cornstalk. The Americans brought him also into their toils as a hostage, and were thankful that they had thus secured to themselves peace ; — as if iniquity and deception ever secured that first condition of all good ! Another day rolled by, and the three captives sat waiting what time would bring. On the third day, two savages, unknown to the whites, shot one of the white hunters, toward evening. Instantly the dead man's comrades raised the cry, " Kill the red dogs in the fort." Arbuckle tried to stop them, but they were men of blood, and their wrath was up. The Captain's own life was threatened, if he offered any hindrance. They rushed to the house where the captives were confined ; Cornstalk met them at the door, and fell, pierced with seven bullets ; his son and Redhawk died also, less calmly than their veteran companion, and more painfully. From that hour peace was not to be hoped for.

But this treachery, closed by murder, on the part of the Americans, though perhaps the immediate cause of the outbreak in the West, was not, in any degree, the cause of the great border war. Two years had been spent by Britain in arranging and organizing that war. Cornstalk fell into the snare, because that war was organized. Before his death the whole Cherokee contest was begun and ended, and Brant, in person, had commanded an expedition against Cherry Valley, which was attended with slight results, but was still proof of the condition of matters and the temper of men. And, almost at the moment when Cornstalk was dying upon the banks of the Ohio, there was a Congress gathering at Oswego, under the eye of Colonel Johnson, " to eat the flesh and drink the blood of a Bostonian " ; in other words, to arrange finally the measures which should be taken against the devoted rebels by Christian brethren and their heathen allies.*

And here, before entering upon the actual bloodshed, it may be as well, perhaps, to say what we have to say upon the comparative merits, or demerits, of the parties to the revolutionary contest, in respect to their measures for the employment of the Indians.

The first mention of the subject, which we meet with, is in the Address of the Massachusetts Congress to the Iro-

* Stone, Vol. I. p. 186.

quois, in April, 1775. In that they say, that they hear the British are exciting the savages against the colonies ; and they ask the Six Nations to aid them, or stand quiet.* It would seem, then, that, even before the battle of Lexington, both parties had applied to the Indians, and sought an alliance. Nor was this strange or reprehensible. Both parties had been used to the employment of the natives in contests between the whites, and both knew that a portion of the coming struggle, at least, must be inland, among the tribes of red men, and that those tribes could not be expected to stand wholly neutral. In the outset, therefore, both parties were of the same mind and pursued the same course. The Congress of the United Colonies, however, during 1775, and until the summer of 1776, advocated merely the attempt to keep the Indians out of the contest entirely, and instructed the commissioners, appointed in the several departments, to do so. But England was of another mind. Promises and threats were both used to induce the savages to act with her,† though, at first, it would seem, to little purpose, even the Canada tribe of Caghnawagas having offered their aid to the Americans. When Britain, however, became victorious in the North, and particularly after the battle of the Cedars, in May, 1776, the wild men began to think of holding to her side, their policy being, most justly, in all quarrels of the whites, to stick by the strongest. Then it was, in June, 1776, that Congress resolved to do what *Washington had advised in the previous April*, that is, to employ the savages in active warfare. Upon the 19th of April the Commander-in-chief wrote to Congress, saying, that, as the Indians would soon be engaged, either for or against, he would suggest, that they be employed for the colonies ;‡ upon the 3d of May, the report on this was considered ; upon the 25th of May, it was resolved to be highly expedient to engage the Indians for the American service ; and, upon the 3d of June, the General was empowered to raise two thousand to be employed in Canada. Upon the 17th of June, Washington was authorized to employ them where he pleased, and to offer them rewards for prisoners ; and, upon the 8th of July, he was empowered to call

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. III. p. 495. † Ibid., p. 55. ‡ Ibid., p. 364.

out as many of the Nova Scotia and neighbouring tribes as he saw fit.*

Such was the course of proceeding, on the part of the colonies, with regard to the employment of the Indians. The steps, at the time, were secret, but now the whole story is before the world. Not so, however, with regard to the acts of England; as to them, we have the records of but few placed within our reach. One thing, however, is known, namely, that, while the colonies offered their allies of the woods rewards for *prisoners*, some of the British agents gave them money for *scalps*.† And this leads us to speak of a distinction, which we would have kept in mind by those who read our remarks, with regard to the employment of the savages. It is this; that whatever tends to produce animosity between the individuals of two warring nations is to be avoided, as leading inevitably to enmity during peace, and thence to renewed war. The great cause of the bitterness of frontier and civil wars, is the individual hatred that mingles with, and envenoms, the public hostility. This same individual feeling had much to do with the perpetual warfare of those times, when men fought hand to hand, instead of destroying whole ranks by cannon and musket shot; and the production of this individual feeling is one of the great, *peculiar* objections to privateering. Now, so far as the employment of the Indians helped to produce this personal, rather than public hatred, we think it wholly objectionable. We do not see, that it would help to do this necessarily, and we do not learn, that it did in fact. But the British plan of paying the savages for scalps, and thus setting a bounty on murder, one may well conceive, would produce personal, angry feelings, because it was unusual; whereas the employment of the red men, as between those warring in America, was not so.

We regard the British, then, as more culpable than the colonists in three respects; first, for trying to involve the Indians, in the South, West, and North, *from the outset*, ‡ whereas the Americans tried to keep them out of the contest for more than a year; secondly, for offering money for scalps,

* *Secret Journals*, Vol. I. pp. 43 – 47.

† Jefferson's *Writings*, Vol. I. p. 456.

‡ Not culpable because the natives were savages, but because they were not in war, and the British sought to involve them in war. The wrong would have been the same, had it been a civilized neighbour whom they sought to bring into the quarrel.

an unusual measure, and one calculated to irritate individual feeling ; and thirdly, for keeping the whole matter in the dark to this day.

Having disposed, thus summarily, of a point that might be discoursed on through twenty pages or more, we return to our history.

It was some time in July, probably, that Guy Johnson, with his loyalist and Indian friends, ate their Bostonian at Oswego. He was there, soon after, joined by Colonel St. Leger, with about two hundred British regulars, who, in conjunction with the Tories and savages, were to move up the river, and across to Fort Schuyler, and thence down the Mohawk to join Burgoyne on the Hudson. It was a pleasantly arranged plan, and does credit to the British ministers. New England, containing the most rebellious of the rebel provinces, was to be cut off from her sisters, and the same blow which did this was to clear the Mohawk Valley of its Whig population, and so leave all north of New York the King's own. A good plan it was ; but it failed. Burgoyne, as we all know, found a lion in his path ; and his coöperator, St. Leger, was not more happy.

This last-named officer, with seventeen hundred men, got under way toward the last of July. Of his march and proceedings, Mr. Stone gives a clear and full account from the original papers.* His van-guard, with which was Brant, came before Fort Schuyler on the 2d of August, just after a reinforcement of two hundred men, and several boat-loads of provisions, had been safely housed. The main British force reached the post on the 3d. St. Leger, as we have said, had seventeen hundred men ; Colonel Gansevoort, who commanded the Americans, had seven hundred and fifty, with food and powder, however, for six weeks. Thus supplied, the provincials were prepared to stand a strong siege, although their works were in a bad condition. One thing they needed, a flag ; but this they soon furnished from red and white shirts, and a blue camblet cloak which was at hand, and the stars and stripes were, in a little while, waving above them.

Meantime, news having gone down the Mohawk of the approach of the British army, the militia of that region were

* Stone, Vol. I. pp. 209 – 264.

called in, and assembled at German Flats, to the number of near a thousand, under the command of General Herkimer. This brave old officer, while on his march to the relief of Fort Schuyler, was induced, by circumstances related by Mr. Stone, to doubt the propriety of advancing; but, being taunted by some of his subordinates with Toryism and cowardice, he suffered his judgment to be overruled, and gave the order to march on. His body of untrained soldiers marched on at the command, in such form and disposition as to expose themselves not a little. By and by they came to a ravine. In the same loose order, in which they had hitherto been advancing, they entered it. When nearly the whole body of troops were within its limits, those in advance and upon the flanks were shot down by an unseen enemy, and the forest rang with the true Indian yell. It was Brant and his warriors; and the battle that followed is known as the battle of Oriskany. The British force, under the direction of Brant, as Mr. Stone thinks, had disposed itself in a circular form, so that, no sooner had the provincials entered through a gap left at one point of the circle, than the whole of them were surrounded, with the exception of the rear-guard, which ran away. And then began one of those contests which are very like to the battles of Homer and Scott, had we but a Homer or Scott to describe them; — a battle of man against man; of individual prowess; of individual glory; not a battle of *manœuvre*, (which, despite its name, is not hand-work, but head-work,) but of the true hand-work, and well worthy of being sung, if we could but get rid of the Dutch names of Herkimer, and Visscher, and Van Sluyck. It was a battle too, we regret to say, of that individual hatred which the knights of old did not feel for one another. Here were the rebels who had denied their king; there the traitors who were fighting against their country. Bitter indeed was the feeling between them, brother even seeking the life of brother.

Two men, especially, distinguished themselves on that day, Captain Gardinier and Captain Dillinback. The former, seeing one of his men seized by a pretended friend, but real enemy, sprang upon the captor, and levelled him with his spear, (for he fought with the arms as well as the spirit of Hector and *Cœur-de-lion*,) and rescued the man. Others sprang upon him. The first that came, "with mor-

tal thrust he slew," and the second, sent howling and limping back to the British ranks. But those ranks were yet full, and three of the enraged Tories (for he was contending with Americans and neighbours) sprang upon him. Not even three, however, could conquer him. He kept them at bay, until, in the struggle, one of his spurs caught in the clothes of an opponent, and he was tripped, and fell. Now his case seemed desperate indeed. Two of the three Tories instantly struck with their bayonets, and pinned both legs to the earth. The third aimed a more deadly blow at his heart, but Gardinier caught the bayonet, and, by main strength, drew his assailant down upon his own body, and held him there as a shield against the thrusts of the others. All this had passed like thought; but, the instant his men saw the condition of their leader, they sprang to his rescue. Relieved from the bayonets above, Gardinier released the Tory who was upon him, and, seizing his spear in his lacerated hand, half rose, and buried it in the body of his antagonist.

The other hero of this battle, Captain Dillinback, was one who had often said, that he would never be taken prisoner. In the midst of the uproar, three of Johnson's men, who knew well the Captain's saying, rushed together to seize him. One of them succeeded in seizing his gun, for they came upon him unexpectedly. But Dillinback, though surprised, was not captured; he wrested his weapon from his antagonist, levelled him with the butt, shot the second, and bayonetted the third! So he fulfilled his saying, that he would never be a prisoner; but, even at the instant of fulfilment, a ball struck him, and he fell dead.

Herkimer had been badly wounded early in the action; but he remained upon the field, and, sitting in his saddle, supported by a tree, smoked his pipe, and ordered the battle. It lasted six hours, and was, in spite of odds, a drawn game at last. The British killed most men, and the Americans remained masters of the field.

Meanwhile, during the battle of Oriskany, a sortie had been made from the besieged fort, by Colonel Willett, against the nearly deserted camp of John Johnson. It was entirely successful; much plunder and some prisoners being taken, without the loss of a man on the part of the Americans. The British colors, that were found, were immedi-

ately hoisted under those of America (the old camblet cloak and red shirt), and the besiegers treated to a hearty cheer by the inspirited garrison. Of the various steps taken, after this time, to secure the fort for the King and for the Province, we cannot speak. The rebels, in the end, were successful. St. Leger abandoned the siege, and marched back to Lake Ontario. Of all these steps, Mr. Stone gives a full account from original sources. From him we have derived the facts just given, and to him all that may write of those events will be indebted for much, that is interesting, and now first brought to light.

While in the North the Iroquois were acting with the British against the colonists, in the South all remained quiet, and in the West all remained uncertain. The Shawanese, irritated by the death of Cornstalk, still pretended to wish for peace, while they continually annoyed the settlers in Kentucky, and all those who passed up and down the Ohio River. The Delawares were, as ever, divided, though great efforts were made by the Wyandots, and other tribes more nearly under British influence, to persuade or drive them into the war.* Those more distant nations themselves waited only for the opportunity to strike some decided blow, and, meanwhile, continued to harass the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, causing great distress and fear. Through their incursions during the autumn of 1777, the steps taken by Hamilton, then Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit, to enlist the savages, became known, some of his proclamations having been left by them during their visits; and Congress was led to feel the necessity of now becoming masters, if possible, of those western posts, from which arms, ammunition, and spirits were supplied to the inimical red men. Upon the 20th of November a report was made to Congress, in which this necessity was urged, and also the need that existed, of taking some measures to prevent the spirit of disaffection from spreading among the frontier inhabitants.† Three commissioners also were chosen to go to Fort Pitt, for the purpose of inquiring into the causes of the frontier difficulties, and of doing what could be done to secure all the whites to the American cause, to cultivate the friendship of the Shawanese and Delawares, and to concert with General

* Heckewelder's *Narrative*, pp. 150, *et seq.* — Butler's *Kentucky*.
† *Old Journals*, Vol. II. p. 340.

Hand some measures for pushing the war westward, so as to obtain possession of Detroit and other posts. General Washington was also requested to send Colonel William Crawford, an old pioneer, to take the active command in the West; and he accordingly left head-quarters upon the 25th.*

While Congress was resolving upon the necessity of capturing Detroit and Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, there was one man west of the mountains, who was also resolving, not only that it must be done, but that he would do it. This was George Rogers Clark, a man whose biography is not yet written, but who may compare with any general of our Revolution, except the matchless one, for decision, intrepidity, energy, forethought, and good sense. He was the best soldier that has ever led our troops against the Indians, and knew, better than any other man of his day, how to control those uncontrollable beings. Clark was the true founder of Kentucky, and deserves to have his name enrolled among those of whom full and detailed biographies are written. We hope that some one of the innumerable penmen of the day will be wise enough, and patriotic enough, to collect the papers and anecdotes which are still accessible, and combine them into such a form as he can. We care not very much, indeed, what the form of such a work, published now, is, provided it does but collect and perpetuate the materials, from which a nobler and more perfect work may be prepared by and by.

Clark went to the West in 1775. In 1776 he was busy in organizing his adopted land, Kentucky, in order to prepare her for becoming an independent State. In 1777, perceiving that it was from Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Vincennes, and Detroit, that the Indians, who never ceased to annoy the pioneers, were supplied, he sent spies to examine the state of things at and about those posts; and, having received their report, upon the 1st of October, he started for Virginia, to lay the matter before the governor of the parent State. Patrick Henry was then in the executive chair of Virginia; and to him Clark made known his plans early in December. The Governor liked the proposed campaign very much, but could scarce think it possible it should succeed, so distant were the posts to be attacked, so small the force that could

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. V. p. 169.

be used for the purpose, and so mighty the power of Britain. However, Burgoyne had been defeated, and the colonists were gathering courage ; Clark was well known as a most active and persevering man ; and, his purposes having been fully explained, and fully approved by competent and critical judges, he succeeded in getting the Governor and Council to enter heart and soul into his scheme, and upon the 2d of January received his orders and outfit. Of his various acts and his wonderful success, we shall say little, referring our readers to the account already given by us of him, when reviewing Mr. Butler's "History of Kentucky." *

We have now, in our rambling way, brought matters down to the opening of 1778. During the spring of that year, there continued the same uncertainty as to the intentions of the western and northern tribes, and the outposts still suffered from incursions and petty attacks. A fort was built, early in the summer of that year, upon the banks of the Ohio a little below Pittsburg, near the spot where Beaver now stands. It was built by General M^cIntosh, and was named with his name.† From this point it was intended to operate in reducing Detroit, where mischief was still brewing. Indeed, the natives were now more united than ever against the colonies. In June we find Congress in possession of information, that led them to think a universal frontier war close at hand. ‡ The Senecas, Cayugas, Mingoes (by which, we presume, were meant the Ohio Iroquois, or possibly the Mohawks), Wyandots, Onondagas, Ottawas, Chippeways, Shawanese, and Delawares, were all said to be more or less united in opposition to America. This union, Mr. Stone hints, was brought about by Brant ; § but he gives us no evidence on that point. Indeed, he has not much to say about the subject of his biography in this portion of it, most of his pages being filled with accounts of those events in which Brant took part only now and then. Congress, learning the danger to be so immediate and great, determined to push on the Detroit expedition, and ordered another to be undertaken up the Mohawk valley against the Senecas, who might otherwise very much annoy and impede the march

* *North American Review*, Vol. XLIII. pp. 1 *et seq.*
† Doddridge, p. 243. — Silliman's *Journal*, Vol. XXXI. Art. I.
‡ *Journals of the Old Congress*, Vol. II. p. 585.
§ Stone, Vol. I. p. 304.

from Port Pitt. For the capture of Detroit, three thousand Continental troops and two thousand five hundred militia were voted ; an appropriation was made of nearly a million of dollars ; and General M^cIntosh, who had been appointed late in May,* by Washington, to succeed General Hand as commander of Fort Pitt and the western forces, was to carry forward the needful operations.

All the flourish which was made about taking Detroit, however, and conquering the Senecas, ended in the Resolves of Congress, it being finally thought too late in the season for advantageous action, and also too great an undertaking for the weak-handed colonies.† Clark, however, held on his way, and did his work, reducing Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes, and catching the "hair-buying General" Hamilton.

But, strange to say, on the very night on which Clark entered Kaskaskia, far away in the western wilderness, and sent his men yelling, like Indians, round the town, in order to scare the inhabitants into non-resistance, on that same night *genuine* Indian yells,

"And sounds that mingled laugh, and shout, and scream,"

were echoing through the vale of Wyoming.

Of all that was horrible in the transactions of that night, and of the many errors and exaggerations in the accounts of it, we shall say nothing, but refer the reader to Mr. Stone, who purges the Indians in part, and Brant entirely, of blame. Indeed the Mohawk chieftain had been acquitted of any share in that night's doings by Campbell, who had damned him to everlasting fame as a monster, some years since.

Nor was Wyoming the only place which suffered during the summer of 1778. It was on the 4th of July, that the beautiful valley of the Susquehanna was sacked, and, on the 18th, Brant, with his fire and knife, was busy on the Mohawk. In the remote West there was trouble too. Boone, who had passed his winter and spring among the Shawanese, a prisoner, and yet a trusted friend (so genuine a woodsman was he), went from them upon the 16th of June "at sunrise," leaving no message, for he saw that near five hundred warriors were gathering to attack Kentucky. Four days he trav-

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. V. p. 382.
† *Journals of the Old Congress*, Vol. II. p. 633.

elled, averaging forty miles a day, and ate one meal on the journey, and then reached Boonesborough. Here he prepared every thing for war, and sat recruiting until the 1st of August, when he started with nineteen men to attack a town on the Scioto, far in the enemy's country. He was gone a week, and got back just before his post was called to surrender by a large body of Indians, who came, with a dozen Frenchmen, to demand the country in the name of his British Majesty. Boone, having no acquaintance with his British Majesty, but being intimate with the Shawanese, and knowing their pleasant mode of treating prisoners, declined ; and then came a siege of ten days, in which so many guns were fired, that the besieged, afterwards, picked up one hundred and twenty-five pounds of bullets on the ground about the fort. The British force of French and Indians, having used up their ammunition, and lost about forty men, at last determined to retire, and leave Kentucky in peace again.*

The siege of Boonesborough was raised upon the 20th of August, and within a few days after that time another movement was made by Brant and his bloody followers against the settlement of German Flats. This settlement was about the junction of West Canada Creek, the stream on which are Trenton Falls, with the Mohawk river, and was one of the richest frontier posts. This attack was followed, in November, by the destruction of the settlement at Cherry Valley, nearly south of the Flats. Here the scenes of Wyoming were reënacted, and, as most have written, under the eye of Brant again ; but Mr. Stone is prompt to defend his hero against all charges of cruelty, and presents us with strong reasons for thinking this, too, a slander. He had not the command, he says, and, though present, did all in his power to prevent, not to forward slaughter.

We have only one other act to record of 1778 ; the movement of General M'Intosh. When it was found to be beyond hope to take Detroit at once, it was resolved, that the forces in the West should move up, and attack the Wyandots and other Indians about the Sandusky ; † and a body of troops was accordingly marched forward to prepare a half-way house, or post, by which the necessary connexion might be kept up. This was built upon the Tuscarawas, a few miles

* Butler's *Kentucky*, pp. 96, *et seq.*

† *Journals of the Old Congress*, Vol. II. p. 633.

south of where Bolivar now is, and was called Fort Laurens; the Ohio canal, in these peaceful days, passes directly through it.* Here Colonel John Gibson was left with one hundred and fifty men to get through the winter as he best could, while M^cIntosh himself returned to Pittsburg, disappointed and dispirited.† Nor was Congress in a very good humor with him, for already had six months passed to no purpose. Washington was consulted, but could give no definite advice, knowing nothing of those details which must determine the course of things for the winter. M^cIntosh, at length, in February, asked leave to retire from his unsatisfactory command, and was allowed to do so. His garrison at Fort Laurens, meantime, had been suffering cruelly, both from the Indians and famine, and, though finally rescued from starvation, had done, and could do, nothing.

But, while M^cIntosh was groaning and doing nothing, his fellow General, Clark, was very differently employed. Governor Hamilton, having made his various arrangements, had left Detroit, and moved down to St. Vincent's (or Vincennes), on the Wabash, from which point he intended to operate in reducing Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and also in conquering Kentucky, and driving the rebels from the West. But in the very process of taking St. Vincent's, he met with treatment that might have caused a more modest man to doubt the possibility of conquering those rebels. Hamilton came upon that post, which had been surrendered to the Americans in the summer of 1778, in December of that year. He came with a large body of troops, and unexpectedly; so that there was no chance of defence on the part of the garrison, which consisted of only two men, Captain Helm, of Fauquier in Virginia, and one Henry. Helm, however, was not disposed to yield, absolutely, to any odds; so, loading his single cannon, he stood by it with a lighted match, and, as the British came nigh, bade them stand, and demanded to know what terms would be granted the garrison, as otherwise he should not surrender. The Governor, unwilling to lose time and men, offered the usual honors of war, and could scarce believe his eyes, when he saw the threatening garrison to be only one officer and one private. However, even this bold conduct did not make him feel the character

* Doddridge, p. 244. — Silliman's *Journal*, Vol. XXXI. p. 57.
† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. VI. p. 156.

of the people with whom he was contending ; and so, thinking it too late to operate in such a country, he scattered his Indians, of whom he had some four hundred, and sat himself down for the winter.

Information of all these proceedings having reached Clark, he saw, at once, that either he must have Hamilton, or Hamilton would have him ; so he cast about him, to see what means of conquest were within his reach. On the 29th of January, 1779, the news of the capture of St. Vincent's reached Kaskaskia, and, by the 4th of February, a "battoe," as Colonel Bowman writes it, had been repaired, provisioned, manned, and armed, and was on her way down the Mississippi, in order to ascend the Ohio and Wabash, and coöperate with the land forces which were assembling. These forces, on the 5th of February, numbered one hundred and seventy men, "including artillery, packhorsemen, &c." and with this little band, on that day Clark set forward to besiege the British governor, who had under him about half as many men, as a garrison. It was "rain and drizzly weather," and the "roads very bad with mud and water ;" but through those prairie ways, and the waters which covered some of the plains, the little rebel band slipped and spattered along, crossing rivers on trees felled for the purpose, and killing a buffalo occasionally, but all the way marching through unceasing rain, till, upon the 13th, they reached the Wabash. This they crossed in a canoe, it being three miles from shore to shore, the whole country between the Great and Little Wabash, near the junction of which they were, being under water, in consequence of the extraordinary rains ; and "still raining," writes Colonel Bowman, every day. It was what we call in New England "a spell of weather." And, in addition to all this water, there was lack of provisions ; on the 19th, says Bowman's Journal, "No food of any sort for two days ;" and, on the 20th, he writes, "Camp very quiet, but hungry." But the wet and hungry little army was now almost in sight of St. Vincent's, and heard the Governor's guns, morning and evening, so that provisions were less necessary. They at times killed a deer, also, and had a mouthful all round. On the 23d, however, matters seemed desperate. The weather had grown cooler, so that it froze, and the men were marching across a plain, four miles in diameter, with the water breast high. Notwithstanding all

this, though, they made progress, and on that day saw the town ; and that night, with "colors flying, and drums braced, and water up to their arm-pits," marched up to the post and besieged it. The next morning, the poor drenched army had a breakfast, "the only meal's victuals" for six days.

Through all the toil, the marching, the wading, and the starving, Clark had been, as we might suppose, foremost ; and he now felt disposed to show no favor to those who had brought him so far, and through such roads. His demand upon the Governor to yield was not, therefore, written with that regard to formal diplomacy, which the Briton would have liked. Thus ran the missive.

"Sir, — In order to save yourself from the impending storm which now threatens you, I order you immediately to surrender yourself, with all your garrison, stores, &c. ; for, if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as is justly due to a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind, or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or hurting any house in town ; for, by Heaven ! if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you. G. R. CLARK."

To this the Governor replied, that he could not think of being "awed into any action unworthy a British subject" ; but his true feeling peeped out in his question to Helm, when the bullets rattled about the chimney of the room in which they were playing piquet together, and Helm swore that Clark would have them prisoners. "Is he a merciful man ?" said the Governor.

Clark, finding the British unwilling to yield quietly, began "firing very hot." When this came on, Helm cautioned the English soldiers not to look out through the loop-holes ; for these Virginian riflemen, he said, would shoot their eyes out, if they did. And several being actually killed by balls which came through the port-holes, Hamilton was led to propose a truce, and some conversation ; which ended in a surrender of the fort to Clark.*

Detroit was now within the reach of the enterprising Virginian, had he but been able to raise one third as many soldiers as were starving and idling at forts Laurens and M^cIntosh. He could not ; and Governor Henry having promised him a

* Butler's *Kentucky* and Bowman's *Manuscript Journal.*

reinforcement, he concluded to wait for that, as his force was too small to both conquer and garrison the British forts. But the results of what was done were not unimportant; indeed, we cannot estimate those results. Hamilton had made arrangements to enlist the western and southern Indians * for the next spring's campaign; and, if Mr. Stone be correct in his suppositions, Brant and his Iroquois were to act in concert with him.† Had Clark, therefore, failed to conquer the Governor, there is too much reason to fear, that the West would have been, indeed, swept, from the Mississippi to the mountains, and the great blow struck, which had been contemplated, from the outset, by Britain. But for his small army of dripping, but fearless Virginians, the union of all the tribes from Georgia to Maine, against the colonies, might have been effected, and the whole current of our history changed.

Before leaving Clark, we would notice one expression, used by Mr. Stone, which does that bold partisan injustice. He says, "An expedition was organized against Kaskaskia, and Clark intrusted with the command of it;" ‡ whereas the truth was, as we have stated, that Clark *originated* and carried through the whole plan.

Turning from the West to the North, we find a new cause of trouble arising there. Of the six tribes of the Iroquois, the Senecas, Mohawks, Cayugas, and Onondagas, had been, from the outset, inclining to Britain, though all of these, but the Mohawks, had now and then tried to persuade the Americans to the contrary. During the winter of 1778–9, the Onondagas, who had been for a while nearly neutral, were suspected, by the Americans, of deception; and, this suspicion having become nearly knowledge, a band was sent, early in April, to destroy their towns, and take such of them, as could be taken, prisoners. The work appointed was done, and the villages and wealth of the poor savages were annihilated. This sudden act of severity startled all. The Oneidas, hitherto faithful to their neutrality, were alarmed, lest the next blow should fall on them, and it was only after a full explanation, that their fears were quieted. As for the Onondagas, it was not to be hoped that they would sit down under such treatment; and we find, accordingly, that some hundred of their warriors were at once in the field, and from that time

---

* Butler, p. 80. † Stone, Vol. I. p. 400. ‡ Ibid., p. 352.

forward, a portion of their nation remained, and, we think, justly, hostile to the United Colonies.*

Those colonies, meanwhile, had become convinced, from the massacres at Wyoming and Cherry Valley, that it was advisable to adopt some means of securing the northwestern and western frontiers against the recurrence of such catastrophes ; and, the hostile tribes of the Six Nations being the most numerous and deadly foes, it was concluded to begin by strong action against them. Washington had always said, that the only proper mode of defence against the Indians was to attack them, and this mode he determined to adopt on this occasion. Some difference of opinion existed, however, as to the best path into the country of the inimical Iroquois ; that most lovely country in the west of New York, which is now fast growing into a granary for millions of men. General Schuyler was in favor of a movement up the Mohawk river ; the objection to which route was, that it carried the invaders too near to Lake Ontario, and within reach of the British. The other course proposed was up the Susquehanna, which heads, as all know, in the region that was to be reached. The latter route was the one determined upon by Washington for the main body of troops, which was to be joined by another body moving up the Mohawk, and also by detachments coming from the western army, by the way of the Alleghany and French Creek ; upon further thought, however, the movement from the West was countermanded.† All the arrangements for this grand blow were made in March and April, but it was the last of July before General Sullivan got his men under way from Wyoming, where they had gathered ; and, of course, information of the proposed movements had been given to the Indians and Tories, so that Brant, the Johnsons, and their followers, stood ready to receive the invaders.

They were not, however, strong enough to withstand the Americans ; and, having been defeated at the battle of Newtown, were driven from village to village, and their whole country was laid waste. Houses were burned, crops and orchards destroyed, and every thing done, that could be thought of, to render the country uninhabitable. Of all these steps Mr. Stone speaks fully. Forty towns, he tells us, were burnt,

* Stone, Vol. I. p. 405. † Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. VI. pp. 183, *et seq.*

and more than one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn. Well did the Senecas name Washington, whose armies did all this, "the Town-Destroyer." Having performed this portion of his work, Sullivan turned homeward again from the beautiful valley of the Genesee; leaving Niagara, whither the Indians fled, as to the stronghold of British power in that neighbourhood, untouched. This conduct, Mr. Stone thinks "difficult of solution," * as he supposes the conquest of that post to have been one of the main objects of the expedition. Such, however, was not the fact. Originally it had been part of the proposed plan to attack Niagara; † but, early in January, Washington was led to doubt, and then to abandon, that part of the plan, thinking it wiser to carry on, merely, "some operations on a smaller scale against the savages." ‡

One of these smaller operations was the march of Colonel Daniel Brodhead, who had succeeded M^cIntosh in command at Fort Pitt, against the tribes along the Alleghany and up French Creek. These tribes Washington speaks of, as "the Mingo and Muncey tribes," to which Mr. Stone *adds* the Senecas, § as though he were ignorant, that the Senecas formed one of the Mingo tribes, the very one, doubtless, referred to by Washington under the general term. The towns of these Indians were also laid waste, and their crops destroyed.

The immediate result of these prompt and severe measures, was to bring the Delawares, Shawanese, and even the Wyandots, to Fort Pitt, on a treaty of peace. There Brodhead met them, on his return in September, and a long conference was held, to the satisfaction of both parties. Further west, in July, Colonel Bowman had made an unsuccessful attack upon the Shawanese village, known to us as Chillicothe, in the Miami country; and, in November, Rogers and Benham suffered terribly in a battle with the savages opposite the mouth of the Little Miami. Into the particulars of these battles we cannot enter. Indeed, much as has been written about them, we are yet in the dark, touching many points that ought to be perfectly understood. For instance, there is still some doubt as to the position of the In-

* Vol. II. p. 36.
† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. VI. pp 120, 146.
‡ Ibid., pp. 162–166.
§ Vol. II. p. 41.

dian towns, against which expeditions marched from Kentucky, in 1779, 1780, and afterwards. And with respect to those very savages, from whom Rogers and his comrades suffered so much, there is doubt. Butler says, they were going against Kentucky, "under Birde, a Canadian Frenchman," and quotes from a letter written to him by the son of Benham, who was with the sufferers, and one of the greatest of them. But did not Mr. Benham, the son, refer to that expedition, under Colonel Byrd, in June, 1780, spoken of by Butler a little further on ? *

The events of 1779, in the West, with the exception of Clark's grand blow, were far less favorable than among, and east of, the mountains. The next year, however, saw the scene reversed ; for, though Byrd, with forces such as had not been before seen on the dark and bloody ground, marched into the very centre of it, and seemed in the way of utterly sweeping it of its settlers and stations, he in truth did but little. And that little was more than avenged by the excursion of Clark against the Miami Shawanese. With nearly a thousand men he marched from the spot where Cincinnati now stands, against the towns upon the Little Miami and Mad River, all of which he destroyed, together with the crops standing about them, and so effectually defeated and stripped the savages, as to prevent any considerable annoyance, on their part, for more than a twelvemonth afterwards.† The Mohawk valley, during that same summer, saw other scenes enacted. The Johnsons and Brant came upon it three several times, burning, killing, wasting ; so that, by autumn, the whole country, above Schenectady, was a wilderness. It was a fearful retaliation for the devastations of Sullivan. In the course of that sad summer many curious and interesting events and adventures occurred, of which Mr. Stone speaks

* See Butler, pp. 103, 110, 550. Upon this and many similar points of western history, we hope to be enlightened by a work, which we hear that Dr. Drake, of Cincinnati, has in hand ; a full history of that city, founded upon an Address, delivered by him at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of that growing place. This writer, as a writer of fact, takes precedence, in our opinion, of all those that have thus far arisen in the West. His "Picture of Cincinnati," published twenty years since, is still sought after, and deservedly so. It is just what it claimed to be. And we do not doubt, that his forthcoming work will be equally creditable to him and his adopted land ; for we believe that he is not a native of the West, though early there.

† Butler, pp. 110, 117.

fully. Indeed, this is among the most interesting and original portions of his volumes. Into most of his details we cannot, of course, follow him, but must ask our reader's patience, for a few moments, while we tell the story of the Sammons family, greatly abridged, however, from the narrative given by our author.*

Old Mr. Sammons, with three sons and one or more daughters, lived upon the old Johnson estate, which had been sequestrated. Sampson, the father, was a sturdy old Whig, and well known to Sir John, whom he had often had a talk with about the rebellion. His sons, Frederick, Jacob, and Thomas, the youngest eighteen at the time of which we write, were much of the same mind and body ; young Sampsons, knotty and fearless. Sir John, knowing their characters, thought he would catch them alive, and take them to Canada ; so he sent his Indians out of the way, and, by good management, captured the whole race early in the morning, without a blow. The old man and his boys were at once bound, and marched off in the direction of Canada, though but a little way. That night the youngest boy, by the aid of the wife of a British officer, managed to escape ; and the next morning, the father, having procured an interview with the Tory chief, read him such a lecture upon the ingratitude of thus treating one, who had formerly stood by him, and upon the iniquity of his conduct generally, that he too was set free, and a span of his horses returned to him. But Frederick and Jacob were less fortunate, and were taken to the fortress of Chamblee, just within Canada, between Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence. At that post there were about seventy prisoners, and not a very strong garrison ; so that the first thing, to which the young Sampsons made up their minds, was an escape. Finding however, their fellow-captives indisposed to do any thing for themselves, Jacob and Frederick determined to act without the rest ; and, accordingly, the first time they were taken out of the fort together, to assist in some common service, they sprang from the ranks, at a concerted signal, and "put," as the phrase is in the West. The guards, startled, and less fleet of foot, could not catch them, and, though Jacob fell and sprained his ancle, he managed, under cover of the

* Stone, Vol. II. pp. 72 – 136.

smoke, produced by the gun-shots made at them, to hide himself in a clump of bushes, which his pursuers did not think of searching. It had been agreed, previously, between the brothers, that, in case of separation, they were to meet at a known spot at ten o'clock at night. Jacob, the lame one, mistook the hour, and, having gone to the spot and not finding his brother there, he left it, with the intention of getting as far from the fort as possible before daylight, his accident making time especially important to him. He accordingly pushed up the western bank of the Sorel river toward Lake Champlain, intending to swim it just below the lake, and then find his way along the eastern shore. Various events, however, occurred to prevent his doing this; but, after running great risk, by putting himself within the power of a Tory, whose chief excellence seems to have been the possession of a most kind and fearless wife, he was so lucky as to find a canoe, of which he took charge, and in which he made good headway toward home, until, in one of the narrow passes of Champlain, the British fortifications, on both sides, forced him to leave his vessel and take to the woods again.

He was without shoes, food, or gun, and had to find his way to Albany, through an unknown wilderness, along the Vermont shore. For four days he lived on birch-bark. Then he caught a few fish, and managed also to secure a wild duck. The fish and duck he ate raw. Thus he labored on during ten days. His feet, meanwhile, had become so badly cut, and so intolerably sore, that he could scarce crawl, and swarms of musquitoes made every moment of rest a moment of misery. While thus wretched and worn out, he was bitten upon the calf of the leg by a rattlesnake. And what did this young Sampson do then? Yield and die? Not he. With one stroke of his jack-knife he laid his leg open, producing a plenteous flow of blood; and, with another, slew the poisonous reptile. And then came a day or two of such experience as few meet with in this life. Sammons, worn to a skeleton, with feet ragged from wear and tear, — his leg wounded and not a soul within twenty miles to help, — lay there under the log where he had been bitten, a little fire burning by him, which he had kindled by the aid of a dry fungus, — living on the rattlesnake which he had slain! He ate the heart and fat first, says Mr. Stone, and felt strengthened by the repast. What a power there is in such a soul!

Truly he might say with Sampson of old, "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness." There he lay, under that log, for three days; patient and surgeon, sick man, hunter, cook, and nurse, all in one. On the third day his snake was nearly picked to the bones, and he was too weak to fetch wood to cook the remainder. Sammons made up his mind, that death could not be postponed; and, having already shown how little division of labor was needed in such cases, determined to essay one more office, and by his knife proceeded to carve his epitaph on the log by his side. But God was not afar off from that brave man. He fell asleep, and strength from unknown sources flowed into his limbs. On the fourth day he rose refreshed, and, having made sandals of his hat and waistcoat, proceeded to hobble on his way once more, taking with him, as stores, the unconsumed portion of his snake. That night, again, he was comforted, being assured, by some means unknown to him, that he was near fellow-men. Rising with this faith, he struggled on till afternoon, when he reached a house and was safe. It was the 28th of June, 1780. Such were the fortunes of Jacob Sammons.

His brother Frederick, was less fortunate. He had made many efforts, to no purpose, to find Jacob, who, when he fell, would not permit Frederick to stop and help him; and, in seeking him, had run many risks. At length he crossed the Sorel; killed an ox; made himself some jerked beef; and for seven days travelled along the eastern shore of Champlain without ill luck. But, on the morning of the 8th day, he awoke sick; a pleurisy was upon him; a fever in his veins; pain in every limb. It began to rain also, and there he lay, this other young Sampson, close by his brother, who, at that very moment, in that very neighbourhood, was nursing his rattlesnake bite; — there he lay, knowing not that any was near him, for three days, on the earth, in the summer rain, and his blood all on fire. For three days, we say, he lay thus helpless. On the fourth day he was better, and tried to eat a little of his beef, but it was spoiled. He managed, however, to crawl to a frog-pond near by, a green and slimy pond, where the last year's leaves were rotting, and the bubbles rose of a hot day. He crawled thither, and put aside the green coating of the pool, and drank. He caught frogs, too, and feasted, though not a Frenchman in

any of his tastes probably. There he lay, for fourteen days and nights, living by the life that was in him. Having expected death, he put up his hat upon a pole, so that it might be seen from the lake. It was seen by an enemy ; and he was found senseless and speechless, and carried, — shame on the human creature that bore him, — back to his prison again. And not to his prison only, but to its darkest dungeon ; and there, for fourteen months, in utter darkness, he lay in irons ; in irons so heavy and so tight, that they ate into the flesh of his legs, so that the flesh came off to the bone. And for fifty-six years afterwards, — for this young Sampson was living in 1837, and may be living yet, — the wounds then made did not heal. The British officer, whose heart enabled him, knowingly, to do this thing, was named (how aptly !) Steele. He was a Captain in the thirty-second regiment. May God have mercy upon his soul.

But our Sampson's adventures are not yet ended ; for neither was his captivity over, nor his spirit broken. In November, 1781, he, with others, was transferred to an island above Montreal, in the rapids of the St. Lawrence. There he, as a first step, organized another plot for escape, which failed, and, as a second step, jumped, with one other, from the island into the rapids of the great river. For four miles, through those rapids, our hero and his comrade swam, navigating among the sharp rocks and fearful shoals with what skill they had. Landing on the north side of the St. Lawrence, they fought a clubbattle with a village-full of Canadian Frenchmen ; conquered ; killed a calf ; and, seizing a canoe, tried to cross to the south side of the river. They were above the rapids of the Cedars, where no canoe can live long unguided, when their paddle broke in the mid-stream ; and once more destruction seemed certain. A fallen tree, in the branches of which they caught, saved them, however ; and, crossing the next day below the falls, they struck into the forest to seek the Hudson. For twelve more days they toiled on, living on roots, without shoes, without clothes, without hats, and reached Schenectady at last, in a plight that made Christian men give them a wide berth.

To close this strange, eventful history, — strange, and yet nowise improbable, — we have a statement which is of a kind to make men doubt, — perhaps to doubt the whole.

We will give it. When Frederick reached Schenectady, — so runs the tale, — he wrote to his father. This letter went to a Mr. De Witt's, who lived some five miles from old Sampson, and there got misplaced. Jacob, who had long since settled into his usual ways once more, when he came down to breakfast one morning, said, that he had dreamed that Frederick was well and safe, and that a letter from him lay at neighbour De Witt's. The old father laughed at the fancy of the boy, and the sisters smiled, and shook their heads, and wished it were so ; but Jacob persisted it was so, and saddled his horse and rode over. Neighbour De Witt heard his young friend, and chuckled over his notion, but said there was no such letter. "Look," said Jacob ; so the good man looked, but said there was no letter there. "Look harder," said Jacob, "move the things, and see if it has not fallen down somewhere." The worthy farmer humored his adventurous neighbour, and moved this table, and that ironing-board, and the great settle, and by and by the flour-barrel. "Ha ! what 's that ? a letter, true enough. 'To Sampson Sammons, Marbletown.' " — "Well," said De Witt, "if this is not strange ! Why, it must have been left by that officer, that went along to Philadelphia last night." "Hark to me," said Jacob, "and see if dreams don't reveal things. Do you open the letter and read it, and see if I cannot tell you what's in it." The amazed countryman opened and read, and Jacob repeated it word for word.

Such is Mr. Stone's account, based upon the statements of the Sammonses and De Witt. One question naturally occurs to the reader ; Did Mr. Stone write it after his studies in Animal Magnetism at Providence ?

But we must leave these details, and return to finish, in a few words, our process of skeletonizing. It is one of the great miseries of historical review writers, that they must often confine their labors to the most barren sketching, leaving it for others to supply those minute and personal matters to which history owes so much of its value and charm.

But, before returning to what little remains of our dry narrative, let us briefly look back over the six years which have passed since the campaign of Dunmore, in the autumn of 1774.

During 1775 offers were made, both by the Americans

and English, to the Indians, and attempts to hold them neutral, or win them to one or the other side. The savages, longing generally to see the invaders driven from their hunting-grounds, and knowing, apart from all merits, that the Americans possessed those grounds, were inclined to side with England; and hesitated, in most instances, only till the result of the first campaign should show them the probable result of the contest. The Oneidas, and the branch of the Delawares led by White-Eyes, were exceptions to this general state of the red men. They were from the outset, and continued till the last, true friends of the provinces. The year 1775, therefore, produced no results, so far as active operations were concerned. But the general tendency of the Iroquois in the north, the Delawares, Shawanese, Wyandots, Miamis, and Chippeways, in the west, and the Cherokees, Creeks, and Chickasaws, in the south, was in favor of England.

In 1776, the Iroquois went over openly to Britain; the Shawanese, and their more western neighbours, were also minded to war for the mother country; and in the south the Cherokees rose, laid waste the Carolina frontiers, and were conquered.

The years 1777 — 1780 found the Iroquois first scourging the valleys of the Mohawk and upper Susquehanna; then houseless themselves; and then, once more in the ascendant, laying waste the country of their foes, till it was a desert from Ontario to the Hudson. Those same years found the Delawares still divided, but the American party faithful to their original undertaking. This fidelity at last, after the death of White-Eyes, who died in the winter of 1779–80, at Fort Laurens, of small-pox, obliged the chiefs to leave their country and go to Pittsburg; Pipe having, after the decease of his great rival and controller, obtained a strong influence in the nation. In the autumn of 1780, therefore, we may say that the Delawares were mainly in the British interest.

The Shawanese, from 1776 to 1780, were also in the main against the colonies, one tribe only being with them; but this nation had suffered so much from the Kentuckians, that in the autumn of 1780 they were very quiet.

Their northwestern neighbours had suffered less, and were less overawed, but yet had been much cooled, in their loy-

alty to England, by Clark's campaigns on the Mississippi and Wabash.

The Cherokees, during this time, had been quiet, but were fast rousing to action again. Had not Hamilton been captured, they would have been with him in his devastation of the western country ; and they stood ready to strike whenever the time came. That time came, as they thought, in the summer of 1781, and an attack was made by the Cherokees and Chickasaws upon the frontiers of South Carolina. It did, however, but little damage ; and General Pickens, with about four hundred men on horseback, having ridden into the Indian country, and tried upon them a new mode of attack, — namely, a sudden charge with swords, — the warriors gave way. In fourteen days the General destroyed thirteen towns, and took many prisoners, and all without the loss of a man. In the autumn a new treaty of peace was made, and after that time no further trouble occurred with those two tribes. Their neighbours, the Creeks, tried their hand against General Wayne, near Savannah, in June of the following year. They fought well, and for a time had the better of the battle ; but in the end were defeated. Peace was preserved with them also from that time.*

During 1781 the Iroquois and their helpmates, the Tories, were wasting and slaughtering with renewed vigor, and but one happy event for the colonists occurred in the regions which they visited. That was the death of Walter N. Butler, the famous Tory leader, a man of great ability, great courage, and vile passions ; a sort of reversed Marion. He was killed in one of the skirmishes of October, 1781, by an Oneida Indian.† After that autumn no hostile events of importance occurred in the Mohawk valley.

We have left us, then, for examination only the doings in the west, and they were too bad to speak of otherwise than briefly. We have, already, in the course of this sketch, presented, or rather hinted at, our views of British proceedings respecting the employment of the savages. The mere enlisting of those wild allies we cannot think, in the men of that day, reprehensible. The patriots of Massachusetts and Washington would never have advocated such an enlistment, had the measure possessed to their minds the objectionable

* Holmes's *Annals*, 1781 and 1782. † Stone, Vol. II. p. 191.

features which some see in it now-a-days. For ourselves, we see no more objection to an alliance with red men than white men, unless it can be shown to perpetuate bad blood, and produce renewed quarrel. The secrecy of the British orders and acts, we think, should long since have been dropped. If England did right, why hide her doings? If wrong, let her own them and repent. The scalp-buying we object to, as leading to personal hostility. The conduct of the Tories and Indians at Wyoming, Cherry Valley, and during the invasion of the Mohawk, was full of evil, as war must be; but we have no charge against Britain for those acts.

Upon the whole, then, the very considerable outcry against British cruelty, during the border wars, we think unfounded. We do not know of an act equal in treachery to the capture and murder of Cornstalk; nor any that can compete, in point of cruelty, with those scenes in the West which it now becomes our painful duty to relate.

We have already said not a little respecting the Delawares upon the Muskingum; but, in order to make intelligible those events to which we are now coming, we must speak of them more particularly. Some years before the revolutionary war began, those Delaware Indians, who had been converted to Christianity by the United brethren, or Moravians, had been invited by the Delawares living upon the Muskingum, to come and settle in their country.* This they did, and built there several flourishing towns. There were, therefore, at the time of which we have been treating, three classes of Delawares upon that river; the heathen peace party, which was led by White-Eyes, the heathen war party under Pipe, and the Christian Delawares. The last-named people had nothing to do with the contests between the colonies and the mother country; but, as their towns were situated about the forks of the Muskingum, and near the great war-path from the Wyandot and Miami country to the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, they were at times visited by bands from each of the warring parties. This exposed them to suspicion; the Indians thought them renegades and spies; the whites called them secret foes, and accused them of aiding their heathen brethren.

* Heckewelder's *Narrative*, Doddridge, &c.

So matters stood when, in the summer of 1781, Colonel Brodhead led a body of troops against some of the hostile Delawares. This, a portion of his followers thought, would be an excellent opportunity to destroy the Moravian towns, and it was with difficulty he could withhold them. He sent word to Heckewelder, and tried to prevent any attack upon the members of his flock. In this he appears to have succeeded; but he did not, perhaps could not, prevent the slaughter of the prisoners taken from the hostile Delawares. First, sixteen were coolly killed, and then nearly twenty. A chief, who came under assurances of safety to Brodhead's camp, was also murdered by a noted partisan, named Wetzel.

This took place in the spring or summer of 1781. About that same time, the British commanders in the Northwest made up their minds, that the settlements of the Moravians were a great evil in their way; as the Christian Delawares continually notified the frontier men of war-parties marching against them. It was therefore determined to destroy those settlements and remove the Indians, unless they would go, of their own accord, to some other point. This they would not do; and in the autumn, after long and frequent talks, which may be found in Heckewelder's "Narrative," the towns were abandoned, and the inhabitants removed to the Sandusky country, where they passed the winter in a most miserable condition. This removal the Americans appear to have looked on as a voluntary going over to the British.

In the spring of 1782, some of the Moravians, who had been literally starving through the winter, returned to their old places of abode, to gather what they could of the remainder of their property, and busied themselves in collecting the corn which had been left in the fields. About the time they returned for that purpose, parties of Wyandots came down upon the settlements, and slew many. This excited the frontier-men; and believing a connexion to exist between the acts of the Wyandots, and the late movements of the Moravians, it was determined to attack and exterminate the latter, or, at least, to waste their lands and destroy their towns. Eighty or ninety men met for the purpose of effecting the objects just named, and marched in silence and swiftness upon the devoted villages. They reached them; by threats and lies got hold of the gleaners scattered among them, and bound their prisoners, while they deliberated on their fate.

Williamson, the commander of the party, put the question; Shall these men, women, and children, be taken to Pittsburg, or be killed? Of the eighty or ninety men present, sixteen or eighteen only were for granting their lives; and the prisoners were told to prepare for death. They prepared for death, and soon were dead; slaughtered, some say in one way, and some in another; but thus much is known, that eighty or ninety American men murdered, in cold blood, about forty men, twenty women, and thirty-four children, — all defenceless and innocent fellow Christians.

It was in March of 1782, that this great murder was committed. And as the tiger, once having tasted blood, longs for blood, so it was with the frontier-men; and another expedition was at once organized, to make a dash at the towns of the Moravian Delawares and Wyandots upon the Sandusky. No Indian was to be spared; friend or foe, every red man was to die. The commander of this expedition was Colonel William Crawford, Washington's old agent in the West. He did not want to go, but found it could not be avoided. The troops, numbering nearly five hundred men, marched to the Sandusky uninterrupted. There they found the towns deserted, and the savages on the alert. A battle ensued, and the whites were forced to retreat. In their retreat many left the main body, and nearly all who did so perished. Crawford himself was taken and burnt to death, under the most horrible circumstances. We cannot detail them. In short, the whole expedition was a failure, as none ever better deserved to be.

Crawford's campaign was in June. In August a very large body of Indians appeared in Kentucky. They were met by the whites at the Blue Licks, on the Licking river, and a defeat was suffered by the Americans, which was long felt in that region, and is still familiar to all who live there. It was not too severe, however, to prevent Clark, with a thousand men, from marching into the Indian country, in September, and laying it waste so effectually as to awe the natives into comparative quiet. After that time Kentucky suffered little.

This march of Clark's, in the autumn of 1782, was indeed the last decided movement in the border wars of our Revolution. After that, personal encounters alone took place. It is true, that the western wars did not cease with the Revo-

lution. The Miamis and their allies afterwards came more prominently forward, and the well-known campaigns of Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne wound up, for the time, the long Indian contest. From 1774 to 1795 there was not peace, northwest of the Ohio, between the white and red man. But into these wars we cannot enter, having already gone beyond our proposed limits.

Before closing, let us ask, however, What may be learned from a rapid survey of those wars which we have been glancing at?

We may learn, that England was less blameworthy than we have been used to think her.

We may learn, that the Indians took less pleasure in slaughter than we have been in the habit of saying they did. Even at Wyoming and Cherry Valley, the Tories were more murderers than their red allies.

We may learn some national modesty, by finding, that Americans were guilty of the greatest treachery and the most cold-blooded murder done in those times.

We may learn, in fine, tolerance for all. The Tory felt that he was contending against traitors, disorganizers, locofocos of the worst tint; the Whig against the tools of a tyrant, who had sold themselves into bondage for vile lucre; the Indian against the usurpers of his ancient and deep-rooted right. In all, the lowest and most desperate part of man's nature was called into action, and the result was, that all did evil and wrong, times without number.

We conclude with once more thanking Mr. Stone for his volumes. We do not think we have stated any thing which is not stated by him, and, usually, in a simple and interesting form. We wish, most heartily, that some one would follow his example, with regard to the border transactions in the South and West.

ART. II. — *Sketches of English Literature ; with Considerations on the Spirit of the Times, Men, and Revolutions.* By the Viscount de CHATEAUBRIAND. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1836.

THERE are few topics of greater attraction, or, when properly treated, of higher importance, than literary history. For what is it, but a faithful register of the successive steps, by which a nation has advanced in the career of civilization ? Civil history records the crimes and the follies, the enterprises, discoveries, and triumphs, it may be, of humanity. But to what do all these tend, or of what moment are they, in the eye of the philosopher, except as they accelerate or retard the march of civilization ? The history of literature is the history of the human mind. It is, as compared with other histories, the intellectual as distinguished from the material, — the informing spirit, as compared with the outward and visible.

When such a view of the mental progress of a people is combined with individual biography, we have all the materials for the deepest and most varied interest. The life of the man of letters is not always circumscribed by the walls of a cloister ; and was not, even in those days when the cloister was the familiar abode of science. The history of Dante and of Petrarch is the best commentary on that of their age. In later times, the man of letters has taken part in all the principal concerns of public and social life. But, even when the story is to derive its interest from his own personal character, what a store of entertainment is supplied by the eccentricities of genius, the joys and sorrows, not visible to vulgar eyes, but which agitate his finer sensibilities, as powerfully as the greatest shocks of worldly fortune would a hardier and less visionary temper. What deeper interest can romance afford, than is to be gathered from the melancholy story of Petrarch, Tasso, Alfieri, Rousseau, Byron, Burns, and a crowd of familiar names, whose genius seems to have been given them only to sharpen their sensibility to suffering ? What matter, if their sufferings were, for the most part, of the imagination ? They were not the less real to *them.* They lived in a world of imagination, and by the gift of genius, unfortunate to its proprietor, have known how,

in the language of one of the most unfortunate, "to make madness beautiful" in the eyes of others.

But, notwithstanding the interest and importance of literary history, it has hitherto received but little attention from English writers. No complete survey of the achievements of our native tongue has been yet produced, or even attempted. The earlier periods of the poetical developement of the nation have been well illustrated by various antiquaries. Warton has brought the history of poetry down to the season of its first vigorous expansion, — the age of Elizabeth. But he did not penetrate beyond the magnificent vestibule of the temple. Dr. Johnson's "Lives of the Poets" have done much to supply the deficiency in this department. But much more remains to be done, to afford the student any thing like a complete view of the progress of poetry in England. Johnson's work, as every one knows, is conducted on the most capricious and irregular plan. The biographies were dictated by the choice of the bookseller. Some of the most memorable names in British literature are omitted, to make way for a host of minor luminaries, whose dim radiance, unassisted by the magnifying lens of the Doctor, would never have penetrated to posterity. The same irregularity is visible in the proportion he has assigned to each of his subjects; the principal figures, or what should have been such, being often thrown into the background, to make room for some subordinate personage, whose story was thought to have more interest.

Besides these defects of plan, the critic was certainly deficient in sensibility to the more delicate, the minor beauties of poetic sentiment. He analyzes verse in the cold-blooded spirit of a chemist, until all the aroma, which constituted its principal charm, escapes in the decomposition. By this kind of process, some of the finest fancies of the Muse, the lofty dithyrambics of Gray, the ethereal effusions of Collins, and of Milton too, are rendered sufficiently vapid. In this sort of criticism, all the effect, that relies on *impressions*, goes for nothing. Ideas are alone taken into the account; and all is weighed in the same hard, matter-of-fact scales of common sense, like so much solid prose. What a sorry figure would Byron's Muse make, subjected to such an ordeal! The Doctor's taste in composition, to judge from his own style, was not of the highest order. It was a style,

indeed, of extraordinary power, suited to the expression of his original thinking, bold, vigorous, and glowing, with all the lustre of pointed antithesis. But the brilliancy is cold, and the ornaments are much too florid and overcharged for a graceful effect. When to these minor blemishes we add the graver one of an obliquity of judgment, produced by inveterate political and religious prejudice, which has thrown a shadow over some of the brightest characters subjected to his pencil, we have summed up a fair amount of critical deficiencies. With all this, there is no one of the works of this great and good man, in which he has displayed more of the strength of his mighty intellect, shown a more pure and masculine morality, more sound principles of criticism, in the abstract, more acute delineation of character, and more gorgeous splendor of diction. His defects, however, such as they are, must prevent his maintaining, with posterity, that undisputed dictatorship in criticism, which was conceded to him in his own day. We must do justice to his errors, as well as to his excellences, in order that we may do justice to the characters which have come under his censure. And we must admit, that his work, however admirable as a gallery of splendid portraits, is inadequate to convey any thing like a complete or impartial view of English poetry.

The English have made but slender contributions to the history of foreign literatures. The most important, probably, are Roscoe's works, in which literary criticism, though but a subordinate feature, is the most valuable part of the composition. As to any thing like a general survey of this department, they are wholly deficient. The deficiency, indeed, is likely to be supplied, to a certain extent, by the work of Mr. Hallam, now in progress of publication ; the first volume of which, — the only one which has yet issued from the press, — gives evidence of the same curious erudition, acuteness, honest impartiality, and energy of diction, which distinguish the other writings of this eminent scholar. But the extent of his work, limited to four volumes, precludes any thing more than a survey of the most prominent features of the vast subject he has undertaken.

The Continental nations, under serious discouragements, too, have been much more active than the British, in this field. The Spaniards can boast a general history of letters, extending to more than twenty volumes in length, and com-

piled with sufficient impartiality. The Italians have several such. Yet these are the lands of the Inquisition ; where reason is hoodwinked, and the honest utterance of opinion has been recompensed by persecution, exile, and the stake. How can such a people estimate the character of compositions, which, produced under happier institutions, are instinct with the spirit of freedom ? How can they make allowance for the manifold eccentricities of a literature, where thought is allowed to expatiate in all the independence of individual caprice ? How can they possibly, trained to pay such nice deference to outward finish and mere verbal elegance, have any sympathy with the rough and homely beauties, which emanate from the people, and are addressed to the people ?

The French, nurtured under freer forms of government, have contrived to come under a system of literary laws, scarcely less severe. Their first great dramatic production gave rise to a scheme of critical legislation, which has continued, ever since, to press on the genius of the nation, in all the higher walks of poetic art. Amidst all the mutations of state, the tone of criticism has remained essentially the same, to the present century, when, indeed, the boiling passions and higher excitements of a revolutionary age, have made the classic models, on which their literature was cast, appear somewhat too frigid ; and a warmer coloring has been sought by an infusion of English sentiment. But this mixture, or rather confusion of styles, neither French nor English, seems to rest on no settled principles, and is, probably, too alien to the genius of the people to continue permanent.

The French, forming themselves early on a foreign and antique model, were necessarily driven to rules, as a substitute for those natural promptings, which have directed the course of other modern nations in the career of letters. Such rules, of course, while assimilating them to antiquity, drew them aside from sympathy with their own contemporaries. How can they, thus formed on an artificial system, enter into the spirit of other literatures, so uncongenial with their own ?

That the French continued subject to such a system, with little change, to the present age, is evinced by the example of Voltaire ; a writer, whose lawless ridicule,

> " like the wind,
> " Blew where it listed, laying all things prone ; "

but whose revolutionary spirit made no serious changes in the principles of the national criticism. Indeed, his commentaries on Corneille furnish evidence of a willingness to contract still closer the range of the poet, and to define more accurately the laws by which his movements were to be controlled. Voltaire's history affords an evidence of the truth of the Horatian maxim, "*Naturam expellas*," &c. In his younger days he passed some time, as is well known, in England; and contracted there a certain relish for the strange models which came under his observation. On his return, he made many attempts to introduce the foreign school, with which he had become acquainted, to his own countrymen. His vanity was gratified by detecting the latent beauties of his barbarian neighbours, and by being the first to point them out to his countrymen. It associated him with names venerated on the other side of the Channel, and, at home, transferred a part of their glory to himself. Indeed, he was not backward in transferring as much as he could of it, by borrowing on his own account, where he could venture, *manibus plenis*, and with very little acknowledgment. The French, at length, became so far reconciled to the monstrosities of their neighbours, that a regular translation of Shakspeare, the lord of the British Pandemonium, was executed by Letourneur, a *littérateur* of no great merit; but the work was well received. Voltaire, the veteran, in his solitude of Ferney, was roused by the applause bestowed on the English poet in his Parisian costume, to a sense of his own imprudence. He saw, in imagination, the altars which had been raised to him, as well as to the other master-spirits of the national drama, in a fair way to be overturned, in order to make room for an idol of his own importation. "Have you seen," he writes, speaking of Letourneur's version, "his abominable trash? Will you endure the affront put upon France by it? There are no epithets bad enough, nor fool's-caps, nor pillories enough, in all France, for such a scoundrel. The blood tingles in my old veins in speaking of him. What is the most dreadful part of the affair is, the monster has his party in France; and, to add to my shame and consternation, it was I who first sounded the praises of *this Shakspeare;* I, who first showed the pearls, picked here and there, from his overgrown dungheap. Little did I anticipate, that I was helping to trample under

foot, at some future day, the laurels of Racine and Corneille, to adorn the brows of a barbarous player, — this drunkard of a Shakspeare." Not content with this expectoration of his bile, the old poet transmitted a formal letter of remonstrance to D'Alembert, which was read publicly, as designed, at a regular *séance* of the Academy. The document, after expatiating, at length, on the blunders, vulgarities, and indecencies of the English bard, concludes with this appeal to the critical body he was addressing. "Paint to yourselves, Gentlemen, Louis the Fourteenth in his gallery at Versailles, surrounded by his brilliant court: — a tatterdemalion advances, covered with rags, and proposes to the assembly to abandon the tragedies of Racine for a mountebank, full of grimaces, with nothing but a lucky hit, now and then, to redeem them."

At a later period, Ducis, the successor of Voltaire, if we remember right, in the Academy, a writer of far superior merit to Letourneur, did the British bard into much better French than his predecessor; though Ducis, as he takes care to acquaint us, "did his best to efface those startling impressions of horror, which would have damned his author in the polished theatres of Paris"! Voltaire need not have taken the affair so much at heart. Shakspeare, reduced within the compass, as much as possible, of the rules, with all his eccentricities and peculiarities, — all that made him English, in fact, — smoothed away, may be tolerated, and to a certain extent countenanced, in the "polished theatres of Paris." But this is not

> "Shakspeare, *Nature's* child,
> Warbling his native wood-notes wild."

The Germans present just the antipodes of their French neighbours. Coming late on the arena of modern literature, they would seem to be particularly qualified for excelling in criticism by the variety of styles and models for their study, supplied by other nations. They have accordingly done wonders in this department, and have extended their critical wand over the remotest regions, dispelling the mists of old prejudice, and throwing the light of learning on what before was dark and inexplicable. They certainly are entitled to the credit of a singularly cosmopolitan power of divesting themselves of local and national prejudice. No nation has done so much to lay the foundations of that reconciling spirit

of criticism, which, instead of condemning a difference of taste in different nations as a departure from it, seeks to explain such discrepances by the peculiar circumstances of the nation, and thus from the elements of discord, as it were, to build up a universal and harmonious system. The exclusive and unfavorable views, entertained by some of their later critics, respecting the French literature, indeed, into which they have been urged, no doubt, by a desire to counteract the servile deference, shown to that literature by their countrymen of the preceding age, forms an important exception to their usual candor.

As general critics, however, the Germans are open to grave objections. The very circumstances of their situation, so favorable, as we have said, to the formation of a liberal criticism, have encouraged the taste for theories and for system-building, always unpropitious to truth. Whoever broaches a theory, has a hard battle to fight with conscience. If the theory cannot conform to the facts, so much the worse for the facts, as some wag has said; — they must, at all events, conform to the theory. The Germans have put together hypotheses with the facility with which children construct card-houses; and many of them bid fair to last as long. They show more industry in accumulating materials, than taste or discretion in their arrangement. They carry their fantastic imagination beyond the legitimate province of the Muse into the sober fields of criticism. Their philosophical systems, curiously and elaborately devised, with much ancient lore and solemn imaginings, may remind one of some of those venerable English cathedrals, where the magnificent and mysterious Gothic is blended with the clumsy Saxon. The effect, on the whole, is grand, but somewhat grotesque withal.

The Germans are too often sadly wanting in discretion; or, in vulgar parlance, taste. They are perpetually overleaping the modesty of nature. They are possessed by a cold-blooded enthusiasm, if we may so say, — since it seems to come rather from the head than the heart, — which spurs them on, over the plainest barriers of common sense, until even the right becomes the wrong. A striking example of these defects is furnished by the dramatic critic, Schlegel; whose "Lectures" are, or may be, familiar to every reader, since they have been reprinted, in the English version, in this

country. No critic, not even a native, has thrown such a flood of light on the characteristics of the sweet bard of Avon. He has made himself so intimately acquainted with the peculiar circumstances of the poet's age and country, that he has been enabled to speculate on his productions as those of a contemporary. In this way, he has furnished a key to the mysteries of his composition, has reduced what seemed anomalous to system, and has supplied Shakspeare's own countrymen with new arguments for vindicating the spontaneous suggestions of feeling on strictly philosophical principles. Not content with this important service, he, as usual, pushes his argument to extremes, vindicates notorious blemishes as necessary parts of a system, and calls on us to admire, in contradiction to the most ordinary principles of taste and common sense. Thus, for example, speaking of Shakspeare's notorious blunders in geography and chronology, he coolly tells us, "I undertake to prove, that Shakspeare's anachronisms are, for the most part, committed purposely, and after great consideration." In the same vein, speaking of the poet's villanous puns and quibbles, which, to his shame, or rather that of his age, so often bespangle, with tawdry brilliancy, the majestic robe of the Muse, he assures us, that "the poet here, probably, as everywhere else, has followed principles which will bear a strict examination." But the intrepidity of criticism never went further than in the conclusion of this same analysis, where he unhesitatingly assigns several apocryphal plays to Shakspeare, gravely informing us, that the three last, "Sir John Oldcastle," "A Yorkshire Tragedy," and "Thomas Lord Cromwell," of which the English critics speak with unreserved contempt, "are not only unquestionably Shakspeare's, but, in his judgment, rank among the best and ripest of his works"! The old bard, could he raise his head from the tomb, where none might disturb his bones, would exclaim, we imagine, "*Non tali auxilio!*"

It shows a tolerable degree of assurance in a critic, thus to dogmatize on nice questions of verbal resemblance, which have so long baffled the natives of the country, who, on such questions, obviously, can be the only competent judges. It furnishes a striking example of the want of discretion, of a regard to the τὸ πρέπον, noticeable in so many of the German scholars. With all these defects, however,

it cannot be denied, that they have widely extended the limits of rational criticism, and, by their copious stores of erudition, furnished the student with facilities for attaining the best points of view for a comprehensive survey of both ancient and modern literature.

The English have had advantages, on the whole, greater than those of any other people, for perfecting the science of general criticism. They have had no Academies, to bind the wing of genius to the earth by their thousand wire-drawn subtleties. No Inquisition has placed its burning seal upon the lip, and thrown its dark shadow over the recesses of the soul. They have enjoyed the inestimable privilege of thinking what they pleased, and of uttering what they thought. Their minds, trained to independence, have had no occasion to shrink from encountering any topic, and have acquired a masculine confidence, indispensable to a calm appreciation of the mighty and widely diversified productions of genius, as unfolded under the influences of as widely diversified institutions and national character. Their own literature, with chameleon-like delicacy, has reflected all the various aspects of the nation, in the successive stages of its history. The rough, romantic beauties and gorgeous pageantry of the Elizabethan age, the stern, sublime enthusiasm of the Commonwealth, the cold brilliancy of Queen Anne, and the tumultuous movements and ardent sensibilities of the present generation, — all have been reflected, as in a mirror, in the current of English literature, as it has flowed down through the lapse of ages. It is easy to understand, what advantages this cultivation of all these different styles of composition at home must give the critic, in divesting himself of narrow and local prejudice, and in appreciating the genius of foreign literatures, in each of which some one or other of these different styles has found favor. To this must be added the advantages derived from the structure of the English language itself, which, compounded of the Teutonic and the Latin, offers facilities for a comprehension of other literatures, not afforded by those languages, as the German and the Italian, for instance, almost exclusively derived from but one of them.

With all this, the English, as we have remarked, have made fewer direct contributions to general literary criticism than the Continental nations; unless, indeed, we take into the account the periodical criticism, which has covered the

whole field with a light skirmishing, very unlike any systematic plan of operations. The good effect of this *guerrilla* warfare may well be doubted. Most of these critics for the nonce (and we certainly are competent judges on this point) come to their work with little previous preparation. Their attention has been habitually called, for the most part, in other directions; and they throw off an accidental essay in the brief intervals of other occupation. Hence their views are necessarily often superficial, and sometimes contradictory, as may be seen from turning over the leaves of any journal, where literary topics are widely discussed; for, whatever consistency may be demanded in politics or religion, very free scope is offered, even in the same journal, to literary speculation. Even when the article may have been the fruit of a mind ripened by study and meditation on congenial topics, it too often exhibits only the partial view suggested by the particular and limited direction of the author's thoughts in this instance. Now, truth is not much served by this irregular process; and the general illumination, indispensable to a full and fair survey of the whole ground, can never be supplied from such scattered and capricious gleams, thrown over it at random.

Another obstacle to a right result, is founded in the very constitution of review-writing. Miscellaneous in its range of topics, and addressed to a miscellaneous class of readers, its chief reliance for success, in competition with the thousand novelties of the day, is in the temporary interest it can excite. Instead of a conscientious discussion and cautious examination of the matter in hand, we too often find an attempt to stimulate the popular appetite, by picquant sallies of wit, by caustic sarcasm, or by a pert, dashing confidence, that cuts the knot it cannot readily unloose. Then, again, the spirit of periodical criticism would seem to be little favorable to perfect impartiality. The critic, shrouded in his secret tribunal, too often demeans himself like a stern inquisitor, whose business is rather to convict than to examine. Criticism is directed to scent out blemishes, instead of beauties. "*Judex damnatur cùm nocens absolvitur*," is the bloody motto of a well-known British periodical, which, under this piratical flag, has sent a broadside into many a gallant bark, that deserved better at its hands.

When we combine with all this the spirit of patriotism,

— or what passes for such with nine tenths of the world, the spirit of national vanity, — we shall find abundant motives for a deviation from a just, impartial estimate of foreign literatures. And if we turn over the pages of the best-conducted English journals, we shall probably find ample evidence of the various causes we have enumerated. We shall find, amidst abundance of shrewd and sarcastic observation, smart skirmish of wit, and clever antithesis, a very small infusion of sober, dispassionate criticism; the criticism founded on patient study and on strictly philosophical principles; the criticism on which one can safely rely as the criterion of good taste, and which, however tame it may appear to the jaded appetite of the literary lounger, is the only one that will attract the eye of posterity.

The work, named at the head of our article, will, we suspect, notwithstanding the author's brilliant reputation, never meet this same eye of posterity. Though purporting to be, in its main design, an Essay on English Literature, it is, in fact, a multifarious compound of as many ingredients as entered into the witches' caldron; to say nothing of a gallery of portraits of dead and living, among the latter of whom M. de Chateaubriand himself is not the least conspicuous. "I have treated of every thing," he says, truly enough, in his preface, "the Present, the Past, the Future." The parts are put together in the most grotesque and disorderly manner, with some striking coincidences, occasionally, of characters and situations, and some facts not familiar to every reader. The most unpleasant feature in the book, is the doleful lamentation of the author over the evil times on which he has fallen. He has, indeed, lived somewhat beyond his time, which was that of Charles the Tenth, of pious memory, — the good old time of apostolicals and absolutists, which will not be likely to revisit France again very soon. Indeed, our unfortunate author reminds one of some weather-beaten hulk, which the tide has left high and dry on the strand, and whose signals of distress are little heeded by the rest of the convoy, which have trimmed their sails more dexterously, and sweep merrily on before the breeze. The present work affords glimpses, occasionally, of the author's happier style, which has so often fascinated us in his earlier productions. On the whole, however, it will add little to his reputation; nor, probably, much subtract from it. When a man has

sent forth a score of octavos into the world, and as good as some of M. de Chateaubriand's, he can bear up under a poor one now and then. This is not the first indifferent work laid at his door, and, as he promises to keep the field for some time longer, it will probably not be the last.

We pass over the first half of the first volume, to come to the Reformation ; the point of departure, as it were, for modern civilization. Our author's views in relation to it, as we might anticipate, are not precisely those we should entertain.

" In a religious point of view," he says, " the Reformation is leading insensibly to indifference, or the complete absence of faith ; the reason is, that the independence of the mind terminates in two gulfs, — doubt and incredulity.

" By a very natural reaction, the Reformation at its birth rekindled the dying flame of Catholic fanaticism. It may thus be regarded as the indirect cause of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the disturbances of the League, the assassination of Henry the Fourth, the murders in Ireland, and of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the *dragonnades* " ! — Vol. i. p. 193.

As to the tendency of the Reformation towards doubt and incredulity, we know that free inquiry, continually presenting new views, as the sphere of observation is enlarged, may unsettle old principles without establishing any fixed ones in their place, or, in other words, lead to skepticism. But we doubt if this happens more frequently than under the opposite system, inculcated by the Romish church, which, by precluding examination, excludes the only ground of rational belief. At all events, skepticism, in the former case, is much more remediable than in the latter ; since the subject of it, by pursuing his inquiries, will, it is to be hoped, as truth is mighty, arrive, at last, at a right result ; while the Romanist, inhibited from such inquiry, has no remedy. The ingenious author of " Doblado's Letters from Spain " has painted in the most affecting colors the state of such a mind, which, declining to take its creed at the bidding of another, is lost in a labyrinth of doubt, without a clue to guide it. As to charging on the Reformation the various enormities with which the above extract concludes, the idea is certainly new. It is, in fact, making the Protestants guilty of their own persecution, and Henry the Fourth of

his own assassination ; quite an original view of the subject, which, as far as we know, has hitherto escaped the attention of historians.

A few pages further, and we pick up the following information respecting the state of Catholicism in our own country.

"Maryland, a Catholic and very populous State, made common cause with the others, and *now most of the Western States are Catholic.* The progress of this communion in the United States of America exceeds belief. There it has been invigorated in its evangelical aliment, popular liberty, *whilst other communions decline in profound indifference.*" — Vol. I. p. 201.

We were not aware of this state of things. We did, indeed, know, that the Roman church had increased much, of late years, especially in the valley of the Mississippi. But so have other communions, as the Methodist and the Baptist, for example, the latter of which comprehends five times as many disciples as the Roman Catholic. As to the population of the latter in the West, the whole number of Catholics in the Union does not amount, probably, to three fourths of the number of inhabitants in the single western State of Ohio. The truth is, that in a country, where there is no established or favored sect, and where the clergy depend on voluntary contribution for their support, there must be constant efforts at proselytism, and a mutation of religious opinion, according to the convictions, or fancied convictions, of the converts. What one denomination gains, another loses, till roused, in its turn, by its rival, new efforts are made to retrieve its position, and the equilibrium is restored. In the mean time, the population of the whole country goes forward with giant strides, and each sect boasts, and boasts with truth, of the hourly augmentation of its numbers. Those of the Roman Catholics are swelled, moreover, by a considerable addition from emigration, many of the poor foreigners, especially the Irish, being of that persuasion. But this is no ground of triumph, as it infers no increase to the sum of Catholicism ; since what is thus gained in the New World is lost in the Old.

Our author pronounces the Reformation hostile to the arts, poetry, eloquence, elegant literature, and even the spirit of military heroism. But hear his own words.

"The Reformation, imbued with the spirit of its founder,

declared itself hostile to the arts. It sacked tombs, churches, and monuments, and made in France and England heaps of ruins." . . . . .

"The beautiful in literature will be found to exist in a greater or less degree, in proportion as writers have approximated to the genius of the Roman church." . . . . .

"If the Reformation restricted genius in poetry, eloquence, and the arts, it also checked heroism in war, for heroism is imagination in the military order." — Vol. I. pp. 194–207.

This is a sweeping denunciation; and, as far as the arts of design are intended, may probably be defended. The Romish worship, its stately ritual and gorgeous ceremonies, the throng of numbers assisting, in one form or another, at the service, all required spacious and magnificent edifices, with the rich accessories of sculpture and painting, and music also, to give full effect to the spectacle. Never was there a religion which addressed itself more directly to the senses. And, fortunately for it, the immense power and revenues of its ministers enabled them to meet its exorbitant demands. On such a splendid theatre, and under such patronage, the arts were called into life in modern Europe, and most of all in that spot, which represented the capital of Christendom. It was there, amid the pomp and luxury of religion, that those beautiful structures rose, with those exquisite creations of the chisel and the pencil, which embodied in themselves all the elements of ideal beauty.

But, independently of these external circumstances, the spirit of Catholicism was eminently favorable to the artist. Shut out from free inquiry, — from the Scriptures themselves, — and compelled to receive the dogmas of his teachers upon trust, the road to conviction lay less through the understanding, than the heart. The heart was to be moved, the affections and sympathies to be stirred, as well as the senses to be dazzled. This was the machinery, by which only could an effectual devotion to the faith be maintained in an ignorant people. It was not, therefore, Christ as a teacher, delivering lessons of practical wisdom and morality, that was brought before the eye, but Christ filling the offices of human sympathy, ministering to the poor and sorrowing, giving eyes to the blind, health to the sick, and life to the dead. It was Christ suffering under persecution, crowned with thorns, lacerated with stripes, dying on the cross.

These sorrows and sufferings were understood by the dullest soul, and told more than a thousand homilies. So with the Virgin. It was not that sainted mother of the Saviour, whom Protestants venerate, but do not worship ; it was the Mother of God, and entitled, like him, to adoration. It was a woman, and as such the object of those romantic feelings, which would profane the service of the Deity, but which are not the less touching, as being in accordance with human sympathies. The respect for the Virgin, indeed, partook of that which a Catholic might feel for his tutelar saint and his mistress combined. Orders of chivalry were dedicated to her service ; and her shrine was piled with more offerings, and frequented by more pilgrimages, than the altars of the Deity himself. Thus, feelings of love, adoration, and romantic honor, strangely blended, threw a halo of poetic glory, if we may so say, around their object, making it the most exalted theme for the study of the artist. What wonder, that this subject should have called forth the noblest inspirations of his genius ? What wonder, that an artist, like Raphael, should have found, in the simple portraiture of a woman and a child, the materials for immortality ?

It was something like a kindred state of feeling, which called into being the arts of ancient Greece, when her mythology was comparatively fresh, and faith was easy ; when the legends of the past, familiar as Scripture story at a later day, gave a real existence to the beings of fancy, and the artist, embodying these in forms of visible beauty, but finished the work which the poet had begun.

The Reformation brought other trains of ideas, and with them other influences on the arts, than those of Catholicism. Indeed, its first movements were decidedly hostile, since the works of art, with which the temples were adorned, being associated with the religion itself, became odious as the symbols of idolatry. But the spirit of the Reformation gave thought a new direction, even in the cultivation of art. It was no longer sought to appeal to the senses by brilliant display, or to waken the sensibilities by those superficial emotions, which find relief in tears. A sterner, deeper feeling was roused. The mind was turned within, as it were, to ponder on the import of existence and its future destinies. For the chains were withdrawn from the soul, and it was permitted to wander at large in the regions of speculation.

Reason took the place of sentiment, — the useful of the merely ornamental. Facts were substituted for forms, even the ideal forms of beauty. There were to be no more Michael-Angelos and Raphaels, no glorious Gothic temples, which consumed generations in their building. The sublime and the beautiful were not the first objects proposed by the artist. He sought truth, — fidelity to nature. He studied the characters of his species, as well as the forms of imaginary perfection. He portrayed life, as developed in its thousand peculiarities before his own eyes ; and the ideal gave way to the natural. In this way, new schools of painting, like that of Hogarth, for example, arose, which, however inferior in those great properties for which we must admire the master-pieces of Italian art, had a significance and philosophic depth, which furnished quite as much matter for study and meditation.

A similar tendency was observable in poetry, eloquence, and works of elegant literature. The influence of the Reformation here, indeed, was undoubtedly favorable, whatever it may have been on the arts. How could it be otherwise on literature, the written expression of thought, in which no grace of visible forms and proportions, no skill of mechanical execution, can cheat the eye with the vain semblance of genius ? But it was not until the warm breath of the Reformation had dissolved the icy fetters which had so long held the spirit of man in bondage, that the genial current of the soul was permitted to flow ; that the gates of reason were unbarred, and the mind was permitted to taste of the tree of knowledge, forbidden tree no longer. Where was the scope for eloquence, when thought was stifled in the very sanctuary of the heart ? For out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh.

There might, indeed, be an elaborate attention to the outward forms of expression ; an exquisite finish of verbal arrangement, the dress and garniture of thought. And, in fact, the Catholic nations have surpassed the Protestant in attention to verbal elegance and the soft music of numbers, to nice rhetorical artifice and brilliancy of composition. The poetry of Italy, and the prose of France, bear ample evidence how much time and talent have been expended on this beauty of outward form, the rich vehicle of thought. But where shall we find the powerful reasoning, various knowledge, and

fearless energy of diction, which stamp the oratory of Protestant England and America? In France, indeed, where prose has received a higher polish and classic elegance than in any other country, pulpit eloquence has reached an uncommon degree of beauty. For, though much was excluded, the avenues to the heart, as with the painter and the sculptor, were still left open to the orator. If there has been a deficiency, in this respect, in the English church, which all will not admit, it is probably that the mind, unrestricted, has been occupied with reasoning, rather than rhetoric, and sought to clear away old prejudices and establish new truths, instead of wakening a transient sensibility, or dazzling the imagination with poetic flights of eloquence. That it is the fault of the preacher, at all events, and not of Protestanism, is shown by a striking example under our own eyes, that of our distinguished countryman, Dr. Channing, whose style is irradiated with all the splendors of a glowing imagination, showing, as powerfully as any other example, probably, in English prose, of what melody and compass the language is capable, under the touch of genius instinct with genuine enthusiasm. Not that we would recommend this style, grand and beautiful as it is, for imitation. We think we have seen the ill effects of this already, in more than one instance. In fact, no style should be held up as a model for imitation. Dr. Johnson tells us, in one of those oracular passages somewhat threadbare now, that "whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison." With all deference to the Doctor, who, by the formal cut of his own sentence just quoted, shows, that he did not care to follow his own prescription, we think otherwise. Whoever would write a good English style, we should say, should acquaint himself with the mysteries of the language, as revealed in the writings of the best masters, but should form his own style on nobody but himself. Every man, at least every man with a spark of originality in his composition, has his own peculiar way of thinking; and, to give it effect, it must find its way out in its own peculiar language. Indeed, it is impossible to separate language from thought, in that delicate blending of both which is called style. At least, it is impossible to produce the same effect with the original, by any copy, however literal. We may, indeed, imitate the struc-

ture of a sentence, but the ideas, which gave it its peculiar propriety, we cannot imitate. The forms of expression, that suit one man's train of thinking, no more suit another's, than one man's clothes will suit another. They will be sure to be either too big or too small, or, at all events, not to make what gentlemen of the needle call *a good fit.* If the party chances, as is generally the case, to be rather under-size, and the model is over-size, this will only expose his own littleness the more. There is no case more in point than that afforded by Dr. Johnson himself. His brilliant style has been the ambition of every school-boy, and of some children of larger growth, since the days of the Rambler. But the nearer they come to it, the worse. The beautiful is turned into the fantastic, and the sublime into the ridiculous. The most curious example of this, within our recollection, is the case of Dr. Symmons, the English editor of Milton's prose writings, and the biographer of the poet. The little Doctor has maintained, throughout his ponderous volume, a most exact imitation of the great Doctor, his sesquipedalian words, and florid rotundity of period. With all this cumbrous load of brave finery on his back, swelled to twice his original dimensions, he looks, for all the world, as he is, like a mere bag of wind, — a scarecrow, to admonish others of the folly of similar depredations.

But to return. The influence of the Reformation on elegant literature was never more visible than in the first great English school of poets, which came soon after it, at the close of the sixteenth century. The writers of that period, one and all, displayed a courage, originality, and truth, highly characteristic of the new revolution, which had been introduced by breaking down the old landmarks of opinion, and giving unbounded range to speculation and inquiry. The first great poet, Spenser, adopted the same vehicle of imagination with the Italian bards of chivalry, the romantic epic ; but instead of making it, like them, a mere revel of fancy, with no further object than to delight the reader by brilliant combinations, he moralized his song, and gave it a deeper and more solemn import by the mysteries of Allegory, which, however prejudicial to its effect as a work of art, showed a mind too intent on serious thoughts and inquiries itself, to be content with the dazzling but impotent coruscations of genius, that serve no other end than that of amusement.

In the same manner, Shakspeare and the other dramatic writers of the time, instead of adopting the formal rules recognised afterwards by the French writers, their long rhetorical flourishes, their exaggerated models of character, and ideal forms, went freely and fearlessly into all the varieties of human nature, the secret depths of the soul, touching on all the diversified interests of humanity, — for he might touch on all without fear of persecution, — and thus making his productions a store-house of philosophy, of lessons of practical wisdom, deep, yet so clear, that he who runs may read.

But the spirit of the Reformation did not descend in all its fulness on the Muse, till the appearance of Milton. That great poet was, in heart, as thoroughly a reformer, and, in doctrine, much more thoroughly so, than Luther himself. Indignant at every effort to crush the spirit, and to cheat it, in his own words, "of that liberty, which rarefies and enlightens it like the influence of heaven," he proclaimed the rights of man as a rational, immortal being, undismayed by menace and obloquy, amidst a generation of servile and unprincipled sycophants. The blindness, which excluded him from the things of earth, opened to him more glorious and spiritualized conceptions of heaven; and aided him in exhibiting the full influence of those sublime truths, which the privilege of free inquiry in religious matters had poured upon the mind. His Muse was as eminently the child of Protestanism, as that of Dante, who resembled him in so many traits of character, was of Catholicism. The latter poet, coming first among the moderns, after the fountains of the great deep, which had so long overwhelmed the world, were broken up, displayed, in his wonderful composition, all the elements of modern institutions, as distinguished from those of antiquity. He first showed the full and peculiar influence of Christianity on literature. But it was Christianity under the form of Catholicism. His subject, spiritual in its design, like Milton's, was sustained by all the auxiliaries of a visible and material existence. His passage through the infernal abyss is a series of tragic pictures of human woe, suggesting greater refinements of cruelty than were ever imagined by a heathen poet. Amid all the various forms of mortal anguish, we look in vain for the mind as a means of torture; at least, we recall but one solitary exception to this remark. In like manner, in ascending the scale of celestial being, we

pass through a succession of brilliant *fêtes*, made up of light, music, and motion, increasing in splendor and velocity, till all are lost and confounded in the glories of the Deity. Even the pencil of the great master, dipped in these gorgeous tints of fancy, does not shrink from the attempt to portray the outlines of Deity itself. In this he aspired to what many of his countrymen in the sister arts of design have since attempted, and, like him, have failed. For who can hope to give form to the Infinite? In the same false style, Dante personifies the spirits of evil; and Satan himself is drawn in all the bugbear monstrosities of a superstitious fancy, or, more properly, age. For much was, doubtless, owing to the age, though much, also, must be referred to the genius of Catholicism, which, appealing to the senses, has a tendency to materialize the spiritual, as Protestantism, with deeper reflection, aims to spiritualize the material. Thus Milton, in treading similar ground, borrows his illustrations from intellectual sources; conveys the image of the Almighty by his attributes; and, in the frequent portraiture which he introduces of Satan, suggests only vague conceptions of form, the faint outlines of matter, as it were, stretching vast over many a rood, but towering sublime by the unconquerable energy of his will, — the fit representative of the principle of evil. Indeed, Milton has scarcely any thing of what may be called scenic decorations, to produce a certain stage effect. His actors are few, and his action nothing. It is only by their intellectual and moral relations, by giving full scope to the

> "Cherub Contemplation,
> He that soars on golden wing,
> Guiding the fiery-wheeled throne,"

that he has prepared for us visions of celestial beauty and grandeur, which never fade from our souls.

In the dialogue with which the two poets have seasoned their poems, we see the action of the opposite influences we have described. Both give vent to metaphysical disquisition, of learned sound, and much greater length than the reader would desire. But in Milton it is the free discussion of a mind trained to wrestle boldly on abstrusest points of metaphysical theology; while Dante follows in the same old, barren footsteps which had been trodden by the schoolmen. Both writers were singularly bold and independent. Dante asserted that liberty which should belong to the citizen of

every free state ; that civil liberty which had been sacrificed, in his own country, by the spirit of faction. But Milton claimed a higher freedom ; a freedom of thinking and of giving utterance to thought, uncontrolled by human authority. He had fallen, indeed, on evil times. But he had a generous confidence, that his voice would reach to posterity, and would be a guide and a light to the coming generations. And truly has it proved so ; for in his writings we find the germs of many of the boasted discoveries of our own day in government and education ; so that he may be fairly considered as the morning star of that higher civilization, which distinguishes our happier era.

Milton's poetical writings do not seem, however, to have been held in that neglect by his contemporaries, which is commonly supposed. He had attracted too much attention as a political controversialist, was too much feared for his talents, as well as hated for his principles, to allow any thing which fell from his pen to pass unnoticed. He lived to see a second edition of "Paradise Lost," and this was more than was to have been fairly anticipated of a composition of this nature, however well executed, falling on such times. Indeed, its sale was no evidence that its merits were comprehended, and may be referred to the general reputation of its author. For we find so accomplished a critic as Sir William Temple, some years later, omitting the name of Milton in his roll of writers who have done honor to modern literature ; a circumstance which may, perhaps, be imputed to that reverence for the ancients, which blinded Sir William to the merits of their successors. How could Milton be understood in his own generation, — in the grovelling, sensual court of Charles the Second ? How could the dull eyes, so long fastened on the earth, endure the blaze of his inspired genius ? It was not till time had removed him to a distance, that he could be calmly gazed on, and his merits fairly contemplated. Indeed, Addison, as is well known, was the first to bring them into popular view, by a beautiful specimen of criticism, that has permanently connected his name with that of his illustrious subject. More than half a century later, another great name in English criticism, perhaps the greatest in general reputation, Johnson, passed sentence of a very different kind on the pretensions of the poet. A production more discreditable to the author is not to be found in the whole of his voluminous

works ; equally discreditable, whether regarded in an historical light, or as a sample of literary criticism. What shall we say of the biographer, who, in allusion to that affecting passage, where the blind old bard talks of himself as "in darkness, and with dangers compast round," can coolly remark, that "this darkness, had his eyes been better employed, might undoubtedly have deserved compassion"? Or what of the critic, who can say of the most exquisite effusion of Doric minstrelsy that our language boasts, "Surely, no man could have fancied, that he read 'Lycidas' with pleasure, had he not known the author" ; and of "Paradise Lost" itself, that "its perusal is a duty rather than a pleasure"? Could a more exact measure be afforded than by this single line, of the poetic sensibility of the critic, and his unsuitableness for the office he had here assumed? His "Life of Milton" is a humiliating testimony of the power of political and religious prejudices to warp a great and good mind from the standard of truth, in his estimation, not merely of contemporary excellence, but of the great of other years, over whose frailties Time might be supposed to have drawn his friendly mantle.

Another half century has elapsed, and ample justice has been rendered to the fame of the poet, by two elaborate criticisms, the one in the Edinburgh Review, from the pen of Mr. Macauley ; the other by Dr. Channing, in the "Christian Examiner," since republished in his own works ; remarkable performances, each in the manner highly characteristic of its author, and which have contributed, doubtless, to draw attention to the prose compositions of their subject, as the criticism of Addison did to his poetry. There is something gratifying in the circumstance, that this great advocate of intellectual liberty should have found his most able and eloquent expositor among us, whose position qualifies us, in a peculiar manner, for profiting by the rich legacy of his genius. It was but discharging a debt of gratitude.

Chateaubriand has much to say about Milton, for whose writings, both prose and poetry, notwithstanding the difference of their sentiments on almost all points of politics and religion, he appears to entertain the most sincere reverence. His criticisms are liberal and just. They show a thorough study of his author ; but neither the historical facts nor the reflections will suggest much that is new, on a subject now become trite to the English reader.

We may pass over a good deal of skimble-skamble stuff about men and things, which our author may have cut out of his commonplace-book, to come to his remarks on Sir Walter Scott, whom he does not rate so highly as most critics.

"The illustrious painter of Scotland," he says, "seems to me to have created a false class; he has, in my opinion, confounded history and romance; the novelist has set about writing historical romances, and the historian romantic histories." — Vol. II. p. 306.

We should have said, on the contrary, that he had improved the character of both; that he had given new value to romance, by building it on history, and new charms to history, by embellishing it with the graces of romance.

To be more explicit. The principal historical work of Scott is the "Life of Napoleon." It has doubtless many of the faults incident to a dashing style of composition, which precluded the possibility of compression and arrangement in the best form of which the subject was capable. This, in the end, may be fatal to the perpetuity of the work; for posterity will be much less patient than our own age. He will have a much heavier load to carry, inasmuch as he is to bear up under all of his own time, and ours too. It is very certain, then, some must go by the board; and nine sturdy volumes, which is the amount of Sir Walter's English edition, will be somewhat alarming. Had he confined himself to half the quantity, there would have been no ground for distrust. Every day, nay hour, we see, ay, and feel, the ill effects of this rapid style of composition, so usual with the best writers of our day. The immediate profits which such writers are pretty sure to get, notwithstanding the example of M. Chateaubriand, operate like the dressing improvidently laid on a naturally good soil, forcing out noxious weeds in such luxuriance, as to check, if not absolutely to kill, the more healthful vegetation. Quantities of trivial detail find their way into the page, mixed up with graver matters. Instead of that skilful preparation, by which all the avenues can verge at last to one point, so as to leave a distinct impression, an impression of unity, on the reader, he is hurried along zig-zag, in a thousand directions, or round and round, but never, in the cant of the times, "going ahead" an inch. He leaves off pretty much where he set out, except that his memory may be tolerably

well stuffed with facts, which, from want of some principle of cohesion, will soon drop out of it. He will find himself like a traveller, who has been riding through a fine country, it may be, by moonlight, getting glimpses of every thing, but no complete, well-illuminated view of the whole ("*quale per incertam lunam*" &c.); or rather, like the same traveller, whizzing along in a locomotive so rapidly, as to get even a glimpse fairly of nothing, instead of making his tour in such a manner as would enable him to pause at what was worth his attention, to pass by night over the barren and uninteresting, and occasionally to rise to such elevations as would afford the best points of view for commanding the various prospect.

The romance-writer labors under no such embarrassments. He may, indeed, precipitate his work, so that it may lack proportion, and the nice arrangement required by the rules, which, fifty years ago, would have condemned it as a work of art. But the criticism of the present day is not so squeamish, or, to say truth, pedantic. It is enough for the writer of fiction, if he give pleasure; and this, everybody knows, is not effected by the strict observance of artificial rules. It is of little consequence how the plot is snarled up, or whether it be untied or cut, in order to extricate the *dramatis personæ*. At least, it is of little consequence, compared with the true delineation of character. The story is serviceable only as it affords a means for the display of this; and if the novelist but keeps up the interest of his story and the truth of his characters, we easily forgive any dislocations which his light vehicle may encounter from too heedless motion. Indeed, rapidity of motion may in some sort favor him, keeping up the glow of his invention, and striking out, as he dashes along, sparks of wit and fancy, that give a brilliant illumination to his track. But in history there must be another kind of process; a process at once slow and laborious. Old parchments are to be ransacked, charters and musty records to be deciphered, and stupid, worm-eaten chroniclers, who had much more of passion, frequently, to blind, than good sense to guide them, must be sifted and compared. In short, a sort of Medea-like process is to be gone through, and many an old bone is to be boiled over in the caldron, before it can come out again clothed in the elements of beauty. The dreams of the novelist, — the poet of prose,

— on the other hand, are beyond the reach of art; and the magician calls up the most brilliant forms of fancy by a single stroke of his wand.

Scott, in his History, was relieved, in some degree, from this necessity of studious research, by borrowing his theme from contemporary events. It was his duty, indeed, to examine evidence carefully, and sift out contradictions and errors. This demanded shrewdness and caution, but not much previous preparation and study. It demanded, above all, candor; for it was his business, not to make out a case for a client, but to weigh both sides, like an impartial judge, before summing up the evidence, and delivering his conscientious opinion. We believe there is no good ground for charging Scott with having swerved from this part of his duty. Those, indeed, who expected to see him deify his hero, and raise altars to his memory, were disappointed; and so were those also, who demanded, that the tail and cloven hoof should be made to peep out beneath the imperial robe. But this proves his impartiality. It would be unfair, however, to require the degree of impartiality which is to be expected from one removed to a distance from the theatre of strife, from those national interests and feelings, which are so often the disturbing causes of historic fairness. An American, no doubt, would have been, in this respect, in a more favorable point of view for contemplating the European drama. The ocean, stretched between us and the Old World, has the effect of time, and extinguishes, or, at least, cools, the hot and angry feelings, which find their way into every man's bosom within the atmosphere of the contest. Scott was a Briton, with all the peculiarities of one, — at least, of a North Briton; and the future historian, who gathers materials from his labors, will throw these national predilections into the scale in determining the probable accuracy of his statements. These are not greater, however, than might occur to any man, and allowance will always be made for them, on the ground of a general presumption; so that a greater degree of impartiality, indeed, by leading to false conclusions in this respect, would scarcely have served the cause of truth better with posterity. An individual, who felt his reputation compromised, may have made fight, indeed, on this or that charge of inaccuracy. But no such charge has come from any of the leading journals in the country, which, however, would

not have been slow to expose it, and which would not, considering the great popularity, and, consequently, influence of the work, have omitted, as they did, to notice it at all, had it afforded any obvious ground of exception on this score. Where, then, is the romance, which our author accuses Sir Walter of blending with history ?

He did, indeed, possess the power of giving a sort of dramatic interest to every thing he handled, whether true or fictitious, by his faithful portraiture of character, and his lively delineations of events. We shall look in vain, among the multitudinous records of the French Revolution, for a more exact, as well as comprehensive, view of its strange, checkered transactions and complicated causes. What a contrast does it present to that harlequin compound, which passes under the name of History, by Carlyle ; in which the author flounders on, amid a sort of "crude consistence," half prose, half poetry, like Milton's Devil, working his way through Chaos,

> "A boggy Syrtis, neither sea
> Nor good dry land."

Scott had too masculine a spirit to condescend to such affectations ; and too sound a taste, to attempt to produce effect by overcoloring what Nature may be said to have colored too highly before. He knew that a simple statement of the extraordinary events of the time, was all that was demanded for effect.

Scott was, in truth, master of the picturesque. He understood, better than any historian since the time of Livy, how to dispose his lights and shades so as to produce the most striking result. This property of romance he had a right to borrow. This talent is particularly observable in the animated parts of his story, — in his battles, for example. No man ever painted those terrible scenes with greater effect. He had a natural relish for gunpowder ; and his mettle roused, like that of the war-horse, at the sound of the trumpet. His acquaintance with military science enabled him to employ a technical phraseology, just technical enough to give a knowing air to his descriptions, without embarrassing the reader by a pedantic display of unintelligible jargon. This is a talent rare in a civilian. Nothing can be finer than many of his battle-pieces in his "Life of Bonaparte," unless, indeed, we except one or two in his "History of Scotland" ; as

the fight of Bannockburn, for example, in which Burns's "Scots, wha hae" seems to breathe in every line.

It is when treading on Scottish ground, that he seems to feel all his strength. "I seem always to step more firmly," he said to some one, "when on my own native heather." His mind was steeped in Scottish lore, and his bosom warmed with a sympathetic glow for the age of chivalry. Accordingly his delineations of this period, whether in history or romance, are unrivalled; as superior in effect to those of most compilers, as the richly-stained glass of the feudal ages is superior in beauty and brilliancy of tints to a modern imitation. If this be borrowing something from romance, it is, we repeat, no more than what is lawful for the historian, and explains the meaning of our assertion, that he has improved history by the embellishments of fiction.

Yet, after all, how wide the difference between the province of history and of romance, under Scott's own hands, may be shown by comparing his account of Mary's reign in his "History of Scotland," with the same period in the novel of "The Abbot." The historian must keep the beaten track of events. The novelist launches into the illimitable regions of fiction, provided only that his historic portraits be true to their originals. By due attention to this, fiction is made to minister to history, and may, in point of fact, contain as much real truth, — truth of character, though not of situation. "The difference between the historian and me," says Fielding, "is, that with him every thing is false but the names and dates; while with me nothing is false but these." There is at least as much truth in this as in most witticisms.

It is the great glory of Scott, that, by nice attention to costume and character in his novels, he has raised them to historic importance, without impairing their interest as works of art. Who now would imagine, that he could form any thing like a satisfactory notion of the golden days of Queen Bess, that had not read "Kenilworth"? or of Richard Cœur-de-Lion and his brave paladins, that had not read "Ivanhoe"? Why, then, it has been said, not at once incorporate into regular history all these traits, which give such historical value to the novel? Because, in this way, the strict truth, which history requires, would be violated. This cannot be. The fact is, History and Romance are too near

akin, ever to be lawfully united. By mingling them together, a confusion is produced, like the mingling of day and night, mystifying and distorting every feature of the landscape. It is enough for the novelist, if he be true to the spirit; the historian must be true, also, to the letter. He cannot coin pertinent remarks and anecdotes to illustrate the characters of his drama. He cannot even provide them with suitable costumes. He must take just what Father Time has given him, just what he finds in the records of the age, setting down neither more nor less. Now, the dull chroniclers of the old time rarely thought of putting down the smart sayings of the great people they biographize; still less of entering into minute circumstances of personal interest. These were too familiar to contemporaries to require it; and, therefore, they waste their breath on more solemn matters of state, all-important in their generation, but not worth a rush in the present. What would the historian not give, could he borrow those fine touches of nature, with which the novelist illustrates the characters of his actors, — natural touches, indeed, but in truth just as artificial as any other part, — all coined in the imagination of the writer. There is the same difference between his trade and that of the novelist, that there is between the historical and the portrait painter. The former necessarily takes some great subject, with great personages, all strutting about in gorgeous state attire, and air of solemn tragedy; while his brother artist insinuates himself into the family groups, and picks out natural, familiar scenes and faces, laughing or weeping, but in the charming undress of nature. What wonder that novel-reading should be so much more amusing than history?

But we have already trespassed too freely on the patience of our readers, who will think the rambling spirit of our author contagious. Before dismissing him, however, we will give a taste of his quality, by one or two extracts, not very germane to English literature, but about as much so as a great part of the work. The first is a poetical sally on Bonaparte's burial-place, quite in Monsieur Chateaubriand's peculiar vein.

"The solitude of Napoleon, in his exile and his tomb, has thrown another kind of spell over a brilliant memory. Alexander did not die in sight of Greece; he disappeared amid the pomp of distant Babylon. Bonaparte did not close his eyes in the presence of France; he passed away in the gorgeous hori-

zon of the torrid zone. The man, who had shown himself in such powerful reality, vanished like a dream ; his life, which belonged to history, coöperated in the poetry of his death. He now sleeps for ever, like a hermit or a paria, beneath a willow, in a narrow valley, surrounded by steep rocks, at the extremity of a lonely path. The depth of the silence, which presses upon him, can only be compared to the vastness of that tumult which had surrounded him. Nations are absent ; their throng has retired. The bird of the tropics, harnessed to the car of the sun, as Buffon magnificently expresses it, speeding his flight downwards from the planet of light, rests alone, for a moment, over the ashes, the weight of which has shaken the equilibrium of the globe.

" Bonaparte crossed the ocean, to repair to his final exile, regardless of that beautiful sky which delighted Columbus, Vasco de Gama, and Camoëns. Stretched upon the ship's stern, he perceived not that unknown constellations were sparkling over his head. His powerful glance, for the first time, encountered their rays. What to him were stars which he had never seen from his bivouacs, and which had never shone over his empire ? Nevertheless, not one of them has failed to fulfil its destiny ; one half of the firmament spread its light over his cradle ; the other half was reserved to illuminate his tomb."—Vol. II. pp. 185, 186.

The next extract relates to the British statesman, William Pitt.

" Pitt, tall and slender, had an air at once melancholy and sarcastic. His delivery was cold, his intonation monotonous, his action scarcely perceptible ; at the same time the lucidness and the fluency of his thoughts, the logic of his arguments, suddenly irradiated with flashes of eloquence, rendered his talent something above the ordinary line.

" I frequently saw Pitt walking across St. James's Park, from his own house to the palace. On his part, George the Third arrived from Windsor, after drinking beer out of a pewter pot with the farmers of the neighbourhood ; he drove through the mean courts of his mean habitation in a grey chariot, followed by a few of the horse-guards. This was the master of the kings of Europe, as five or six merchants of the city are the masters of India. Pitt, dressed in black, with a steel-hilted sword by his side, and his hat under his arm, ascended, taking two or three steps at a time. In his passage he only met with three or four emigrants who had nothing to do ; casting on us a disdainful look, he turned up his nose and his pale face, and passed on.

"At home, this great financier kept no sort of order; he had no regular hours for his meals, or for sleep. Over head and ears in debt, he paid nobody, and never could take the trouble to cast up a bill. A *valet-de-chambre* managed his house. Ill dressed, without pleasure, without passion, greedy of power, he despised honors, and would not be any thing more than William Pitt.

"In the month of June, 1822, Lord Liverpool took me to dine at his country-house. As we crossed Putney-Heath, he showed me the small house, where the son of Lord Chatham, the statesman who had had Europe in his pay, and distributed with his own hand all the treasures of the world, died in poverty."—Vol. II. pp. 277, 278.

The following extracts show the changes that have taken place in English manners and society, and may afford the "whiskered pandour" of our own day an opportunity of contrasting his style of dandyism with that of the preceding generation.

"Separated from the continent by a long war, the English retained their manners and their national character till the end of the last century. All was not yet machine in the working classes, — folly in the upper classes. On the same pavements, where you now meet squalid figures, and men in frock coats, you were passed by young girls with white tippets, straw hats tied under the chin with a riband, with a basket on the arm, in which was fruit or a book; all kept their eyes cast down, all blushed when one looked at them. Frock coats, without any other, were so unusual in London, in 1793, that a woman, deploring with tears the death of Louis the Sixteenth, said to me, 'But, my dear Sir, is it true, that the poor king was dressed in a frock coat when they cut off his head?'

"The gentlemen-farmers had not yet sold their patrimony to take up their residence in London; they still formed, in the House of Commons, that independent fraction, which, transferring their support from the opposition to the ministerial side, upheld the ideas of order and propriety. They hunted the fox and shot pheasants in autumn, ate fat goose at Michaelmas, greeted the sirloin with shouts of 'Roast beef for ever!' complained of the present, extolled the past, cursed Pitt and the war, which doubled the price of port wine, and went to bed drunk, to begin the same life again on the following day. They felt quite sure, that the glory of Great Britain would not perish, so long as 'God save the king' was sung, the rotten boroughs maintained, the game-laws enforced, and hares and partridges could be sold by stealth, at market, under the names of lions and ostriches."—Vol. II. pp. 279, 280.

"In 1822, at the time of my embassy to London, the fashionable was expected to exhibit, at the first glance, an unhappy and unhealthy man; to have an air of negligence about his person, long nails, a beard neither entire nor shaven, but as if grown for a moment unawares, and forgotten during the preoccupations of wretchedness; hair in disorder; a sublime, mild, wicked eye; lips compressed in disdain of human nature; a Byronian heart, overwhelmed with weariness and disgust of life.

"The dandy of the present day must have a conquering, frivolous, insolent look. He must pay particular attention to his toilet, wear mustaches, or a beard trimmed into a circle, like Queen Elizabeth's ruff, or like the radiant disk of the sun. He shows the proud independence of his character by keeping his hat upon his head, by lolling upon sofas, by thrusting his boots into the faces of the ladies, seated in admiration upon chairs before him. He rides with a cane, which he carries like a taper, regardless of the horse, which he bestrides, as it were, by accident. His health must be perfect, and he must always have five or six felicities upon his hands. Some radical dandies, who have advanced the furthest towards the future, have a pipe. But, no doubt, all this has changed, even during the time that I have taken to describe it."—Vol. II. pp. 303, 304.

The avowed purpose of the present work, singular as it may seem from the above extracts, is, to serve as an introduction to a meditated translation of Milton into French, since wholly, or in part, completed by M. Chateaubriand, who thinks, truly enough, that Milton's "political ideas make him a man of our own epoch." When an exile in England, in his early life, during the troubles of the Revolution, our author picked up a subsistence by translating some of Milton's verses; and he now proposes to render the bard and himself the same kind office by a version on a more extended scale. Thus, he concludes; "I again seat myself at the table of my poet. He will have nourished me in my youth, and my old age. It is nobler and safer to have recourse to glory than to power." Our author's situation is an indifferent commentary on the value of literary fame,—at least, on its pecuniary value. No man has had more of it in his day. No man has been more alert to make the most of it, by frequent, reiterated appearance before the public,—whether in full dress or dishabille,—yet always before them; and now, in the decline of life, we find him obtaining a

scanty support by "French translation and Italian song." We heartily hope, that the bard of "Paradise Lost" will do better for his translator than he did for himself, and that M. de Chateaubriand will put more than five pounds in his pocket by his literary labor.

ART. III. — *The Poems of* RICHARD MONCKTON MILNES, Author of "Memorials of a Tour in Greece." In Two Volumes. London: Edward Moxon. 1838. 8vo. pp. xvi. 208 and xii. 166.

THE external appearance of these volumes is attractive beyond the usual splendor of the London press, and indicates their connexion with the delicacies of English high life. The author everywhere makes known, in prefaces, dedications, and verses, his aristocratic standing; and, as might be expected, his works receive not a little of their character and coloring from this circumstance. Many of the pieces are connected with his own personal history, or that of his family and friends; many are suggested by scenes in his own and foreign lands; and some have that ambiguous air of half-real, half-fictitious, which renders it doubtful to the reader, whether they have any true meaning or not. Being mostly occasional, there is none of any considerable length. The first volume bears the title, "Poems of Many Years"; the second, that of "Memorials of a Residence on the Continent, and Historical Poems."

Among the latter no small number seem to have been written in imitation of Wordsworth's historical pieces, and, like many of them, are merely rhymed prose. It is surprising, that men can go on writing sonnets *à-propos* to every thing, with a fancy, that, because there are fourteen lines strung together by rule, therefore there is poetry. Others of these pieces have a good deal of sweetness and grace, marked by a love of nature, an affectionate sympathy with suffering, and a devotedness to friends and kindred, which are altogether amiable and winning. They give the feeling, that the author is a man of great gentlemanliness of character, of a contemplative turn of mind, elegant in his

tastes, and fitted to be loved by those near him ; but a poet more by circumstance, study, and imitation, than by native enthusiasm, or original fancy. Accordingly, his poetry, while possessing unusual merits of a certain kind, is yet defective and ineffectual from the want of the poetic soul. It wants impulse and glow. It is elaborate, elegant, stately, and sonorous in form and movement, generous, moral, and devout in sentiment, bearing with it an air of philosophical pretension, and shaded by a gentle touch of melancholy. But there is a frequent want of ease, and a straining after what is original and striking both in sentiment and diction, which turn the pleasure of perusal into laborious effort. The reader is not borne on by the current, but is obliged to bend his mind with an effort, and make a study of the verses. The poem, entitled "The Marvel of Life," will illustrate and justify these general remarks.

"O Life ! how like the common breathed air,
Which is thy outward instrument, thou liest
Ever about us, with sustaining force,
In the calm current of our usual days
Unfelt, unthought of ; nay, how dense a crowd
Float on upborne by thy prolific stream,
Even to the ridges of the eternal sea,
Spending profuse the passion of their mind
On every flower that gleams on either bank,
On every rock that bends its rugged brow,
Conscious of all things, only not of thee.
Yet some there are, who, in their greenest youth,
At some rare hours, have known the dazzling light
Intolerable, that glares upon the soul,
In the mere sense of Being, and grown faint
With awe, and striven to press their folded hands
Upon their inner eyes, and bowed their heads,
As in the presence of a mighty Ghost,
Which they must feel, but cannot dare to see.
It is before me now, that fearful truth,
That single solitary truth, which hangs
In the dark heaven of our uncertainties,
Seen by no other light than its own fire,
Self-balanced, like the Arab Magian's tomb,
Between the inner and the outer World ; —
How utterly the wretched shred of Time,
Which in our blindness we call Human Life,
Is lost with all its train of circumstance,

And appanage of after and before,
In this eternal present ; that we Are,
No When, — no Where, — no How, — but that we Are, —
And nought besides ; — Nor when our dazed sight,
Weaned from its first keen wonder, learns to fix
The surer and more reasonable gaze
Of calm, concentrated philosophy
On this intense idea, have we gained
One instant's raising of the sacred veil,
One briefest glimpse into the sanctuary. —
We grasp at words, and find them meaningless,
Bind thoughts together that will not be bound,
But burst asunder at the very time
We hold them closest, — find we are awake
The while we seem to dream, and find we dream
The while we seem to be the most awake ;
And thus we are thrown on from sea to sea.
Can we take up the sparkles of choice light,
That dance upon the ruffled summer waters,
And make them up to one coherent sun ?
Can we transform the charred and molten dust
Into its elemental diamond ?
And, tho' thus impotent, we yet dare hope,
From this embased form, half earth, half heaven,
Of most imperfect fragmentary nature,
These scant materials of dethroned power,
This tarnisht Beauty, marred Divinity,
To fabricate a comprehensive scheme
Of absolute Existence, — to lay open
The knowledge of a clear concordant Whole,
And penetrate, with foully-scaled eyes,
The total scope, and utmost distances,
Of the Creations of the Living God.

* * * * *

" He was a bitter Mocker, that old Man
Who bade us ' know ourselves,' yet not unwise ;
For though the science of our Life and Being
Be unattained and unattainable
By these weak organs, though the athlete mind,
Hardened by practice of unpausing toil,
And fed to manhood with robustest meats,
Never can train its sinews strong enough
To raise itself from off the solid ground,
To which the mandate of creating Will
Has bound it ; though we all must patient stand,

Like statues on appointed pedestals,
Yet we may choose (since choice is given) to shun
Servile contentment or ignoble fear,
In the expression of our attitude ;
And with far-straining eyes, and hands upcast,
And feet half-raised, declare our painful state,
Yearning for wings to reach the fields of Truth,
Mourning for wisdom, panting to be free."

— Vol. I. pp. 117 – 120.

There is much that is fine in this, — the pomp of the numbers, the imposing solemnity of the tone, the richness of some of the imagery ; yet it clearly lies open to the exceptions we have made.

" The Papal Benediction, from St. Peter's " might be quoted as particularly characteristic, — a fine subject finely treated. It is, on the whole, a noble and sonorous ode. The grand introductory swell is, however, interrupted and ruined by a harsh change from the present to the past tense in the third stanza, which stops the reader abruptly, and puts him on thinking and puzzling in order to make out the sense. The seven closing stanzas roll upon the ear majestically, and touch the chord of the sublime ; but they do not bear critical scrutiny.

" Higher than ever lifted into space,
Rises the soveran dome, —
Into the Colonnade's immense embrace
Flows all the life of Rome ;

" The assembled peasants of a hundred mountains,
Beneath the Sun's clear disk,
Behold that peerless Whole of radiant Fountains, —
Exorcised Obelisk, —

" And massive Front, from whose high ridge outslanted,
A spacious awning fell ; —
The swaying breadth each gazer's breast enchanted
To follow its slow swell.

" Why are they met in their collective might,
That earnest multitude ?
Is it to vindicate some injured right,
By threat and clamor rude ?

" To watch with tip-toe foot and eager eye
Some mere device of Pride,
Meaningless pomp of regal vanity
The void of Truth to hide ?

" To feed some popular lust which cautious power
Would, for wise ends, restrain,
Not bartering to the passion of an hour
What ages toiled to gain ?

" Thanks, thanks to Heaven, that in these evil days,
Days of hard hearts and cold,
Days where no love is found in all our ways,
Where Man is overbold,

" And loathes all tender, mutual offices,
And nothing old reveres,
Unwilling to be seen upon his knees,
Ashamed of his own tears, —

" My soul the gracious privilege of this sight,
This priceless sight, has won,
A people of too simple faith to slight
A Father's benison ; —

" Not in low flattery, not in selfish dread,
Before one meek old man,
A people, a whole people, prostrated,
Infant and veteran.

" By that High-Priest in prelude of deep prayer
Implored and sanctified,
The benediction of paternal care
Can never be denied.

" Most surely from that narrow gallery,
The oriflamme unfurled,
Shelters within its grand benignity
Rome and the orbed world.

" The faintest wretch may catch the dew that falls
From those anointed lips,
And take away a wealth that never palls,
A joy without eclipse.

" Old pines, that darkly skirt the circling hills,
Bend down in grateful awe, —
Infuse the earth's dry heart, prolific rills,
With Love's unbroken law !

" Bear the glad tidings to your sister seas,
Mediterranean waves !
Let every muttering storm be husht in peace,
Silent the thunderous caves !

" And would my spirit from Earth's embasing rule
Were in this moment riven !
That I might pass through such fit vestibule
Up to the face of Heaven."

— Vol. II. pp. 81 – 84.

" A Dream in a Gondola " is a piece of a good deal of beauty, marred with defects already alluded to ; for example, the following awkward expression of a very common remark, occasioned by the fear of saying a thing in the usual way.

" It is the nature of the Life of Dream,
To make all action of our mental springs,
Howe'er unnatural, discrepant, and strange,
Be as the unfolding of most usual things."

Further on, speaking of the Gondola ; —

" Cradler of placid pleasures, deep delights,
Bosomer of the Poet's wearied mind,
Tempter from vulgar passions, scorns, and spites,
Enfolder of all feelings that be kind, —
Before our souls thy quiet motions spread,
In one great calm, one undivided plain,
Immediate joy, blest memories of the dead,
And iris-tinted forms of hope's domain,
Child of the still Lagoons,
Open to every show
Of summer sunsets and autumnal moons,
Such as no other space of world can know, —
Dear Boat, that makest dear
Whatever thou com'st near,
In thy repose still let me gently roam,
Still on thy couch of beauty find a home ;
Still let me share thy comfortable peace
With all I have of dearest upon Earth,

> Friend, mistress, sister ; and when death's release
> Shall call my spirit to another birth,
> Would that I might thus lightly lapse away,
> Alone, — by moonlight, — in a Gondola."
>
> — Vol. II. pp. 44, 45.

Some of these lines are very sweet, and we can entirely sympathize in this relish for the luxury of the gondola. But the general strain and expression is got up ; it is contortion without inspiration, and so wholly make-believe, that it is clear, from the closing lines, the poet did not perceive whether he were alone or in company. In the first lines quoted we also see how his very common fault, of seeking for effect by unusual expression, leads to far-fetched and questionable terms ; " cradler of pleasures," " bosomer of the mind," " enfolder of feelings," are not very happy designations for a boat. So, too, in an address to a child of nine years, he gives thanks, that the " unnatural bondage of a school " has not

> " Blasphemed the Godhead of thy vernal years ; "

which may be very strong, but it is very bad.

We wish that we could speak with more unqualified praise of a book, which has left so favorable an impression of the character of its author. Perhaps we are too insensible to its beauties, and too alive to its faults. If so, we shall not prevent its finding admirers, while we shall feel, that we have only discharged a duty in pointing out blemishes, which some might take for beauties, and doing what we may to put a stop to errors sanctioned by such an example.

ART. IV. — *Algic Researches, comprising Inquiries respecting the Mental Characteristics of the North American Indians. First Series. Indian Tales and Legends.* In Two Volumes. By HENRY ROWE SCHOOLCRAFT, Author of a Narrative Journal of Travels to the Sources of the Mississippi ; Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley ; An Expedition to Itasca Lake, &c. New York : Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 248 and 244.

SEVERAL years since, a few gentlemen of intelligence in the Northwest associated themselves for the purpose of col-

lecting facts relating to the Indian character, condition, &c., and putting them into a shape to be preserved. The first suggestion of this society came, we believe, from Mr. H. R. Schoolcraft, who was very properly placed at the head of it, and who gave the name, "Algic," by which it was known, — a term formed from the Indian word from which Alleghany is taken, and denoting "all that family of tribes, which, about A. D. 1600, was spread out, with local exceptions, along the Atlantic, between Pamlico Sound and the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, extending northwest to the Missinipi of Hudson's Bay, and west to the Mississippi." Mr. Schoolcraft at once set himself at work to fulfil the purpose for which this society was formed, or rather, began to arrange his past labors, and proceeded to further researches with new zeal. We have not heard what was done by others. It is probable, that Mr. Schoolcraft alone has produced any useful result, though other members may have encouraged his zeal, and urged on his progress.

In the "General Considerations," prefixed to the volumes, of which the foregoing is the title, Mr. Schoolcraft remarks, upon the collections he has made respecting the Indians, that "materials exist" (that is, have been collected by him) "for separate observations on their oral traditions, fictitious and historical; their hieroglyphics, music, and poetry; and the grammatical structure of the languages, their principles of combination, and the actual state of their vocabulary." Out of these materials he has chosen, for present publication, the "Oral Tales," which form a "First Series" of his "Algic Researches." When the other series are to appear, "will depend," Mr. Schoolcraft says, "upon the interest manifested by the public in the subject, and the leisure and health necessary to the examination of a mass of original papers, the accumulation of nearly twenty years." That this interest will be manifested, we not only hope, but believe. We cannot admit, that the opportunity to acquire such valuable stores of information on the "mythology, distinctive opinions, and intellectual character" of the Indians, is likely to be lost through lukewarmness, or want of proper patronage, on the part of the reading public. These interesting points relate to a race, which, from being the sole possessors of the Western hemisphere, — the new world which Columbus discovered and opened to the old, —

has dwindled into fractions of people, fast becoming less and less, with a principle of decay mingled in their institutions, or pervading their customs, which threatens them, in spite of all the efforts of philanthropy and conservative legislation, with extinction in the course of a few generations. However we may regard the causes which have produced this result, and wherever we may incline to fix the responsibility of having put them in operation, we shall not the less value all memorials that give us an insight into the habits and opinions of this fated race. In the same degree that we deplore the hard destiny that is hunting it down, and feel a sorrowful conviction that it is inevitable, we shall prize all evidences that are recorded to assist us, and those who may come after us, in judging of them in these respects.

No traveller has ever been among the Indians without gathering up something, which he considered illustrative of their customs, languages, or history, well knowing that the public curiosity was awake to all such sketches ; that they dashed a spice into his pages. Thus far we have had but small means to determine the authenticity of these accounts. They were often discredited by disagreement, but we had no standard by which we could determine the right. In the works which Mr. Schoolcraft now gives to the public, and those which are to follow, we may flatter ourselves, that this standard is likely to be set up. His advantages have been great, and almost peculiar. Before he became fixed among the Indians in an official capacity, he had passed through their wide-spread country in many and various directions, as his " Travels " show. He had thus far seen them under all the aspects which present themselves to the eye of ordinary travellers. His books of travels all contain much information relative to the tribes he saw ; but this information was necessarily superficial, excepting as to externals, numbers, &c. In this respect he was like his predecessors, excepting, perhaps, that he did not profess to have seen so much as they.

It is well known to all who have had even a slight acquaintance with the Indians, that they are wrapped up in a close reserve before most of the whites, — all of them, with whom they have not become familiarized by long intercourse. Rapid observers, such as all travellers are, see little except this assumed exterior, which is intended to conceal, perhaps

to mislead. And it is most naturally impenetrable in proportion to the inquisitiveness which assails it. Hence such persons catch only views of the surface, and are left to conjecture as to all beneath. These conjectures, as might be expected, have been wild and jarring. Still, they were all, or nearly all, we were likely to have. It was scarcely probable, that any intelligent and well-educated man would be among the Indians for a series of years, upon a footing of unreserved intimacy, making the study of their character a constant object of zealous and benevolent pursuit. The sacrifice appeared to be such as very few would be willing to make. But Mr. Schoolcraft has been in that position; with what qualifications to improve it, the public well know.

Soon after his return from his travels with Governor Cass, in 1820, Mr. Schoolcraft determined to fix himself on the verge of the Northwest settlements, whence he might leisurely survey the grounds over which he had necessarily been hurried by the limits of a summer's tour, and where he might also have the Indian constantly under his eye, in all his varieties of character and condition. Accordingly he accepted an appointment under the government in the Indian Department, which established him over a large area as Superintendent of the Indians, having paternal relations with them, which must lead, in due course of time, to circumstances of intimacy, most favorable to the designs of a liberal curiosity. But this was not the chief advantage which Mr. Schoolcraft enjoyed. In this he might have been only on a footing with many of his contemporaries or predecessors, except in his literary tastes, and his fondness for investigation. At the Sault Ste. Marie, which was his station, Mr. Schoolcraft found an Irish gentleman, who had early obeyed the impulse of an adventurous spirit, and left his native country to embark in the fur-trade, a calling, which, at that time, held out strong inducements to all who were to be lured by a love of novel enterprise, as well as by a promise of easily gotten wealth. Mr. Johnson, while yet a young man, had established himself at the Sault as a fur-trader; thence making excursions, at proper seasons, into the regions of Lake Superior. Thus he became acquainted with one of the principal chiefs of that region, whose daughter he married, as has been detailed by Mrs. Jameson, in her recent Ram-

bles among the "Upper Lakes." The eldest daughter by this marriage, at a suitable age, was taken home to Ireland by her father to be educated, where she found a kind and efficient patronage in several ladies of rank, who took delight in watching the effect of cultivation on an exotic from so remote a region. She was brought back by her father to her distant home, with every intellectual accomplishment which an apt mind could acquire in the course of a few years. Not many years after this, she became the wife of Mr. Schoolcraft.

This allusion is made to domestic events, as having a strong bearing upon Mr. Schoolcraft's fitness for the undertaking he has in hand. Mrs. Schoolcraft became a most zealous and efficient coadjutor of her husband in his researches and observations. With a good knowledge of her father's mother-tongue, she combined a thorough knowledge of that of her mother. Through her the Indians, or a select portion of them, were admitted to the fireside of the agent as relations, having all the kindly privileges of such, and throwing off the reserve habitual with them under most connexions with the whites. Affinity smoothed the way to familiarity.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Schoolcraft has been maturing the collections, from which the Tales now published are taken, and which will enable him to illustrate their hieroglyphics, music, and poetry ; three sources of illustration which are likely to shed much light on the aboriginal mind, tastes, and history, as they strongly mark a race in its primeval stages, and also to illustrate the still higher department of information connected with their language.

In reference to this last branch of Mr. Schoolcraft's inquiries, his "Preliminary Observations" exhibit many hints, which show the important conclusions to which they may lead. There is no doubt, that language is the strongest, the most enduring, affiliation between nations. It may be modified, it may be obscured, until all obvious traces of connexion are lost. Yet something remains to meet the eye of patient and discriminating inquiry, which lends a clue, when no other guide could be found. Mr. Schoolcraft, it appears by the hints we have alluded to, has been enabled through this aid, to ascertain relations between tribes, which congregate them into larger classes than we have heretofore

felt authorized to admit. The present is not the time to follow out the train of thoughts that these hints would lead to. We refer to them now merely to point out the value of the information which the public may receive, provided Mr. Schoolcraft be encouraged to fulfil his plan.

It is proper now to turn our attention to the "Tales," which form the "First Series" of this work. Early in his residence among the Indians, Mr. Schoolcraft became aware of the importance of "oral traditions" in developing the bent of their minds, their habits of thought, their intellectual invention, and force of imagination; and, assisted by the favorable aids which his domestic ties constantly afforded, he began to collect those which arose from accident, as well as a greater number that were elicited by a kindly spirit of inquiry among the occasional inmates of his household. He saw, as he advanced in this work of collection, that the harvest would fully reward the toil of gathering it; that he was unfolding a view of the past, as well as of the present; that, among the vivid sketches of manners and customs, superstitious observances and supernatural agencies, influencing the destinies of individuals, of families, and of tribes, he was catching glimpses of revolutions, physical, moral, and national, of the bearing of which the narrators themselves were probably but imperfectly, if at all, aware. A rude people, who have no records, no literature, no outward monuments, preserve the knowledge of events, whether personal, local, or general, by tradition, that is, by stories, narratives, or tales, which pass down from father to son, ever changing, no doubt, in form and expression, but essentially the same. The main fact, the original event, still glimmers like a spark beneath smouldering embers or ashes.

Regarding these Tales in this light, as the vehicles that have conveyed down, through an unknown series of ages, the recollections of a people, that have no other means of preserving them, Mr. Schoolcraft has not put upon them an undue value; he has not miscalculated the interest they must sooner or later excite; nor is he mistaken in supposing, that they will suggest a thousand inferences to correct past errors, and lead aright for the future.

In the first place, we must endeavour to feel satisfied, that they are genuine, that they have been rendered faith-

fully, or with only such modifications as are inevitable in the course of interpretation, or were required to purge some of them of the grossness which often intermingles with the narratives of a barbarous people. With these exceptions, we have every reason to believe that these Tales are true reflections of the "oral traditions" of the Indians; that nothing has been intentionally added, or taken away, with the exception just mentioned.* If we had not confidence in Mr. Schoolcraft's integrity, which would restrain him from palming upon the public a series of stories as aboriginal, which were mainly of his own invention, there is much internal evidence of their being the unadulterated offspring of untutored minds of savages. They are often disjointed, extravagant, and repulsive, and most of them could, with a little art, have been improved in all these respects, if the plan had been merely to make them the groundwork of an attractive work of imagination. We believe Mr. Schoolcraft, at first, feeling some distrust whether the Tales would be acceptable or popular in their present shape, thought of submitting them to some polished pen, which, like the pencil in respect to many of the Indian portraits that have been given to the public eye, would have detracted from their merit in proportion to the embellishment thrown over them. It is fortunate for the public, that he did not yield to this idea. The standard which we now have for measuring Indian intellect, and judging of Indian imagination and powers of invention, of Indian mythological notions and superstitions, — a true standard, as we are fain to believe, — would have been falsified and erroneous. We should still have been left a prey to the fancies of authors, who could paint the Red man *en beau*, with little chance, among their readers, of discriminating the creatures of the brain from the realities of the forest.

Mr. Schoolcraft observes, that he found those, who were professionally the relaters of tales, were also the depositaries of historical traditions. Hence history and fiction were often wildly intermingled, the landmarks of the former being

* Since we have been engaged in these remarks, we happened to allude to "Peeta Kway, or the Tempest," to an intelligent "half-breed," who had not seen Mr. Schoolcraft's work. She immediately stated, that she had often heard her mother tell the tale, — then repeating substantially the whole of it.

lost in the confusion. But he finds a stamp upon them, whether historical, mythological, fictitious and fanciful, or all combined, which gives a resemblance, wherever heard, by whatever tribe related. This is obvious to the reader, who, in looking over those which come from different tribes, discerns many similar features, which bespeak a common parentage. This suggests an interesting consideration as to the great question of affiliation among the tribes, their arrangement into families or classes, in which the numerous sub-varieties and segregations should be merged. In this respect these Tales have a high value. And that this value might not be impaired by any extraneous ornament, or any attempt at fancied improvement, they have all been left as they were found; their very defects, their occasional wildness and incoherency, and the revolting character of their incidents, being evidences of their genuineness.

Mr. Schoolcraft has many ingenious conjectures as to the antiquity of these Tales. Nearly all of them are undoubtedly of an early origin, as most of their allusions show an ignorance of modern arts and events. With few exceptions, not a hint is found in them that refers to improvements derived from the whites. They belong to the "era of flint arrowheads, earthen pots, and skin clothes." Nature is untouched; not a tree is cut down. "Tobacco" and "maize" are constantly alluded to, two species of plants which are known to have been peculiar to this hemisphere before its discovery by Columbus. We are surprised at their silence on the subject of "wild rice," which is a grain in certain regions of the Northwest, of incalculable importance to the Indians frequenting the waters where it grows. This omission, combined with other evidences of a higher and more remote Northwestern origin of the principal Tales, may lead hereafter to interesting speculations as to the migration of the Indians, the tendency from the Northwest to the Southeast, which has undoubtedly marked the history of all the tribes now remaining on the Upper Lakes.

Another striking characteristic of these Tales is, that they render all nature social, endowing its various products, its birds, beasts, fishes, and trees, with the faculties of reason and speech, and powers of transformation, that give them peculiar influence over the fortunes of man, for good or for evil, like those that spring from a fellow-being. This propensity

to give animals, and even inanimate objects, such an intimate communion with the human race, belongs to all rude people, but is particularly conspicuous in the red man, as appears in their traditions. Their fewness, sequestered condition, and wandering habits deprive them of most of the social pleasures. The solitary hunter, the hermit of the forest, learns to look on all objects around him as his companions. Many of the animals surpass him in sagacity and in industry, and all of them in providing against the demands of want. This attracts his notice and commands his respect. He even trenches upon them, to appease his hunger, with reluctance, feeling as if the appetite, that impels him to it, had a shade of cannibalism in it. Indeed, there are some of them which he never eats, but in the extremity of famine.

This same leaning upon animals for comfort and social pleasures, makes the Indian also regard the forest, the plains, hills, rivers, all as holding intercourse with him. From a higher sentiment than governed the "melancholy Jaques," who found sermons in trees, heard music in brooks, and moralized upon the whole landscape around him, he literally looks up through nature to a great invisible Being, incomprehensible, and therefore terrible, and worshipped in and under all the sublime manifestations that speak him forth. Unused to that intellectual enjoyment that belongs only to refined society, the Indian finds, in the varieties of the scene abroad, the whispering branches that give him grateful shade, the high hill that affords him a noble prospect, the rapid river that sends him dancing on his wayward journey, a keener enjoyment than any domestic, any social pleasure, within his reach, can afford. Hence his meditations become sublimated ; his dreams, wild ; his associations, imaginary ; and his Tales all have the stamp of a moody, excited, visionary state of mind.

It may be thought, that we have dwelt unnecessarily long on these preliminary reflections. We have indeed regarded the Tales themselves, independently of such reflections, as of secondary importance. It is true, they have an intrinsic merit, a merit such as a child would discover, who saw or thought nothing of the bearing they have on a most interesting and deep problem, connected with a portion of the human race. Those who have read them, with a constant reference to this bearing, can hardly separate the gratification pro-

ceeding from this source, from that which might otherwise have been felt, in dwelling only on the invention, the wildness, occasional sublimity, severity of satire, high moralizing, and instruction, — for all these are interspersed throughout the Tales, — which the most cursory reader must find in them. After reading the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments," and a thousand and one other Oriental Stories, we are inclined to place these Occidental Tales not far behind them in all that does not depend on wealth and refinement for its effect.

We will now turn to the Tales themselves, to see how far we are borne out in this praise. The first is "*Ojeeg Annung*, or the Summer-Maker." It is an Odjibwa tale, which tribe calls a certain group of stars, in the northern heavens, "Ojeeg Annung," or the "Fisher Stars," in commemoration of the event to which this tale relates. It was said by a learned man of our country, that our present zones, our present climates, do not correspond with those which prevailed of old; that certain natural phenomena cannot be explained but by supposing, that the position of the earth with respect to the sun has undergone a change. We may suppose, that the Summer-Maker alludes to some such change in the seasons, brought down by Indian tradition. It is a mere glimpse, but such a glimpse as might be supposed to descend through such a shadowy medium.

The Indians rely upon the change of the seasons with a dependence unknown to civilized man, who has a thousand appliances and means to modify and correct its inconvenient or hurtful effects upon his condition. Where "days, and months, and years, pass away," and still the same "white cloak" covers the form of the earth, they become pinched with want, and finally stiffen and sink into the general mass of insensibility around them. A summer, breaking in upon such a people, so situated, might naturally make an impression that ages could not efface. The distinction, which the wolverine, an animal not much known, receives in this tale, is not unsuited to his brisk and elastic habits and frame.*

The "Celestial Sisters" would be regarded as a beautiful Tale in any language. It is well constructed, evolving

* Michigan will find new reason for being pleased with the *sobriquet*, — Wolverine, — which her offspring now bear.

incidents of a deep interest, sufficiently dashed with extravagance to give them poignancy. The Shawnee's imagination literally roved from earth to heaven in a fine frenzy, and with a finer invention. Waupee, or the White Hawk, is a hermit hunter. Such a separation from all kith and kin is not uncommon in the forest. No evils attendant upon the Indian are particularly aggravated by it. Food, raiment, these do not depend on society, neither do the alleviations of sickness in any efficient degree. If it be slight, his own means are sufficient ; if it be mortal, submission is the same in solitude as with the tribe. Waupee, therefore, makes little sacrifice in quitting all, and realizing the poetical wish of Cowper, who longed, in the inspiration or desperation of the moment, "for a lodge," such as Waupee's, "in some vast wilderness, some boundless contiguity of shade."

While thus apart from the world, this hunter discovered, in a remote prairie, the resort of some visiters, who appeared only to touch the earth, not to abide upon it. His curiosity was excited, and, watching from a covert, he soon heard sweet music coming down from the sky, and accompanying a basket, which settled in a "magic ring," of the prairie, and let down twelve beautiful sisters, who began to dance. Though all were beautiful, the youngest (as usual) was the most so. Waupee, accordingly, fell in love with her, and rushed from his hiding-place to woo or seize her ; when the whole group, offended at such intrusion, leaped into their basket, and reascended to heaven. Admonished by this failure, Waupee disguised himself, the next day, as an opossum ; but this animal appears to have been an object of suspicion even in that early day, and was no sooner seen by the lovely sisters, than they broke up the dance, and reascended as before. He succeeded better as a mouse the next day, and caught his favorite, who was abandoned to her fate by the eleven others, who returned no more to earth. Waupee wins his star-bride (for the sisters were star-maidens) by kindness, and she seems to be satisfied with the pleasures of earth, until a son is born, when the skyey influences begin to draw her upwards again, and she resolves to leave Waupee and his planet. Her preparations are made secretly, and, having her basket all formed, she goes to the magic ring while her husband is hunting, and ascends to the stars with her child, Waupee's ears catching the well-known

sounds, but all too late to arrest his wife and child. He is left disconsolate on earth many years. At last, the same natural longing for native scenes, which led his wife to desert the earth, leads the son, when he grows up, to wish to revisit it. The star-people consent, that the mother and child may descend and bring Waupee up to their bright abodes. Waupee again hears the well-known music, again embraces his wife and child, and accompanies them back to the skies, taking with him a leg, wing, or tail, of any animal which he could kill, as a specimen for his father-in-law. A great feast greets the new comers, when each star present is allowed to take one of the specimens as his own. All approach to make the selection, when suddenly they become transformed into the fowl or beast, whose wing, foot, or tail had been taken up, and scatter themselves wildly through the heavens; while Waupee, his wife and child, as white hawks, fly down to earth.

We have thus given the entire skeleton of this tale, as a specimen of the general structure and design. It has more than usual unity in its arrangement, but is purely aboriginal in its scope and allusions. It gives a pleasing display of the gentler affections, and shows, that a savage may love "a bright particular star," and win it too. Its principal incidents are most happily made to turn on the *animus revertendi*, the fondness for native scenes, which has great force with the Indians. And the metamorphoses, that take place at the star-feast may easily be supposed to glance at some tradition relative to the constellations, when the bear, the swan, the wolf (dog), fox, &c., were scattered over the firmament.

There is a prominent moral in many of these Tales. Indeed most of them carry home to the heart a useful lesson of life, and were doubtless intended to inculcate it. The "White Feather," a Sioux Tale, furnishes an example of the consequences of forgetting or neglecting wise injunctions, and yielding to the allurements of temptation, that may compare with many an allegory, in which the philosophers of old enforced their teachings of virtue. This "white feather," on the possession of which, like some of the fabled helmets of antiquity, success in difficult contests is made to depend, is won through a dream, when giants of evil are overcome, until one of them, the last to be conquered, assumes the form of a beautiful female, who, although there

had been previous warning of her blandishments, first deludes and then betrays. Her victim loses not only his magic feather, but the form of a man, being changed into that of a dog, or wolf. But the moral does not end here. Practical justice is finally done. The dog suffers, but is adopted by a modest and virtuous woman, whom he serves with skill and fidelity ; and, in due time, he is disenchanted, recovers his feather, and marries his kind patroness.

"Iamo, or the Undying Head," from the Ottawa, is a true Tale of horrors, — a fine specimen of the raw head and bloody bones. It has, however, much invention, and most strikingly exhibits the Indian mind, its proneness to extravagance, belief in supernatural agencies, and dreaming superstitions. Iamo is doomed to die, but death begins at his feet, and he cunningly directs his head to be cut off just as it reaches the neck ; thus saving his head, with the principle of life in it, to play an important part in the destinies of his friends. The tale is crowded with adventures of the most extraordinary character, all for the sake of winning or preserving a wampum belt. This ornament, among the Indians, is of great value, and often invested with magic power. It has mysterious virtues, records traditions (each brad being a sentence or a chapter), speaks from the dead to the living, and is transmitted down through generations with reverent care. No object can be more regarded, or more coveted. In this tale, a wampum, around the neck of a monstrous she-bear, and guarded by unnumbered obstacles and terrors, has been sought by thousands, who have fallen in the enterprise. Ten brothers renew the trial, and, by courage and stratagem, succeed in getting the belt. But they are pursued by the bear, which passes over whole latitudes at a leap. She would have left "seven-league boots" behind. The brothers dream, and Manitos interpose. Still the pursuit only relents for a moment. At last a dream reveals the "undying head." It is resorted to, and the she-bear is overcome ; when, on her being beaten into fragments, each fragment turns into a cub, and runs off. Hence the race of bears.

This Tale does not end here. But we have not time to pursue the fate of the ten brothers, who are all killed, and all brought to life again, while the "undying head" is reunited to its trunk, and recovers life and form in all its original vigor and dimensions. Nor have we space to pursue the reflec-

tions which these incidents suggest to Mr. Schoolcraft, as to the aboriginal notions concerning the dead, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, &c. We do not fully concur with him in the extent of the inferences he is inclined to draw from this tale; though we believe that the human mind, in all its stages, even when "most uninstructed and unenlightened," is prone to "seek for some moral and physical panacea, which is to introduce happiness to the race." We do, however, infer from this tale, as well as from incidents scattered throughout these volumes, that there are certain impressions stamped on the human mind, bespeaking the common origin of men, and their common subjection to influences arising from certain great moral and physical changes, that no time, no climate, no dispersion, no degradation can wholly obliterate. Enough ever remains to tell the great truth, that "in the beginning" we were all the same.

"Mon-dau-min, or the Origin of Indian Corn," is an expressive and characteristic tale, though meagre in incident, and with no variety. It is the *Cereal* allegory of the West. The Indian is here taught, that the transformation can be effected only by labor and perseverance. There is much beauty of fancy in describing the change. It is to be regretted, that the idle savage does not seem to be more inclined to profit by the lesson it inculcates.

We feel much disposed to dwell on "Manabozho, the great incarnation of the North"; but he is too important a personage to be compressed within a page or two. He performs a conspicuous part in many of the Tales, — a sort of *factotum* on earth and in heaven. We do not, however, see the force of the expression, "incarnation of the North," unless it be intended to mean more than we can allow ourselves to suppose. Much information respecting the distinctive opinions of the Indian can be derived from the contemplation of this character, which mingles in all things, from the sublime to the ridiculous. His power is comprehensive and minute in its workings, and the delineation of it shows the jumble of ideas which may accumulate in untutored minds.

It is difficult to determine which of the remaining Tales most deserve our notice, in the brief space we have to spare. We are desirous of turning attention to those more particularly, which develope the mythological notions of the Indians,

and the points where they approximate, in these respects, to the early races of man in the old hemisphere. In the "Red Swan," which is one of the most pleasing of the Tales, there is a descent into the regions of the departed, which, without any of the imagery that invests similar visits, described by the ancient poets, clearly shows, that the red man has glimpses of "Pluto's drear abode," where the "good" stand apart from the "wicked"; the one dwelling in "light," and the other under a "dark cloud."

"The Weendigoes" are the Polyphemi of the Western wilds. Ulysses had not more need of courage and stratagem to overcome the giant Cannibal, who gorged himself on his companions, than the hunter, whose wife had been swallowed by a Weendigo "at a mouthful." The revenge is brought about with much fanciful invention, and the incident of the son's birth from the hollow of a tree, in which the bowels of his mother, scattered about by the Cannibal, had been interred, would have furnished Ovid with a good subject for a metamorphosis.

"The Son of the Evening Star," is a neat allegory, and has a new interest in the interpretation which it gives to the name of Michilimackinac, that island of the Lakes, so picturesque, so full of romantic tradition, so marked by the freaks of nature.

There are constant allusions in these Tales to the manner in which birds have received their form or color, beasts their propensity to fatness or leanness, &c.; some of them evincing much fancy, others much drollery. The Indian is accustomed to look abroad on the infinite variety of form and color that marks animate and inanimate nature, and he may be supposed to indulge in many conjectures as to the cause. In one instance the woodpecker, who sat on a bough watching the ineffectual shooting of a warrior at a monster, gives a hint which leads to a successful shot, and, in reward for his service, has a dab of the victim's blood upon his head, which has made woodpeckers red-headed from that time. It is well known, that the duck has an awkward gait, its legs being placed very far behind, and its tail perked up more than is usual with fowls. This malformation the Indian attributes to a kick which the duck once received from the Manabozho upon the hind part, in punishment for having, after the vigilant manner of its kind, kept one eye open, when both were to have been shut. At the same time and

place, the beasts and birds took their character for fatness and leanness, the former being the happy consequence of an early and punctual attendance upon a feast given by Manabozho, and the latter the punishment of tardiness. The first comers served themselves, according to the old rule, first, and ate up all the fat and choice pieces, like the bear and the opossum; while the moose, the martin, and others, the late comers, found only a fare, which has kept them the "lean kine" to this day.

"The Enchanted Moccasins" is a most ingenious tale, in which the moccasins play a part equal to the "magic carpet" of the Orientals. A young hunter has a pair made by his sister, and sets out in pursuit of adventures and a wife. He is directed to a village, where he receives instructions from an old woman, who sends him to another, whence none have thus far returned; but gives him many helps and much admonition. The village is reached, and a lodge is found attached to the trunk of a tall tree, in which two beautiful sisters reside. It is in attempting to reach these fair ones, that so many have failed and been destroyed. The young adventurer immediately makes an effort to climb up to the lodge, but finds that the tree suddenly increases in height, bearing up the lodge with it, as fast as he ascends. Assisted by certain magic bones, with which he had been provided by the old woman, he continues to ascend, while the tree grows, like "Jack's bean-stalk," until it reaches the sky, and can get no higher. Here the young man gets in, and addresses the sisters, and finds, as one speaks, the lodge inclines to ascend, and to descend as the other speaks. He accordingly keeps the latter conversing, until the tree had shrunk down to its usual height, when he kills the sisters and escapes. A hot pursuit is soon made by a powerful brother of the sisters, when, almost overtaken, the young hunter enters into the carcass of a dead moose in the way, and tells his moccasins to make tracks onward, which they do to the end of the earth, the pursuer following them up to that remote point, where alone he is undeceived. Retracing his steps, he finds the suspected carcass gone, and renews the pursuit. At the outset he had been enjoined to eat nothing until he had overtaken and punished his enemy. In violation of this injunction, he was induced, when hungry and faint, to taste some tempting fruit, which was designedly

placed in his path. As soon as he eats, he is overcome, and his victor returns in triumph.

"Puck Wudj Ininee," an Odjibwa tale, speaks of the destruction of all the human species, excepting a boy and a girl, who were asleep when the catastrophe happened. This glimpse of such an event, and the more detailed account of a deluge in "Manabozho," show, that the traditions of the forest shadow faintly forth a time when the earth was drowned, and all but a remnant of its inhabitants became extinct. Manabozho had killed an enormous water-serpent, when the floods rose, pursued him to the highest mountains, and submerged the loftiest tree upon them, in which he had taken refuge, and bathed his chin before they were stayed. While this Tale bespeaks a glimmering knowledge of that awful event in the world's history, which left the ark alone afloat above the general desolation, it discloses also the strange mixture of the ridiculous with the sublime, before alluded to, which marks these aboriginal traditions. As the surface of the earth had been destroyed, it was to be recreated, or restored, and Manabozho does this great work out of the mud clutched by a muskrat, which had died in the attempt, made at Manabozho's request, to dive down to the bottom of the deep, combined with the carcass of a loon. We can hardly smile at these monstrous incongruities, when, while they show us how far the benighted Indian has wandered from the light of truth, they at the same time lead us to believe, that he may once have been near its source.

"Mishosha, or the Magician of the Lakes," is full of necromany and wonder-working. He is an evil spirit with great power, which he exerts only to injure or destroy. But he has daughters, who would cure as fast as he would kill. The self-moving canoe is an ingenious fancy, and the whole tale is a beautiful illustration of the power of innocence, which can invoke efficacious aids in all extremities, making even the agents of harm minister to its relief. Mishosha is finally circumvented and destroyed near the Lake shore, and becomes a sycamore, a tree that always thrives by the waterside, and is mostly hollow-hearted.*

* This is a Sagana tale, and the Saganas, Mr. Schoolcraft says, are the Seminoles of the Northwest. They are now few in number, and have long been on the skirts of our settlements, but inaccessible to all approaches of civilization. The present chief of the tribe is a true Sagana, as an act of

We would gladly pause upon the "Fire-Plume," in which the fate of Proserpine is reversed, a young man being rapt away from his companion, and borne to a nether region, by two women. His companion, who was asleep at the time, is held responsible for the lost one to his relations, and, according to the custom in such cases, is to pay the penalty by death. A certain time is allowed, near the expiration of which the condemned, while walking on the shore of the lake where the abduction happened, suddenly meets with his friend, who had just come up from the caverns below to revisit his tribe. Returning to them, he relates how he had been taken away by these water-damsels, married to one of them, and permitted to ascend on a short leave of absence. Again he seeks his new relations, and again returns to the surface, his wife accompanying him. Their final departure for the waters is a fine specimen of descriptive writing.

"The day was mild, the sky clear; not a cloud appeared, nor a breath of wind to disturb the bright surface of the water. The most perfect silence reigned throughout the company. They gazed intently on Wassamo and his wife as they waded out into the water, waving their hands. They saw them go into deeper and deeper water. They saw the waves close over their heads. All at once they raised a loud and piercing wail. They looked again, a red plume, as if the sun had glanced on a billow, marked the spot for an instant, but the Feather of Flames and his wife had disappeared for ever." —Vol. II. p. 150.

These desultory remarks may justify the opinion, that there is evidence of intellectual power in the Indians, such as they have not heretofore been supposed to possess. The common impression is, that they are of a saturnine disposition, disinclined to cheerful imaginations, and apt to look on all things around them with little or no sympathy. We have also been accustomed to regard them as exercising the mind only so far as the few practical concerns of life required. War, the chase, these alone were supposed to arouse them, to excite and employ their faculties. But we now

his, which occurred not many years since, will show. In some quarrel among his tribe, he was wounded in the side, so that his liver obtruded through the wound. He seized the protruding part with one hand, while with the other he cut it off; then deliberately cooked and ate it. He is still living, remarkable for his sternness and truly Indian character.

see, that they have lively fancies, which can invest bird and beast, and even inanimate objects, with social qualities, that may surround them, even in solitude, with many of the charms of life. The stirring excitements of war and the chase are still paramount; but these Tales show, that there may be something to enliven the wigwam fire; that privations, pinching want, and piercing cold, may all be rendered endurable by traditions of Manitos, of lucky and unlucky loves, or of more mysterious hints of mighty agencies, that have convulsed the earth and changed the heavens. It is pleasing to believe, that this is the case; that there are happy methods of softening affections which we feared were unchangeably obdurate, and that untaught and grovelling minds may occasionally be led into deep thought, giving them, though all unconsciously, perhaps, a new enlargement and elevation.

We have made only one short extract from these Tales, as our object has not been with the *manner*, but the *matter*. We have regarded the former only so far as it affected the latter. All externals must be considered as belonging in a great degree to the editor. The aboriginal dress is necessarily lost, or nearly so. The utmost simplicity of rendering should have been the aim. All elaborate language would seem to be a departure from the original meaning. That meaning alone it is desirable to see; the ideas, as nearly as possible, as they came from the Indian's lips. Strictness of adherence to the plain sense has no doubt governed the manner in most instances. Whenever it has not, when there has been an indulgence in fine writing merely, the graft, however ornamental, betrays itself. Most of the poetry is smooth in versification, and of appropriate and striking imagery. Some of it is quite beautiful; but it seems to be misplaced in proportion as it is excellent. It leads to a distrust of the context. But these embellishments are not thrown over those tales which have the most important bearing on the question of Indian intellect, variety of thought, and vigor of fancy. The proofs of these qualities stand out in the main tales with no shade of doubt resting upon them. And for these we are indebted to the long, persevering, and discriminating labors of Mr. Schoolcraft, who, we most ardently hope, may be encouraged to persevere in them.

ART. V. — 1. *Report on the Affairs of British North America*, from the EARL OF DURHAM, Her Majesty's High Commissioner, &c. &c. &c. Presented by Her Majesty's Command, and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. London: 1839. fol. pp. 119.

2. *Appendix to the Same.* (A. B. C. D. and E.) London: 1839. fol. pp. 554.

3. *Copies, or Extracts of Correspondence, relative to the Affairs of British North America.* Presented by Her Majesty's Command; and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. London: 1839. fol. pp. 400.

4. *A Narrative.* By SIR FRANCIS B. HEAD, Bart. London: 1839. 8vo. pp. 448.

5. *The Bubbles of Canada.* By the Author of "Sam Slick, the Clockmaker," &c. &c. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1839. 12mo. pp. 262.

"LES choses vont vîte en Bas Canada," was a favorite maxim, less than two years since, with the partisans of the banished Speaker of the *ci-devant* House of Assembly of Lower Canada. Late events have indeed proved the saying true, though in a sense widely differing from that in which its author and his followers were proud to use it. An insurrection, suppressed by armed volunteers and a handful of troops, almost as soon as attempted; a constitution suspended by act of Parliament; a Governor-General and High Commissioner sent out, with unprecedented legal powers and military force, and charged with the complex duty of restoring tranquillity and good feeling, administering a temporary despotic government, and devising a new constitutional system in place of that which had just worked out its own destruction; the first public act of this new Governor summarily disallowed, and his mission prematurely terminated; a second insurrection, of yet shorter duration than the first, the ex-governor censured for his prompt return to England, and his masterly Report complimented, a few weeks after, by the British Ministry; the Colonial Secretary, in whose name the despatches censuring him had run, all at once removed, and his place filled by another; the Ministry

itself next resigning, and then restored to office ; its Canadian measures brought before the public, and then modified so often and so much at the suggestion of one party and another, that the public can scarce tell any thing about them, but that they differ in some of their most important features from the recommendations of the approved Report ; — all this, and much more that has vitally affected the interests of the British American Provinces, has been crowded within this short space of time. The commercial embarrassments, which caused a brief suspension of specie payments in this country, led to a like result in them ; and its effects upon the resources of the two Canadas were rendered doubly prejudicial by the incapacity of those, who at that crisis had the ordering of the financial blunders of the Upper Province. Political causes have since visited upon the Canadas the evils of a second suspension. Insurrection has made its appearance in Upper as well as in Lower Canada. In both, men's minds have been heated with civil strife and border struggles. From these, and, since, from the agitation of the Maine boundary question, a war between England and the United States has more than once seemed imminently threatening. For much of the time, indeed, a *quasi* border war has been actually going on, with all the thousands of false rumors and varying but ever hurtful excitements, which must of necessity grow out of such a state of affairs. Things have been moving fast in Lower Canada. Her sister provinces have come in for their full share of the movement ; and even these United States have not escaped its influence.

While matters were still in this state of rapid transition, it was impossible to present a satisfactory view of them, in the pages of a quarterly journal. The weekly and daily press could hardly keep pace with their progress ; and the statements, arguments, and conclusions of a reviewer would have been out of date before they could have appeared in print. The present, however, seems to be a moment of comparative tranquillity. Lord Durham's recommendations, the plans of the British government, and, in effect, all other plans heretofore proposed by any other party are before Parliament ; and its final action upon them is not to take place, till after a full discussion of the entire subject shall have been had in the mother country, and in the colonies most interested. In British America, meanwhile, little

seems to be in progress, except this discussion, and the conflicting efforts of the various interested parties, to influence the decision of the public voice and of Parliament in regard to the merits of the case in dispute. The excitement of insurrection and political trials, is for the time ended. The border disturbances we may hope, from present indications, are over, or nearly so. And last, not least, the vexed question of the Maine boundary, we may also hope, is at length in a fair way of being satisfactorily adjusted. These appearances of quiet may be more or less illusory ; and, by the time this article shall have made its appearance on our readers' tables, some changes may possibly have taken place in the aspect of affairs. For these, in such a case, we must ask our readers to make the necessary allowances. It is often far easier to foresee the great revolutions which require a long course of years for their developement, than it is to anticipate those lesser changes which a few weeks may bring to pass ; and which usually strike us at the moment as more important than they really are, from the suddenness with which they take place. In our present remarks on British American politics and prospects, we shall do our best to avoid the embarrassments which these accidents of the day tend to throw in the way of such discussions. It will be our object to present a general outline of the actual state of affairs, not to fill in the details of the picture ; and to exhibit the general tendencies of the state of things we describe, not to speculate in the dark as to the precise events which are next to occur. How soon another opportunity may offer itself, equally favorable with the present for an attempt of this kind, is very doubtful.

We shall not discuss at any length the merits or demerits of the works, whose titles we have cited at the head of this article. Only one of them, and that immeasurably the least valuable and least interesting of the number, is before the American public ; its catch-penny title, we presume, having earned for it the distinction of a reprint in the United States. The others, very few of our readers can have an opportunity of seeing. Indeed, were it not so, with the limited space to which we must confine our remarks, we should incline to prefer the task of giving an opinion on the subject of which they speak, to that of merely criticizing them. The heavy emptiness of Mr. Justice Halliburton's "Bubbles," and the

lighter bombast of Sir Francis Head's "Narrative," certainly tempt criticism; but we shall resist the temptation, and keep as strictly as we can to the course we have marked out.

We cannot, however, help expressing some surprise at the omission to republish Lord Durham's report in this country. The published Correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Canadian Governors is altogether too bulky to be read by people in general; and even a selection from it, to comprise only the more interesting despatches, would have been of this character. But neither Lord Durham's "Report," nor Sir Francis's "Narrative," lie open to any such objection. The buyers of the reprinted "Bubbles of Canada," may thank their author's popular *nom de guerre* of "Sam Slick," and his piratical borrowing from an equally popular title of another man's, for the disappointment they have purchased. One would have thought the name of the blower of the original "Bubbles from the Brunnens of Nassau," might on the same principle have insured his tale of Baratarian experiences a like honor. The Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada has the merit of being in his production as exclusively amusing as the topic he has in hand, his own amusing conduct, will allow; or even, which is pretty much the same thing, as the borrower from his old title-page is uniformly dull in his. To be sure, Sir Francis's book is made up of despatches to Downing Street, addresses, answers, and other manifestoes, strung together very slightly in the way of narrative; and perhaps people had had enough of that sort of thing before he left Canada, in the newspapers, which published so many of these queer productions. We observe, indeed, that even in the Canadas, where, till he left them, his admirers affected to be so many and so very warm, no one has called for a cheap edition of his book; a circumstance which may well excuse the American public for having been guilty of the like omission. But, even this reason does not hold in the case of Lord Durham's Report. It is no collection of old public documents, and, even if it had been, his Lordship's despatches and replies have not attained the unfortunate notoriety which attaches to those of Sir Francis Head. In the Canadas, the Durham Report has gone through a great number of editions, besides appearing *in extenso* in almost every newspaper. That the Canadians

are the parties most interested in its statements and their consequences, though very true, hardly accounts for this contrast. What is so vitally important to the interests of an extensive border country like British America, cannot really be a matter of indifference, or even of mere ordinary interest, to the United States. Nor is this all. The report is in itself one of the most interesting state papers ever published, and its style and subjects are such as should make it particularly interesting to an American reader. It is full of valuable information and sound reasoning, on every subject of which it treats. The common faults of official writing are avoided in it with great success. There is no parading of a host of unimportant trifles, to give an air of authenticity and labored exactness to what is really a mere piece of patchwork copying from other sources, laborious to no one but the reader; and no dealing in official commonplaces, to mystify the uninitiated, and keep up a show of profound reasoning, where substance there is none. It is a plain-spoken, manly document; bold in its statements, admissions, and conclusions; yet temperate in language, and so carefully guarded in its argumentative portions, as to leave little room for hostile criticism, except to that dishonest class of antagonists, who invent, where they cannot discover, material for censure. Nor must an American forget, that it is a state paper, the production of an English nobleman of high rank and political standing, in which constant reference is made, and never in a tone of disparagement, to the United States, their form of government, their people, undertakings, and objects, in connexion with the affairs of the British provinces. While he points out the errors of his own government and countrymen with a faithful and unsparing hand, Lord Durham has not shrunk from the still more obnoxious duty of often placing the policy of foreigners and their government in favorable contrast with theirs. He has not stooped to flatter national prejudice at the expense of truth. There is in his representations none of that affectation of contempt for this country and its institutions, by which Englishmen have too often shown their ignorance of the subject they spoke of, or their dishonesty, or both. On the contrary, Lord Durham has had the good sense to see, that the wonderful prosperity of the descendants of the British race here, is any thing but a dishonor to the proud land of their forefathers; that even the marked

superiority, in all that constitutes true prosperity, of these old colonies of Great Britain, now independent of her control, over her newer colonies still subject to it, is a matter to be regarded by her with other feelings than those of mere mortification. If it tell of a fatal error in her past policy towards her old colonies, which forced them to erect themselves into another nation, and of later mistakes in her treatment of the colonies which are still politically her own, — it tells also of the energy of her early colonization on this continent, of the triumphs of her own people and their offspring. It is evidently in this light that Lord Durham is disposed to view the rapid advancement of this country. He sympathizes with that large and happily fast-increasing portion of the British people, which is rather proud of our success as their own, than hurt at the recollection, that it is not in name theirs ; which would make this recollection serve as a lesson for the future to their statesmen, how they deal with colonies, and not as a goad to the baser passions of their countrymen, to keep alive a feeling of hostility which ought never to have been excited.

That a document of this kind should not have obtained general circulation in this country, we think is much to be regretted. We regret it, because of the amount of valuable information on British American affairs, which its cheap republication would have diffused extensively among our people ; and much more, because of the favorable influence which its liberal and enlightened character must have exerted on the public feelings and sympathies, not merely as they regard Canada and its concerns, but also in the far more important matter of their general tone as regards the British people and their affairs. We, too, have among us a class, who imitate the English defamers of the United States, in the temper of their habitual remarks on the mother country. It is not to be wondered at, if a feeling favorable to such retaliatory warfare should prevail to a considerable extent among our people. We could well wish, for the sake of the influence it must have had in checking this disposition, that in this case, the *ipsissima verba* of one of the first of the English liberal statesmen of the day should have been made generally known among us. The silly tittle-tattle of every locomotive story-teller, to Marryat downwards, is hawked over our country with eager haste, as English opinion. It is time the

other side were heard, and the better judgment of the thinking portion of either people, a little more faithfully communicated to the other. Perhaps it is too late now for Lord Durham's Report to be made a very efficient means of accomplishing this end. The next that may offer, we may hope, will be put to better use.

But we must turn from the Report to the consideration of its subject, — the political state and prospects of British America. As Lower Canada has been the scene of the most critical portion of the recent struggles, and as its condition in general is on all accounts the most interesting, we shall give it the largest share of our attention. The state of things in Upper Canada comes next in interest and importance. The four other provinces have much less in their condition to call for extended remark; though it will be necessary to speak of them, in order to give any thing like a just idea of the whole subject. The great question at issue in the neighbouring provinces is no longer Canadian, but British American, — perhaps we might better say British and American, and include the United States among the parties directly interested in it. The marked peculiarities, social and political, of the Canadas, make it far more difficult of solution than it otherwise would have been; but this is all. They by no means isolate the Canadas, or separate the problem of their future government from that of the other colonies. One cannot in truth imagine a state of things established in either or both of them, that should not of necessity affect, for good or evil, and that in no slight degree, the States, as well as the colonies, which border on them.

Our readers are, of course, sufficiently familiar with the general extent and form of the British possessions in North America, as they appear on the map; the two large Canadian provinces extending along the northern frontier of the United States, and bounded in the rear by the extensive but unsettled tract of the Hudson's Bay Territory; the smaller provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, to the east of Maine; and the insular provinces of Prince Edward's Island and Newfoundland, — the former of trifling extent, and separated only by a narrow channel from the mainland of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, — the latter very much larger, and considerably more remote. Of the Hudson's Bay Territory it will be unnecessary here to speak further, as it

can scarcely be said to have a political existence ; its few white inhabitants being all traders with the Indians, and dependents of the Hudson's Bay Company. The population of the Canadas bears no proportion to their whole extent ; it is scattered, indeed, over a comparatively small part of it. The settled portion of Upper Canada nowhere reaches to any great distance from the St. Lawrence and the great Lakes, which form the boundary of the Province, and in some places the strip is very narrow. In Lower Canada, too, the settled country, north of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence, is mostly very narrow, never above a few leagues in width, and often hardly admitting of measurement by miles ; to the south of the St. Lawrence, the inhabited tract is larger in proportion to the total area, but it still falls far short of it, and, in fact, below Quebec, becomes a mere belt of land along the south shore, diminishing in width as it stretches to the northeast, and ceasing for some distance before we come to the scanty settlements along the Gulf of the St. Lawrence and Bay of Chaleurs, which contain the population of the District of Gaspé. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward's Island, are far from being thickly settled, their aggregate population, according to the highest estimate, falling far short * of that of the State of Maine. The settled district of Newfoundland is but a small part of the island, extending only along the eastern and southeastern coasts, and that not continuously.

This very partial distribution of inhabited territory must be borne in mind, or the small amount of its gross population will be likely to excite surprise. The Canadas are generally supposed, at the present time, to contain a population of about a million ; Upper Canada claiming, of this number, about 400,000, and Lower Canada 600,000. The three Lower Provinces have a population of about 350,000 ; 140,000 (a number probably beyond the truth) being claimed for New Brunswick ; 170,000 for Nova Scotia ; and 40,000 being about the allowance for Prince Edward's Island. New-

* Lord Durham's report speaks of 365,000, as the highest estimate for the population of these three colonies at the present time. It is no doubt too high. In 1830 Maine had a population of 399,955, *by census ;* and taking her increase in former years as a guide, it must now considerably exceed 500,000. The superficial extent of Maine is much less than that of the three Provinces, and the time, during which its settlement has been in active progress, does not a great deal exceed the time theirs has occupied.

foundland has a population of perhaps rather over 80,000. The six colonies together, therefore, have not quite a million and a half of inhabitants, which is not far from the present population of the three States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine, and rather less than one tenth of that of the Union.

It must not be inferred, however, from this statement, that the population of the British provinces has been any thing like stationary, or that its increase has been slow, even as compared with that of the United States, since their independence. At the close of the revolutionary war, what is now Upper Canada was a wilderness, and not yet set off from the Province of Quebec; New Brunswick formed part of Nova Scotia; and Prince Edward's Island was almost without inhabitants. In 1784, the population of the Canadas was officially returned at about 112,000 souls; and about the same period that of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward's Island (was estimated, inclusive of some 20,000 loyalist settlers from the States), at little more than 32,000. These numbers may not be quite large enough, but they are probably not very far from the truth. Exclusive of Newfoundland, therefore, of the early population of which it is hard to find any tolerably accurate accounts, the population of British America has increased nearly, if not quite, nine fold in fifty-five years. During the forty years between 1790 and 1830, the population of New England did not quite double itself; while that of New York increased very nearly six fold, — a rate of increase, therefore, a trifle less rapid than that of British America. The new Western States have grown much more rapidly. The population of Ohio, for example, in 1830, was more than twenty times as great as in 1800, — a period of only thirty years. But it is not with these, that the comparison can be fairly made; as the British colonies are only in part new settlements, and in this respect are much more nearly in the condition of the State of New York, than of any of the more western States. Upper Canada, which of itself is in a position analogous to that of the Northwestern States, has not grown in wealth and population any thing like as rapidly as they have done; but, as a whole, the provinces have made great progress; so great, indeed, as to suffer only in comparison with that of the new districts of this country, taken separately from the old. In the last fifty years, the

population of the whole Union has probably increased rather more than fourfold ; but the proportional extent of its territory, which has been long settled, is much greater than in the possessions of the British Crown, so that the analogy does not hold between them.

We are apt, on this side of the Atlantic, to complain, "not without cause," of the indistinct and often erroneous notions, entertained of us and our doings, on the other side. The good people of the neighbouring provinces have, perhaps, almost as good reason for complaint, in the views which pass current among us of their affairs and feelings. In one respect the cases are considerably unlike, inasmuch as our opinions of our neighbours are founded altogether upon their own representations of themselves ; but otherwise the resemblance, so far as mere vagueness of statement and grossness of mistake are concerned, is strong enough. In general, our citizens have taken up with one or other of two conflicting accounts of the actual state of things ; the one, the workmanship of the most violent of the refugees and their partisans, the other, the chosen counter-statement of the most violent of their antagonists. The former describes the colonial policy of the mother country as a model of all that is hateful, oppressive, and corrupt, and the people as suffering under its tyranny to an extent no longer bearable. The latter, in so many words, denies the existence of abuse or grievance in the colonial system, and all but denies even the existence of discontent in the minds of any considerable portions of the community, said by the malecontents to be thus grievously oppressed. The one pictures agriculture and commerce at a stand, property of all kinds daily losing value, a population daily lessening, — in a word, every interest prostrated ; and all this, not the accidental, temporary consequence of civil strife, but its cause, — the abiding result (long ago felt in its less terrible beginnings, and foreseen in all its whole progress from bad to worse), the result of a long course of misgovernment, and of this only. The other, if it cannot, at the present moment, show a country in the actual enjoyment of prosperity of any kind, at least throws these darker parts of the view as far as possible into shade ; exhibits them as a mere effect of political agitation ; and, in fact, charges the disaffected party with having themselves created all the evils they now declaim against and magnify, for their own purposes.

It is hard to say, which of these two versions is the furthest from the true one. What there is of truth in either is far more than counterbalanced by the untruth that is mixed up with it; nor will it, as we think, be a work of much difficulty to show, to any candid mind, the preponderance of this alloy in the composition of both. This will be best done, perhaps, by a brief, connected statement of the real features of the case, to the best of our knowledge and belief. The conclusions we are about to present, though in the main agreeing with those so ably urged in Lord Durham's Report, are not hazarded on the mere faith of the Report, but are the result, in part, of a careful study and comparison with it of other and hostile authorities, and in part also of observations, made under circumstances more than ordinarily favorable, on the course of events and state of parties in British America.

The colonial system, then, as it has been in operation in the adjacent provinces, and more especially of late years, has not been, either in design or in effect, what the party lately in revolt have called it. There is no evidence whatever of intentional or even of active oppression of any kind, on the part of the mother country or its government, towards the colonies. The cases of 1776 and 1839 are, in this respect, as little analogous as they well can be. The thirteen Atlantic colonies, of the former period, were in a situation entirely different from that of the six Northern colonies of the present day. The former had brought with them, in their emigration from the old world, every element of the most perfect system of municipal freedom, which the world had ever seen. New England, in her first settlements, of the free will of her Pilgrim settlers, established all these principles in full operation; and the nine other Colonies, though in these respects not equal to those of New England, were yet further in advance of all other communities of their times, than they were behind the four model colonies of the east. The war of the Revolution grew out of an attempt to force from these communities certain of the liberties they had always before asserted and enjoyed. Their free institutions, though chartered by the Crown, were not held as its gift, or as the gift of the Parliament or people of Great Britain. The Crown had merely recognised, and generally with extreme reluctance, a state of things which the colo-

nists had established for themselves. Its governors were, in a great many instances, hostile to the integrity of those institutions, and had thus been brought into frequent conflict with the great body of the community, who clung to them the more firmly for the reason, that they were in every sense their own. For a long course of years, the French settlements on the continent had forced the British colonists to live in a state of almost constant warfare. From a variety of causes, the hostility of French and English on this continent was, if possible, more bitter than on the old. The political system of the French colony of Canada was as perfect a model of the military despotism, as the New England colonies were of the free republic ; its religion was the antipodes of theirs ; language and origin, and all the memory of old feuds, growing out of European hostility, conspired to set them at variance ; and the Indian policy of the Canadians, by the character of atrocious barbarity which it stamped upon their warfare, filled up the measure of the abhorrence with which they were regarded by the constant objects of that warfare. A great effort at length resulted in the final overthrow of the French rule on the continent. The "heat and burden of the day" had fallen on the colonists, and they naturally looked to enjoy, to their full extent, the great advantages of the conquest for which they had so long sighed. But, instead of this, the occasion was before long embraced, by the Crown and its infatuated advisers, to attempt to carry to a successful issue their own long-standing controversy with the colonies on the subject of popular rights. The French Canadian system, in its leading, odious features, political and religious, was now to be kept in operation, and guarantied by the British Crown, — not merely within the old limits of the French settlements, where it *might* not have been easy to persuade the first generation of the conquered people to adopt an entirely new system, — but over the whole extent of the vast, unsettled countries on the Ohio and Mississippi, to which the two Crowns had, in former times, laid conflicting claims. The old colonists thus saw the preparation made for inclosing them within a hostile population, to worse effect than ever ; for, in former times, they had the Crown and its resources to aid them in their wars against the French and Indians, and now the Crown itself was setting up their old enemies against them ; then the hostilities of the French

were a check, rather than otherwise, on the arbitrary disposition of the Crown, inasmuch as they forced it to rely continually on the active loyalty of the people for the preservation of its Colonies, and now this same hostility was to be relied upon by the Crown in its struggles for power with that very people. The mask was thrown off. The taxing power claimed, was successfully resisted; and the thirteen colonies became the United States. Old grievances there had been, against which Provincial Legislatures had protested, but it was not on account of these, that the last resort of civil war was tried. Still less was it a struggle on the part of the insurgents for new institutions of government, which the mother country refused to grant. It was, on their side, a war of defence, waged to protect the cherished liberties of their whole people; and, on the part of the government of that day, a war of aggression, undertaken of its own accord against those liberties.

There is nothing of this kind in the recent colonial history of Great Britain. The solemn renunciation of the asserted right of taxation, which was made by the Declaratory Act at the close of the war of Independence, has been faithfully adhered to; and whenever the mother country has of late actively interfered in the internal affairs of her colonies, it has been under very different circumstances, and with very different views, from those which rendered her policy, in 1770, so unjustifiable. Since these States gained their independence, there has always been an apprehension felt as to the duration of the colonial tie in other quarters, and more especially on this continent. The preservation of the colonies, thus held in doubt, has been much more carefully looked to by the government than before. In some of its precautions, as we shall soon show, the government has been most unwise. The object has in fact been hazarded by the means taken to insure it. But it is not the less true for this, that they were intended as precautions, and that the policy of the government has been any thing but one of aggression upon the liberties of the colonists. The complaints of the provinces have not, for a reason we shall soon be able to explain fully, produced so prompt a redress of grievances as they should have done; but they have been attended to, and redress put in progress, as quickly as the slow-moving machinery of office would allow. The struggle has

long been one of successful aggression on the part of the colonists, generally for the purpose of obtaining a larger share of local independence, but sometimes for much more questionable objects. Concession, — frequently to unreasonable demands, though almost always, from the vice of the system, too tardy to produce the effect of satisfying those who made them, — concession has long been the order of the day with the home government.

Nor has there been, on the part of the mother country, so far as British America is in the case, any apparently intentional or interested misgovernment of her dependencies. Their foreign trade, though not in all respects on the most advantageous footing possible, has certainly not been injured by any course of legislation designed to advantage the mother country at their expense. On the contrary, whatever of loss has resulted from its errors, falls rather on Great Britain and the Empire generally, than on those of her colonies which have enjoyed all the advantages of the Baltic timber duty and of the restrictions on the West Indian trade with the United States. If their internal resources have been slowly and inadequately developed, it has been owing to a cause within themselves, and not to any short-sighted, jealous interference from without. Great sums have been expended by the parent state in internal improvements ; not always wisely, it is true, or economically, but for this again there has been a cause within the colonies. The public lands have been ill managed ; granted in such quantities and to such men, as to have often interposed difficulties in the way of improvement, instead of being made the means of promoting emigration to the colonies to the utmost extent ; but here again, the mismanagement is to be charged to the account of local, not of metropolitan corruption. There has been no postponement of colonial to British interests ; but a sacrifice of both (and more especially of the *latter*) to the jobbing propensities of an influential interest within the colonies themselves. Nor has the patronage of these colonies been, as some may have thought, a source of power, or an object of any sort of consideration to the government. The salaries of their officials are higher than with us, but much too low to be in any number of cases a temptation to persons having the requisite influence with the authorities in England to apply for them. Six men can be appointed governors or lieutenant-govern-

ors, with emoluments which according to European ideas are any thing but high, and which, while they do little or nothing more than maintain the functionaries receiving them, in the discharge of their office, are only in part defrayed by the colonies themselves, — the governors in almost all cases being paid in part from the Imperial treasury. Each of these six officers has his civil or private secretary, and his aid-de-camp, the latter of course a junior officer in the British service, the former generally a person in some way connected with the governor under whom he serves. The cost of these two offices to the colony is trifling. Besides these eighteen appointments, — exclusive of the military and naval service, which till within the last two years has generally been very little in demand in these colonies, and has never been an expense except to John Bull's own capacious pocket, — there is no kind of patronage within them, direct or indirect, of which the colonist has not his full share with the native of Great Britain. Of course, with an extensive emigration continually going on, from the educated as well as from the poorer classes of the nation, there must be many persons of British birth holding office as judges, sheriffs, and so forth, in the colonies to which this tide of population is directed ; just as in Michigan or Iowa, New-Englanders and New-Yorkers are, for the same cause, to be found everywhere in the discharge of local trusts. But were an Englishman to apply in Downing Street for its good offices to help him to such advancement at the present day in Canada or Nova Scotia, he would very quickly see by the surprised reception he would meet with, how completely he had been mistaken in his ideas of colonial office patronage. In some possessions of the British Crown, no doubt, the East Indies for example, a very different state of things exists in this respect ; but the North American colonies have no golden cushions for official drowsiness to repose upon, and offer therefore no such tempting prospect to the privileged applicants for ministerial patronage. The slumbers of their office-holders, though beyond all question equally profound, are not equally well paid for ; and the " berths " are left to be drawn for by the passengers after they have got on board.

Where then has been the cause of all the actual maladministration, which has resulted from some cause or other in every one of these provinces, and which has led to so much

discontent in all, and at length in two of them to insurrection? Effects like these do not occur without a cause; and it is not easy to suppose any cause short of very great mismanagement of some kind, capable of producing them. Men may complain, and that loudly, of mere trifles. Even communities may be agitated for trifles. But when, in a community, agitation is carried to that point at which property and life are hazarded in civil strife, we may be sure that something more than a trifle is at stake. If the matter in dispute *seem* at first view a trifle, we may be sure there is something more in it than meets the eye. Imaginary evils find imaginary remedies, or remain unredressed without doing much harm. It is only when injudicious treatment has made them real, that real remedies become necessary, and men grow too impatient to brook long delay in applying them.

In the case before us, it will not be difficult to account for all that has taken place, if we direct our attention to two points; the radical defects of the constitutional system which has been in operation in the colonies under consideration; and the natural tendency of the state of things in England, and of the ignorance which has there always prevailed on all merely colonial affairs. — We will endeavour to bring this inquiry into as short a compass as possible.

Nova Scotia and Prince Edward's Island had received constitutional charters before the war of the Revolution; the former as early as 1758; the latter in 1770. New Brunswick was not set off from Nova Scotia till the year 1785, when it received the grant of a constitution formed on the model of that of Nova Scotia. The government of Canada continued to be vested in a governor and council, appointed by the Crown, and holding office during its pleasure, till 1791; when the Imperial Act of Parliament was passed, which divided it into the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and established a representative constitution in each. The constitution of Newfoundland was only granted in 1832. — The Canadas being the two colonies most important for our present view, it will be enough if we describe the constitution given to them. Those granted at an earlier period differed from it in some particulars of secondary importance; but they have since undergone changes which make them in substance identical with the Canadian.

By the constitutional act of 1791, the legislative power

was vested, within each of the new Provinces, in a Provincial Parliament of three branches; each having duties and powers analogous to those of the corresponding branch of the Imperial Parliament, on the model of which these local legislatures professed to be framed. The Governor, or other person administering the government, was endowed with nearly all the Parliamentary prerogatives of the Crown, as settled by English usage. Subject to provisions requiring the assembling of a Parliament in every year, limiting the duration of any Parliament to a term of four years, it rested with the Governor to convene, prorogue, or dissolve Parliament at pleasure. Like the English Sovereign, he had an absolute *veto* on all its legislative acts. If unprepared to exercise this power, and yet doubtful of the propriety of yielding the royal assent to any measure, he might "reserve" it to be sent to England. In this case, if approved within two years, the fact was to be proclaimed in the colony on the return of the Act, which was from that date a law. If not approved within that time, the royal assent was considered as withheld. — The Legislative Council was to be in theory the counterpart of the House of Lords; but as the provinces afforded no material for an hereditary aristocracy, it was necessary to make this body in reality very different from the English model. The hereditary principle was abandoned, and the appointment of life Legislative Councillors vested, without reserve as to numbers, in the Crown. By a singular oversight, no provision was made allowing a councillor to resign his office, or enacting its forfeiture even in case of the grossest personal delinquency. — The popular branch of the Legislature, styled the House of Assembly, was to consist of the Representatives of the people, returned for counties and boroughs, very much after the fashion of the English House of Commons, but by a suffrage which in effect was nearly universal, — the landed qualification (a 40*s.* freehold) being possessed by almost every one of age to vote. In theory, the body thus elected was to be the "House of Commons" of the colony; but the theory, as we shall soon see, was one thing, and the practice another. — No provision was made for the payment of members of either House. A system of payment, analogous to that in use in the United States, has however grown up in practice; the members of the House paying themselves at a fixed rate by vote, out of the

sum allowed for its contingent expenses. Besides the Legislative Council, thus established as a branch of the Provincial Parliament, there has existed another body, with distinct and in many respects anomalous functions, styled the Executive Council. The members of this body are named by the Crown, or in other words by the Governor for the time being, and hold their office during his pleasure. A certain number of them are paid a small salary. If more than that number are appointed, the junior members serve without pay. They are sworn to secrecy, like the members of the British Privy Council, and their "advice and consent" is necessary to the performance of certain of the official acts of the Governor. In general, they may be considered as the confidential advisers of the Governor, though, as he is under no obligation to ask their advice except in a very limited number of cases, it is obvious they do not stand at all in the position of the responsible advisers of the British Crown. They are consulted in general only at his discretion ; and, when consulted, they take an equal share in the discussion of the business before them, the individual members having no departmental duties or responsibility. In fact, from the impossibility of its being ever known on what particular subjects the Council has been called to give an opinion, or what opinion any particular councillor has given, this body cannot be said to be subject to any real responsibility at all. To a certain extent, it is presumed to approve, if not to influence or induce, the conduct of the Executive ; and its members thus share in the popularity or odium attached to it, but this is all they have to hope or fear from the public for their political acts.

The Legislative Council has not the general judicial power which is enjoyed by the House of Lords. The right of trying for political offences or official misconduct, or impeachment presented by the Assembly, has been claimed for it ; but the jealousy, which the popular branch has always entertained of the other House, has prevented it from acquiescing in the claim. Certain judicial functions on the other hand, which our limits do not allow us here to particularize, are exercised by the Executive Council.

In the Nova-Scotian Constitution, and those which were modelled upon it, the powers of the Executive and Legislative Councils were vested in a single body, and not in two,

as by the Canadian constitution. In other respects the differences were not material, so far as our present inquiry is concerned. The earlier charters have of late been modified, in consequence of urgent popular demands for some change in that respect, so as to assimilate the constitution of the Councils to the Canadian model. In Nova Scotia, this change has taken place within the last two years. Our readers are of course aware, that in February, 1838, the constitution of Lower Canada was suspended for a term of two years, by act of the Imperial Parliament, and a temporary government, by a Governor and Special Council, appointed by the Crown, with restricted legislative powers, was substituted.

A few remarks will serve to show the character of this scheme of a constitution, as it was of necessity manifested, when put in operation. The Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, it will be remembered, has always been, in Newfoundland, an officer of the Navy, and in the other colonies, with two late exceptions only in Lower Canada, an officer of the Army. There was thus a mistake made in the very first step taken. A functionary charged almost exclusively with civil duties of administration, and intrusted besides with the delicate task of managing a representative body, was selected from a body of men whose profession almost of course unfitted them for that kind of service. A military officer is apt to look up with too much of the dependent disposition to his superior, and to expect too much of the same to be shown towards himself by his inferiors ; in a word, he is apt to carry with him his notions of military subordination from head-quarters to the council-room. And a more fatal error for men to fall into, whose success depends on the influence they exert, and not on the mere commands they issue, cannot well be imagined. Again, in the absence of a natural aristocracy of birth or property, — in colonies where none are born to titles of nobility or to wealth much beyond the ordinary standard, and where, in fact, even the accumulation of very large fortunes by successful enterprise is difficult and rare,— to whom can the Governor look for the life Legislative Councillors, who are to play House of Lords to his King ? What more natural, than that he should surround himself with *quasi* peers, from the *quasi* aristocracy of office ? Secretaries, receivers-general, collectors, judges, commissioners, were the material ready to his hand. They lived at the

seat of government and could attend Parliament at pleasure. They were the society of his little court, the men whom every governor was sure to know the instant he arrived. Above all, they were the men from whom a something very like military subordination could be secured ; and was it nothing for a military man, to make sure of one at least of the two Houses of Parliament that were to be inflicted on him ? Of such, accordingly, were all the Upper Houses, as they came into existence, under the signing and sealing hands of their Excellencies. Let us add, that in those colonies in which the Executive and Legislative councils were not one body, these causes insured the nomination of Executive Councillors from the same class ; that the same individuals were often members of both, and, worse still, that the paid clerk of one was often a member of the other. This added, our sketch of this part of the system is sufficiently complete.

The constitution and powers of the representative branch of the Legislature were not put on a much better footing. No arrangement was made in the first instance, for any future changes in the representation of different districts. The country was set off in counties, at first tolerably equal in respect of population, but which soon became, in a new country, as unequal in this respect as they had from the first been in extent. Hence arose a most unfair local advantage to the old districts near the seat of government, over the newer and more remote localities. In some of the colonies, this was much more severely felt than in others ; and in general some attempt has been made in name at least to remedy it by Provincial legislation. But in all these cases, the remedy has been of a very insufficient character, and has not been applied till after long and vexatious delays ; the ruling interest in the colony finding its account in keeping all things, to the best of its power, as they were. In the mean time, it has had the effect of more or less weakening the hold of the elected House upon the constituency as a whole, and thus indirectly aiding the official body in its warfare with the House, — of contributing to make a great portion of the community everywhere discontented with the existing order of things, — and, in Lower Canada, of adding increased bitterness to the controversy of the rival races, by the undue preponderance it gave to one of them in the representation.

But this was a trifling evil in comparison with that of

which we have next to speak. At the time when these Assemblies came into existence, the Executive was already in the enjoyment of certain revenues, — revenues, indeed, which were generally almost or quite equal to its then wants. These were of two kinds, the hereditary revenues of the Crown, derived from a variety of sources, which we cannot here particularize, and the avails of certain taxes levied under acts of the Imperial Parliament. The Executive laid claim in all cases to the unrestricted appropriation of all these funds; and for a time, in the early weakness of the Assemblies, the claim was tacitly acquiesced in. But when, as shortly happened, the government had to apply for additional votes of money and new taxes, the Assemblies began to claim the right of at least overseeing the accounts of the other branches of the revenue, to judge with what degree of economy and propriety they were administered, and what were the real merits of the application for further grants. From this claim, the transition was easy and inevitable to the claim of an indefeasible natural right, as the people's representatives, to control the appropriation of *the whole revenue*, however raised. It was hardly less inevitable, that the military governor should side with his council or councils of office-holders, in their death-struggle against all such claims from first to last, and that thus the singular spectacle should soon be presented in every colony, of an Executive striving to carry on the government, with a majority of the representatives of the people in permanent opposition to its whole policy. In this struggle, it will be remembered how nearly powerless, to all appearance, the Assemblies at first were. They could send up bills, but their official antagonists were then to sit in judgment on them, and say to what extent they might become law. And when, by their permission, sent up to the Governor, and by him ratified, it was further at their pleasure, and after their interpretation of them, that they were then to be put in force. The Assembly had no voice in the appointment of this official body, to whom the execution of its laws fell. "During the pleasure of the Crown," was their tenure of office; or, in other words, during the pleasure of those head officials, who, as Legislative and Executive Councillors, had the ear of the Governor, and wielded thereby all the patronage of the Crown, in behalf of themselves, their families, and adherents. These men were subject, as

we have remarked already, to no sort of responsibility for their advice and influence. So long as the Crown had revenue enough at its disposal (or rather *at theirs*) for the payment of their salaries, they could well afford to laugh at all the hostile efforts of the House.

Our limits do not allow us to go into the history of this finance controversy, and show the slow steps by which, at length, most of the demands of the Assemblies, in this respect, have been conceded. We cannot even trace out the results of the warfare between the Assemblies and the officials with any degree of minuteness. The portion of Lord Durham's Report, which relates to this subject, enters into a great variety of particulars, and is interesting and able in the highest degree. We must confine ourselves within such narrow limits, as will materially detract from the mass of evidence, by which our statements would otherwise be found supported. No one, however, at all familiar with the course of events in the colonies, can fail to see, that the slight sketch we are presenting, so far as it goes, is a faithful representation of what has been in constant progress in them. To give facts here, one by one, would be to fill volumes. It must be tolerably self-evident, that, in a controversy of this kind, neither of the parties to it could adhere to a line of conduct that should be unobjectionable. Office-holders, in their control of public expenditure, are inevitably lavish ; and this, the moment their craft is in danger, as inevitably renders their use of the public funds corrupt. The more violent the opposition of a popular body to their privileges, the more corrupt and lavish is the unpopular body obliged to become in its support of them. The assailed Councillors have their military chief in their hands to begin with ; and there he is almost certain to remain. Their acts are, to all appearance, his ; for all patronage, in name, emanates from the Crown, and he is its representative. The Assembly, of course, attack him, not merely for this patronage, but on all other grounds where they can find cover for attack. He retaliates by throwing himself more intimately than ever into alliance with their natural enemies ; and, since he has the ear of the colonial office, just as the local officials possess his, he enlists the home government in his support, as they, in the first instance, enlisted him in theirs. That this should be the case, necessarily argues very little against the Colonial

Department, so far as intentions go. It is distant, and therefore of necessity at first ignorant; the Governor is its nominee and representative; his despatches are all it has to decide upon, and they are in effect the special pleadings of the knot of office-holders, for whom and by whom the war is really waged. Thus for years may things go on under such a system. But, in course of time, the pecuniary wants of the local governments become urgent. The House grows bolder, as its power of annoyance grows. Its remonstrances assume the form of threats to the local Executive, and of strong denunciation of the Governor's course to the home government. It has the power to make its complaints heard; and the obnoxious Governor is superseded. But the root of the evil is still untouched. The new Governor falls into the old hands. For a time, his instructions to conciliate the House may do something to check the course of things; but, in the end, and generally very soon, the old measures in the colony, and the old story in the despatches, are the sure result. And how, meanwhile, is the Assembly acting? Right at first, is it not sure to be carried into extravagances, which must give the officials great advantages over it, not merely in the view of the Downing Street officials by whom the controversy is to be judged, but even in the view of a considerable portion of that colonial community on which the House had to rely for support? The Governor's advisers it has no means of reaching. They are not, as in the States, directly or indirectly chosen by the people; so that the people, if they sustain the principles of the House, can bring them into harmony with it. Nor are they, as in England, directly responsible to the House, so that an adverse vote of that body can force them to resign and give place to men who can secure its confidence. The popular leaders of the House soon find themselves, therefore, cut off from all chance of obtaining the direction of affairs. They may have a Speaker of their party, and may command the votes of the majority of the people; they may force, by dint of long and hard fighting, some of their favorite measures into laws; but, for all this, their enemies, the enemies of all their measures, are irrecoverably the government of the colony. In England and here, the prospect of being some day in administration, always tempers down the violence of an opposition party. It may profess

more than it means to practise, and commonly does. But this inconsistency has its limits. The leaders of the party feel, that success may at any time expose the insincerity of their professions; and they keep them, therefore, within some bounds.

But, with a state of things like that we are describing, there is none of this. The agitator cannot go too far or too fast for the object immediately before him. He may profess, promise, assert, deny, assail, or defend, at pleasure. He is a chartered fault-finder, fearless of ever being subject to the same fault-finding ordeal in his turn. His antagonists use the public purse against him; he too must use it against them. Nor are the means wanting to his hand. His constituents want money from the treasury to make roads and build bridges, to pay for schools, hospitals, &c.; perhaps, even to buy seed-wheat and potatoes.* What can he do better than gratify such longings in the way most conducive to his own popularity and interest? It will never do to rest content with appropriating moneys to these objects, for his enemies in office to expend against him; and, therefore, as a thing of course, his bills have his own and his friend's names on their face, as commissioners to expend them the right way. If the officials refuse to pass such a bill, well; theirs is the odium; and it is apt to be so intense in these matters that affect the pockets of so many, that he knows they will shrink from incurring it, and indeed would be glad probably if he could make them. If they pass it, well; he fights them with their own weapons. But the struggle does not end here. He soon finds, that the less he does to make

* The Legislature of Lower Canada, for a great number of years, distributed large sums yearly among the inhabitants of several counties, for this last purpose, nominally in the shape of loans. In one year (1817), $ 140,000 were voted away in this manner; and of the whole, some 30 or 40 dollars only are known to have been repaid, being one repayment by an extraordinarily cautious purchaser of a mortgaged farm! By a number of these alms-giving acts, seed-wheat could be had almost for the asking, without reference to the size of a man's farm, to the amount of 60 Winchester bushels; other grain, to 45; and potatoes, to 30; and this, too, in counties lying north of Quebec, *till the 25th of June or 1st of July!* The later acts were not a great deal better in their provisions, than these early ones. On all the other subjects named in the text, the popular legislation was often almost as bad as on this; and, though Lower Canada, in this respect as in many others of the same kind, had won the palm of preëminence, it must not be supposed by any means, that its legislature is the only one which has resorted to measures of this kind. "*Mutato nomine,*" and with some qualifications as to frequency and extent, the charge lies against all.

the community independent of these grants of which he is the distributor, the better it is for his purposes ; and he is thus led to make it the policy of his body to centre all patronage of this kind in itself, as the one great popular corporation of the lands, instead of struggling for that invaluable boon to any country, the multiplication of corporate or municipal bodies, vested with powers of local taxation and administration for local objects. The officials cannot, from the nature of the case, be the advocates of popular local institutions, to supersede the clumsy, centralized system whereby they live. And thus, between the two parties, no honest attempt is ever made to secure this end. The popular leader may, for appearance' sake, pretend to aim at it ; but his acts will too often belie his words. Sometimes, of course, in practice, the rule we have laid down in this case, will be infringed upon, and a popular leader will be acting on more enlarged views than his proposition would naturally tend to give him. The rule is not the less a rule, for such exceptions. We are speaking of general tendencies, not of isolated acts ; and, for every exception that could be cited to our rule, could easily cite a dozen facts in evidence of its correctness.

The ball is still rolling. "When we want a bridge, we take a judge to build it," said a popular member of a provincial legislature, whose pithy saying is well quoted in Lord Durham's Report. The popular leader has not before his eyes the fear of being soon himself a judge on a low salary. It is not in his line. He is at war with the judges (for unluckily the judges *in general* have been in front rank in this party warfare) and with all the rest of the salary-receiving fraternity ; and his zeal to cut off their resources and increase his own, by diverting all the public money he can from their expectant pockets to his commissioners' hands, is checked by no visions of an approaching exhaustion of his own purse, by a like process. Can he stop short, under such temptation, at the precise point at which each salary becomes just what it ought to be, for the advantage of the public service ? He is more than politician, more than what most men call patriot, if he can.

But we must go further yet, if we would see the whole length to which this controversy has been carried, and the means eventually resorted to by the Assemblies, to decide it

in their favor. Unable, by mere hostile votes, to remove their antagonists from office, and indisposed to wait the tardy process of battling away fraction after fraction of their emoluments, in the vain hope of starving them out of its enjoyment, it was natural, that they should before long try the experiment of singling out obnoxious individuals for attack, by direct, or, as was the more common course, by indirect impeachment. Here, again, their leaders were exempt from all immediate fear of the *lex talionis*. They could play their game alone. The judges and their brethren had nothing for it but to complain of persecution, and stand on their defence. Of the impeachments, formal and informal, which grew out of this state of things, some were richly deserved, and many not wholly undeserved; but the temptation to an abuse of power in the resort to them, was altogether too strong to be resisted. No competent tribunal existed for the trial of these high complaints, for the House, of course, repelled with scorn the idea of submitting them to the judgment of the Legislative Council, as a House of Peers; and the ordinary courts of law were obviously inadequate to entertain them, even if their own high functionaries had not been, as they were, continually their object. The House proceeded, therefore, by committees of inquiry of its own body, always of necessity hostile to the parties to be accused. In collecting material for accusation, this body often set aside every form of justice and rule of evidence. The committee reported. The House sat in judgment on its own complaint, and forthwith addressed the Governor to suspend, and the colonial Minister to remove, the accused officer. Did the Governor hesitate to become a party to the proceeding, and require, that the accused be heard before being treated as a criminal? — a supplementary address was ready on the instant, to extend the benefit of the proposed impeachment, so far as it might be possible to do so, to such offending Governor himself. Does the colonial Secretary, too, seem reluctant? committee follows committee, address follows address, and threats of the stoppage of the supplies follow all; till from sheer weariness, if for no better reason, the Secretary some how or other gets rid of the complaint, and the hunted official is removed to some berth in another colony, or is suffered to resign uncensured, or is dismissed as a delinquent. In any case, his party has been harassed and humbled, and his assailants have gained their ends.

Partial successes, after a long and severe struggle, seldom make men moderate. The pretensions of the body which has gained them advance as fast as they are gained. A successful leader, who has carried matters thus far by agitation, is apt, on each new concession, to take new ground upon which to urge a claim to something more. After a certain time, so spent, he is not unlikely to lose all desire to have the popular wishes really satisfied, or its substantial interests advanced. Agitation has become a trade; and the agitator sees the loss of his capital in the redress of grievances. Delay of redress has soured the feelings of his followers, and they are ready to be induced to advance new claims. Demand is now heaped upon demand; not to obtain justice, (though *the many* still themselves seek nothing more,) but to force from the ruling power a refusal of what is asked, that the work of agitation may go on, and its workmen prosper. This last stage has by no means been reached in all the British colonies. Perhaps we ought not to speak of it as approached, or approaching, except in two of them, — the Canadas, where, for reasons we shall speak of presently, the controversy has assumed a much worse form than in the others. In the Canadas, however, it certainly has been reached; earlier in Lower Canada than in Upper, and to much greater effect, whether we regard the number and character of the demands made, or of those who have made them. But of this hereafter.

We have, as yet, said nothing of the course of events in England, and their influence on this colonial struggle. During all its earlier stages, it will not be forgotten, that the party in power in the mother country was that which there set itself against all reform or change, as far as it was possible to avoid it. The sympathies of this powerful party, were, of course, for a variety of reasons, altogether with the official party in the colonies. We are all apt to see things as we wish; and it hardly argues a national foregone conclusion to "oppress" the colonies, if those, who in their whole course of policy were nervously anxious to avoid change at home, should have been slow to admit the occasion for radical changes at a distance. Be this, however, as it may, (and we have no disposition to underrate the mischiefs of this course, or to defend in the gross the very mixed motives which led the party to adopt it,) it is certain, that this sympathy was to the

colonial officials, in all their controversies, a tower of strength. They had, in fact, three principal resources ; the first, in the extravagance of the claims often urged by the Assemblies, and the frequent violence of their measures, by which many in the colonies were driven from the popular ranks, and, at least, *inclined* to yield them a measure of support against such assailants, and by which, also, they are so materially aided, in pleading their cause in England, with all moderate men, as well as with their friendly judges, of the ministerial phalanx ; the second, in the patronage of the Crown, which they wielded in the colony, to multiply and *secure* their supporters, but which was useless to them beyond the colony ; and the third, in the sympathy of the dominant faction in the English Court and Parliament, to which at least they always looked as the grand security of their continued power, not merely from its direct effect in securing them a favorable hearing, whenever Downing Street was called upon to give judgment on their demerits, but still more from the general impression it contributed to give in the colonies, of the probable permanence of their power.

In 1830, however, this metropolitan party was doomed to undergo defeat ; and, from that time to this, professed reformers have wielded the powers of the government, and even radical reformers have been found in general supporting the administration. Before this great change took place, the colonial liberals had gained some advantages, but their progress had been slow. It did not become at once irresistible ; and it has not unfrequently been made matter of complaint in consequence, by those who were disappointed in this result, that the English liberals in power have been just as thorough colonial Tories, as their antagonists were before them. The charge is not a just one. The policy of the colonial office, since 1830, is open to attack, no doubt, but not justly to this. The new head of the department has had the old subordinates about him, and much of what goes forth in his name is in fact of necessity theirs. Besides, his correspondents and agents in the colonies were still the same. It was from the officials there, that he received his ordinary information, and it was to them that he had to intrust the developement of his plans. How could the policy of a department, thus divided against itself, be other than wavering ? On the whole, however, the can-

did observer must acknowledge, that, in general, Downing Street, under the new *régime*, has decidedly favored the popular party in these colonies ; and that the successes of that party have, in consequence, been much more rapid than they otherwise could have been.

Still, for the reasons we have explained, its victory was not complete. The reform governments were too busy at home, to give their full attention to what was still an obscure controversy beyond the Atlantic. The colonial Tories still lived in hope, that their old friends would, ere long, return to power, and they therefore abated no jot of their pretensions or zeal. The opposition, on the other hand, by the near prospect of success, was often made more exacting in its demands ; and when, as soon happened, a number of these were not at once gained, its complaints were so much the louder and more bitter. A state of things like this had a strong tendency to hurry on that last stage in the colonial controversy, which we have already described, and to which things have advanced in the Canadas, though not elsewhere.

But we have thus far confined our attention to a single feature of the controversy. This contest with the office-holders, or, as the Lower Canadian opposition not inaptly styled them, the "*Bureaucrats*," was by no means the only, nor even the immediate, cause of the recent troubles. There are elements of internal strength in a popular party, which insure it a speedy triumph, where the battle is an open, stand-up fight of the few against the many. In New Brunswick, the Bureaucracy have quietly lost the day. In Nova Scotia, they have all but lost it. Had the struggle in the Canadas been merely what it was in them, there would no more have been an insurrection in the one case than in the other. Let us turn our view then a little more closely to some of the other grand, early errors of the constitution-makers, and the effect of the state of things since existing in England, in respect to them. On this part of our subject, we cannot hope to say enough for the full explanation of the case. To do this, we must make what we are writing, a book, not an article.

We have seen how clumsily the constitution-makers provided for future government and legislation in the colonies. What sort of system did they establish or allow *de facto*, for their ill-contrived machines of constitutional government to

set to work upon? If a good one, the clumsiness of their machine might have been of less consequence; if bad, the opposite. — To omit, then, all minor errors, and all considerations not absolutely necessary.

The germs of a politico-religious feud were introduced into all the colonies. The church of England, and, though to a less extent, the kirk of Scotland, too, bore with them to the colonies the claim of spiritual superiority. Yet of those who emigrated to form their population, the great majority were not members of those sects. Catholics and dissenters constitute three fourths of those who leave the old world for the colonies. The settlers from the States are, of course, all "voluntary-principle" men. These claims of the established church or churches have been put forward to a different extent, and have led to very different consequences, in degree, in different Provinces. In all, however, as a matter of course, there has been an intimate alliance between the church and the Bureaucracy, not, of course, that every officer-holder has been of the favored sect, but that the great body of them have been, and that their policy has been that of the sect in its claims for power. In justice to the Scottish church, we are bound to say, that, in this unholy struggle, it has never stood the foremost. To the English church, in every colony, has belonged this unenviable distinction; and the church of the sister kingdom has generally, rather stood on her rights, as a recognised established church, against the all-exclusive spirit of her rival, than attempted to urge claims of its own to any unfair advantage over other religious bodies. The exceptions to the rule are not many.

This alliance with the high-church party, on the whole, tended to increase the strength of the Bureaucrat faction. It gave them a stronger hold on Tory sympathy in England, and served, to some extent, to mystify the question of colonial parties, in the eyes of very many, in the old country, who were not Tories, but whose prejudices were in favor of the church establishment at home. In the colonies it had no tendency to make either of the allied powers *popular;* for there both office-holders and high-churchmen were, from the nature of the case, hopelessly in the minority. But it strengthened them, notwithstanding. It secured a class of influential settlers, who would otherwise have had no bond

of union with the oligarchy of the bureau. The emigrants of the established churches were very often men of wealth; and, on the average, they ranked, at all events, beyond any other class in this respect. With the officials, they were generally strong enough to make their profession fashionable, though not popular.

In the lower provinces, this fiction of established churches went little further than the creation of a bishopric and the elevation of the bishop to the Council, as a *quasi* Lord Spiritual, on the English plan. There was a grant from the Home government in aid of the church of England, and an apology for a grant to that of Scotland. And, by virtue of the high-church composition of the Bureaucratic Councils, there was no small share of influence and patronage exercised in favor of "the church" as a temporal-endowment-loving corporation. But here the matter rested. Of late years, the grants in aid of the richest sect of the colonies have been cut down; and, under the popular influence which has effected this object, they must soon cease entirely. The same influence has dealt and is dealing heavy blows on the church ascendency in their Councils. In fact, with the exception of Newfoundland, where the great numerical preponderance of the Catholic body has had its influence on the controversy, it may be said to be now nearly over.

In the Canadas, the case is far otherwise. Besides the influences above described, and common to all the colonies, the Constitutional Act of 1791 inflicted on these colonies a provincial endowment for a future establishment. The Catholic church was found established and liberally endowed at the conquest; and, by the first solemn acts of the conquerors, it was for ever guarantied in its endowments, and, with a few reservations of minor importance, in its other rights and claims. Among the latter was a claim of tithe, — not the tenth part of the produce of the country, however, but only a twenty-sixth part of the grain crops of the Catholic parishes. This the British government guarantied; with the reservation, that it should not be exigible by the Romanish church on the lands of any Protestant. To counterbalance, probably, these advantages, it was enacted, in 1791, that an *eighth** of all lands thereafter alienated by the Crown, should

* The act says, "equal in value to the *seventh of the land* so GRANTED," in other words, to *an eighth* of the whole land, including the reserve. In

be set off from time to time "for the support and maintenance of *a Protestant clergy*." Of what sect this "Protestant Clergy" was to be, did not appear; though from the power, which another part of the act gives to the Crown, of erecting, by a certain procedure, "rectories of the Church of England" in the colonies, and endowing them out of these reserves, it has been insisted upon by the adherents of that church, that no other sect could have been had in view in the act at all. The Provincial legislatures were prohibited by it from making any laws touching these "clergy reserves," or the uses they should be put to, without the virtual permission of the Imperial Parliament in each case; all such acts requiring to be laid before both Houses, previous to the royal assent being given them. It is quite beyond our power here to go into the tedious history of this fertile source of discord in the unlucky colonies that have been cursed with it. In Lower Canada, though a crying evil, it has been less a source of religious animosity than in Upper; for the reasons, that the entire amount of the reserves there is less, their value smaller in proportion, the number of Protestants to dispute about them not one fifth of the inhabitants of the colony, and other all-engrossing matters of dispute (of which we shall speak presently) forcing them to stand as much as possible together, against a common antagonist. But, in Upper Canada, the mischiefs that have flowed from it are almost endless. The violence of the controversy between the different sects of Protestants, led the Crown, many years since, to take no measures that should give interpretation to the doubtful phraseology of the act, till the local legislature should have passed a bill for that purpose; after which it (the Crown) would use its influence with the Imperial Parliament, to procure its acquiescence in the terms of such bill. Year after year, accordingly, this question has been debated in Upper Canada, in Parliament and out of Parliament, perplexing all other party quarrels, and embittering them by the most abundant infusion of the gall of sectarian animosity. Bargains, almost without number, have been proposed be-

---

common parlance, this has been called a *seventh*. In practice, also, the terms of the act have been set aside, and the seventh set off. In Lower Canada, by a happy piece of official juggling, exposed in one of the special reports, appended to Lord Durham's general Report, more than one fifth of the land, actually granted, has been, in many cases, set off, and as much as one fifth in all others.

tween rival sects, to give them the power to seize and share the tempting spoil. Tricks more numerous still, have still ever been detected in time to defeat each proposed coalition and make the breach between the parties wider. The great body of the stancher liberals have long insisted on the devotion of these reserves to the advancement of general education, without distinction of religious creed; but many liberally disposed men, of almost every sect, have looked coolly on this project, and favored some scheme or other of religious distribution. To fill the cup to the brim, one of the last acts of Sir John Colborne, before his recall in 1835, was the endowment of fifty-seven rectories of the English church out of these reserves. The legality of the act was long questioned; but, after a long course of self-contradiction, the Home government seems at length to have acquiesced in it. Not so, however, the opponents of the church in Upper Canada. By them (and on *this* branch of the question all, save the members of the sect, are in violent opposition) there has been manifested but one feeling in regard to it, that of undisguised and increasing dissatisfaction. The present House of Assembly was chosen under circumstances of peculiar excitement, which threw this question into shade; and it has not, therefore, at all represented this public feeling. Its last act, — an act passed in a manner so indecent as to betray, in every step, the intrigue to which it is to be traced, — has been to re-invest the reserves in the Crown; the partisans of the dominant church hoping thereby to gain from the Crown better terms than they could have got from the people. But the intrigue, however it may prosper for the hour, promises little for the future. The province is on the eve of a general election, and the reserve question is now again a prominent one. A new House of Assembly is tolerably sure to protest, and that strongly, against these dealings of its predecessor.

We should have mentioned, *en passant*, that, pending all these controversies, the current proceeds of the reserves come into the hands of an ecclesiastical commission, and that the church of Scotland receives a meagre pittance in either province, and the richer church the large remainder. The reserves are now in process of sale, and the moneys paid for them are invested as the principal of a church fund. This disposition by no means tends to make the bulk of the com-

munity less impatient under the long-continued agitation of the subject.

To turn to another topic. The precedents and modes of thinking of the old world did not stop short in their effects at this attempted union of Church and State. The same ignorance of the state and tendency of things in a new country, which alone could have led the framers of the colonial system of British America into the blunders we have been considering, betrayed them into many others of the same kind. A new country, for example, requires to have a constant stream of population poured in upon it from without, to develope its resources to any thing like their full extent; and, for this purpose, its unsettled land must be kept in the market on such terms and in such a manner as shall present the utmost possible inducement to the settler to purchase and improve it. It is difficult to conceive a stronger exemplification of the unfitness of men merely conversant with the laws and usages of an old country, for the task of directing a grand operation of this kind, than is furnished in the history of the land-granting department in these colonies. In this country, under the colonial *régime*, things were often bad enough in this respect; but it seems as though the politicians of Europe had been learning backwards during all that time, if the sins of omission and commission since chargeable upon them are to be taken in evidence. It is impossible here to give any adequate idea of the disclosures of the Durham Report, and its supplementary documents. They all speak the same language, however, as that which we have been applying to the case in its other aspects. A few great mistakes on the part of the Home government in the first place; and then a long series of local frauds and malversations, so many, varied, and audacious, as to excite surprise, not less at the boldness of the Bureaucratic party's devices to postpone their fellow-colonists' interests, and the orders of their nominal masters of the colonial office, to their own fancied advantage, than at the easy ignorance on such matters which must have prevailed in Downing Street, for such things to be possible. We will give an example or two in illustration.

One of the most glaring instances, perhaps, of mistake on the part of the Home government, is furnished in the early history of Prince Edward's Island. Nearly the whole

of this most fertile island (1,400,000 acres) was in this case alienated in a single day, in favor of a few individuals, resident in England ; who, in general, expressed no design whatever of settling personally on their grants. There were conditions annexed to the grant, binding the grantees to establish a certain number of settlers on the island within a fixed time, as well as to pay a certain quitrent. Neither condition was fulfilled ; and no serious attempt was made to enforce their fulfilment. The consequences to the colony, from its first establishment to this day, have been most serious.

Another of these errors, and one far more extensive in the mischiefs it has produced, is that which inflicted on the Canadas the clergy reserve system, which we have already sketched in one of its aspects. Aside from its effects in embittering civil and religious strife in these colonies, this system has led to results in the land department, so mischievous, that, were it even possible to keep out of view all its other consequences already spoken of, it would still merit to be classed among the most potent inventions the wit of man could have devised for retarding the advancement of a colony. For every grant of land, said the Constitutional Act, made by the Crown, by sale or otherwise, a reserve shall be set off "equal in value to one seventh of the land so granted." The first idea obviously was, that all this land should be for ever held by the Crown for the church, or by the church for itself; and that its improvement and cultivation should take place, as in the old world, through the agency of tenants at will or under lease. As any man, however, who knew any thing of an unsettled country could have foreseen, these expected tenants were not found to be forthcoming. Some tracts of the reserves were leased, but only for a song ; and their holders did so little to improve them, that the prospect to the clergy for the second lease, was little better than for the first. But by far the greater part remained in its state of wilderness, producing not even so much as a nominal rent to the expectant clergy. Of late years, a system of sale and investment has been in operation, under an act of the Imperial Parliament ; but the process has been slow, and in many other respects open to objection. During all this period, in all parts of the two provinces, (except only the old French Canadian districts of Lower Canada,) these unreclaimed reserves have thus been kept back from settlement, interposed everywhere between the improved lands of the injured settlers.

To give some idea of the nature and extent of this dead weight on the industry of the hardy pioneers of civilization. For some time it appears to have been the practice in Upper Canada, to specify a fraction of *each grant*, as clergy reserve ; these grants being commonly made in lots of two hundred acres each, and one seventh (not one eighth) of each being reserved. After a time, however, it became customary to set off in all parts of the country, as fast as it was surveyed, a seventh part of these two hundred acre lots ; and, in general, the reserved lots were separate from one another. In Lower Canada a system of very much the same character has prevailed, though with some aggravations. The whole extent of the reserves at the present time, exceeds three millions of acres, cut up into these fractional nuisances.

But this system, though bad, could be made worse ; and those who were in charge of it were the men to make it as bad as it could be. Whether the original sin of the contrivance we are going to describe, rested with the Home authorities' ignorance, or with our local Bureaucrats' self-seeking short-sightedness, we cannot say ; but we should incline to think the latter. It has all the look of being a device of a local oligarchy, dependent for the continuance of their profitable power on the future increase of those revenues of which they might have the disposal, in the name of the Crown, and without reference to the Assembly. The public lands were held to be Crown property, and their revenues were sacred from popular interference. By what means the local officials were all this time quietly killing, for their own behoof, a large proportion of the geese which were one day to lay these golden eggs, we shall soon see. There was a plan for keeping enough of the geese alive, to supply at some future day, the revenue not absolutely necessary to their purposes then. If the Home government *suggested* it, the crime it committed was nothing to the blunder. The men who saw and knew its consequences, who hoped future profit from them, and therefore entered into, defended, and maintained a system which *they* could easily have set aside, — these men, whether its first contrivers or not, are the men most to blame for it.

Besides the seventh part of every township reserved in lots for the clergy, as a plague to the poor laity, a second seventh was reserved in the same way, for the *future* dispo-

sal of the Crown! Two lots out of every seven were thus kept for an indefinite time in wilderness, paying no tax, and yielding no revenue; but taxing the scanty population everywhere, with all the extra road-making &c., rendered necessary by this impoverishing separation of each settler from his neighbours. A luminous device, to make settlers loyal and religious, by putting Crown and clergy at every turn before their eyes, in the shape of uncleared woods and marshes, to plague and pauperize them.

Pass we to another feature of this land system. The administration of the public lands was vested by the Home government in a few local officers for each colony, and the oversight of these men committed to the Executive Council thereof; the Home government, retaining a mischievous right of interference in directing private grants, in addition to any that might be made by the Council, and a right (for many long years, of course, tolerably inoperative) of directing the Council's proceedings, and, if necessary, reversing any of them. We need not do more than remind our readers of the composition of this Council, to prepare them to imagine the general tenor of their proceedings in virtue of this power. A single example, of a multitude which press forward for citation, must suffice. It is the earliest in point of time, and the foundation-stone is a fair specimen of the building. The first instructions to the local executive of Lower Canada, on this subject, direct that, to avoid the evils of excessive grants, no settler should have more than two hundred acres granted him. To meet the special case of a settler with more than ordinary means for clearing land, the Governor was authorized at his discretion, to grant as much as one thousand more to any such person. Who would have supposed, that very nearly 1,500,000 acres would, under these instructions, have passed in a few years into the hands of a few officials and their friends, in quantities of from 10,000 to 50,000 acres each? Yet so it was; and the mode of accomplishing the trick was this. The influential claimant for such a grant would procure the required number of signatures, to a petition headed by his own name, praying the Governor and Council to grant each signer the two hundred or more acres that could legally be disposed of by them. Private bonds were at the same time entered into between the "leader" and his "associates" (as the parties were commonly called),

stipulating for the immediate relinquishment by the latter of their mock grants, in favor of the former, for some consideration merely nominal. The grants were made with a full knowledge of this fact. Indeed, blank forms of the required bond, drawn up by no other hand than that of the provincial attorney-general of the day, were publicly sold by the law stationers in Quebec. It will readliy be understood, first, that all these grants were free grants, fees excepted ; and, secondly, that hardly any of the land thus jobbed away, has been cleared in any degree by its grasping holders. The system produced the same kind of fruit everywhere.

In 1826, however, the Colonial Office interfered to check the abuses which had been growing up ; and, in 1831, further and more efficient measures were taken to this end. A system of sale of lands by public auction was directed ; but still under regulations not altogether judicious, and which left a good many opportunities for evasion to its administrators. Among Lord Durham's recommendations is one, which there appears no reason to doubt will be acted upon, for the complete reform of this whole department ; but our limits do not allow us to continue our remarks on this subject to the extent which would be required, to explain its principles and efficiency.

Our readers can be at no loss to imagine the effect of this system of land jobbing and reserving, upon the roads in the new districts, or the effect of the want of roads on the settlement of the country. Here, again, the Home government is chargeable with the sins of omission, rather than of commission. It has spent large sums on colonial improvements, but it has not taken care to have them expended in the most economical and effective way. It has given the provincial authorities abundant legislative powers for them to have effected the construction of all the roads the country could need ; but it failed so to balance those authorities in the first instance against each other, as to insure their discharge of that, or indeed of any other, public duty. One colonial party has jobbed in lands, so as to make roads in many districts almost impossible ; the other has too often jobbed in roads, so as to throw yet further obstacles in the way of the improvement of the country.

We might apply the same remark to a variety of other topics, to the provision or want of provision for local mu-

nicipal government; for example, for a rural magistracy, for the judiciary, and, more than all perhaps, for popular education. But our limits admonish us to pass to a subject, which cannot possibly be overlooked or even very hastily discussed, if we would convey to our readers any idea of the true features of the whole case before us.

The policy of the English Crown in guarantying their language and institutions to the descendants of the French Canadians whom it conquered, has already been noticed in its connexion with the history of the old colonies, now the United States. We have yet to glance at its effects within the present colonies of Great Britain; and first, for the real character of the laws and customs thus perpetuated, and the measures taken to perpetuate them.

The political system of the province was improved, beyond question, by the conquest. The complete military despotism of the French government was exchanged for a form of government, sufficiently arbitrary, it is true, but still neither military nor despotic. The introduction of the Habeas Corpus Act into the colony would have been an inestimable political boon, had it stood alone, which it did not. The first step taken by the British government was one, which, if it had been followed up in the spirit which appeared at first to dictate it, might have made the history of this continent read very differently from what it now does. In 1763, a Royal proclamation invited settlers to all parts of the newly acquired territory (comprising most of what is now British America), promising them for ever the enjoyment of laws "as near as may be conformable" to those of England. The French law was abrogated, and the courts were enjoined to proceed on the principles of the English. The Governor was empowered to convene a Representative Assembly; and it is a fact now not very generally known, that most of the elections to the proposed House actually took place accordingly. A difficulty as to the form of oath required for its Catholic members, alone, prevented it from meeting; and the project was then for the time laid aside, on a representation of the impolicy of such a step in a newly conquered country with a foreign population. The Thirteen Colonies of course enjoyed the advantages of this invitation and these pledges. In fact, their officers and men, who had served in the war, were offered grants of land in Canada, if disposed to settle there.

But the disputes of the Crown with its old colonies soon led it to adopt the fatal policy of fostering all that was peculiarly French in its new subjects; and in 1774, the Act called the Quebec Act was passed, at its instance, by the Imperial Parliament. By this, the French civil law was restored to the province of Quebec, leaving the criminal law of England still in force; and the government was permanently vested in a Governor and Legislative Council named by the Crown. This state of things lasted through the war of Independence, and till the passage of the Act of 1791, which divided the Canadas and gave each province the constitution already described. The English law was now restored in its integrity to Upper Canada; but the French civil law was guarantied anew to Lower Canada, or rather to such parts of it as were held under the feudal tenure, — the system of land-granting in use under the French *régime*. The criminal law continued as before; and the whole body of English law, indeed, was, by implication, to prevail everywhere, beyond the seigniorial portions of the province. Besides so much of the French civil law as was thus renewed in its operation over a part of the country, it will be remembered, that, with slight modifications, the laws and usages relative to the Catholic Church, and its endowments, had been guarantied by the earliest acts of the British Crown within the province. Beyond the seigniorial districts, as there were then no French settlements, and consequently no Catholic parishes, these laws and usages were inoperative.

The assigned reason for this separation of the Canadas, was the desire of the British government of the day, to give each of the two populations, French and English, a province of its own; within which its own language and institutions should prevail, and where it should be left free to govern itself, and maintain or modify its laws, at its own pleasure. At the first glance, a project like this may seem statesmanlike enough; but a very little closer examination will suffice to show the contrary. The object aimed at was unattainable; and, had it not been so, its attainment would still have been on all accounts most undesirable. The means were as ill-chosen as the end; not simply because they had no tendency to produce a result at all like that which we have just declared impossible; but because the whole of the results which they had in fact an inevitable tendency to bring about, were mis-

chievous to the last degree. They delayed the collision of the races for a time; only to make it longer and more severe when it should occur at last. They produced a state of things in the mean time, which was far worse for both parties than the collision itself, had it taken place at its natural time, would have been, for the short period during which it would in that case have lasted.

The policy of the United States, when they came into possession of Louisiana, was precisely the reverse of this. The statesmen who made the purchase of that territory, and had the ordering of its affairs immediately afterwards, well knew, that in an extensive country, where a popular government is to prevail, it is an object of the last importance to have for the whole a common language; and an object only second in importance to this, to have a general similarity in the laws, institutions, and usages throughout even its most remote districts. To give the command of the Mississippi, the outlet of the great Western valley, to a community which should keep itself apart in speech and laws from the other States, was an idea never entertained. The difficulty, which the presence of a French population presented, was at once met and overcome. The simple process of extending the jurisdiction of the courts of the United States over the new Territory, requiring that the language of the United States should be that of its constitution and public acts, and throwing open its rich lands for settlement on equal terms to all comers, was enough. Every thing else has followed. Louisiana has become a State, with every privilege and power any other State possesses. She is as heartily American as any; and, though the French language is not yet wholly superseded, no contest in regard to it, or effort to perpetuate it as a local language, is anywhere maintained. Her laws, though touched by no rude hand from without, have been thoroughly revised by herself; the anomalies which a concurrent action of French and American legislation had produced in abundance in the practice of her courts, have been effectually removed; and the code of Louisiana is a model which jurists of the old world have studied, and from which they have borrowed. The collision, in a word, was brought on at once, by the simplest and yet most efficacious means. There has been jealousy and heart-burning. But it has found vent within a narrow space, where it has done the smallest imaginable amount of

harm. A little legislative bickering, never carried beyond the State ; a harmless rivalry of municipalities, confined to the city of New Orleans ; and, in a few years, it is all but over. — Great Britain, for her Canadian experiment, had the advantage of us, in point of time, by many years. Perhaps she had an advantage too, in the superior facilities which her form of government afforded her, for governing her Territory as she pleased, while her fusion of the races should be going on, and till they should be sufficiently one people, and her own people, to be safely intrusted with self-government. She was wise enough to throw away her time. How much has it cost ? And how and at what cost can the time now be bought back again ?

Was there any thing in the then position of the colony, to require that this course should be taken ? At the conquest, the French Canadian population numbered about 70,000 ; in 1791, probably not 100,000. What could have been easier than to have done with them at the first the little that was done in Louisiana, and then to have let things take their course ? The French Canadians are now 400,000 strong, perhaps more ; and no step has been taken yet towards assimilating them to the overwhelming majority who speak the English tongue in all directions round them. To dam up a river, though, is not to stop its source, or to make the rush of its waters, after they shall have burst the dam, useful or safe. It might not have been altogether easy in 1774, for the government, which had then so embroiled the affairs of all the other colonies, to manage the experiment, had they been so minded. At each successive period the difficulty has been growing. And it has to be met at last.

Setting aside, however, the *principle* of sameness of language and a general similarity of institutions throughout a State ; what were these laws and customs of French Lower Canada, that they should have been recalled from the tomb of the Capulets, to linger through a fifty years' semblance of renewed vitality ? Of the many antiquated systems of law which the French revolution blessed the French nation by sweeping from its courts, there was one which had prevailed over a fraction of the country, and was in no way favorably distinguished, that we ever heard, from any other abrogated by the *Code Napoléon*. This was the "Coutume de Paris," a matter for an antiquary to amuse himself withal in

France ; a law for advocates to study, and judges to decide by, in Lower Canada. It is a curious fact, in how many of the colonies of Great Britain, laws of foreign origin, which their authors have long since abrogated, are to this day retained, just as the *Coutume de Paris* is retained in Lower Canada. Her old gift of conquering her neighbours' colonies, has done strange service to the antiquary.

The "Custom of Paris," however, is not all that is peculiar to the Lower Canada courts. It was modified by edicts and ordinances of the French government, which never were of force beyond its limits ; and these are still the law of the land. The ordinances of successive English governors and their Councils come in again to affect this body of law. And last of all, the acts of the Provincial Parliament, and some special acts of the Imperial Parliament, contribute further to swell the confusion of principles, precedents, and rules, French, English, and Canadian, which pass current under the *sobriquet* of Civil law, in the Lower Province. The Criminal law is that of England in 1763, with a few changes made in it by ordinances and provincial acts. The great reforms, which England has of late years made in it at home, are of no avail for her colony, which "might, could, would, or should" have made them for herself, if she had wanted them.

We have a right to look upon the whole of this compound in its present state, as that which Mr. Pitt and his immediate predecessors entailed on Lower Canada, by the course they followed. Had they retained the whole French law of the colony, as the basis of its future code, — making in it at once a few necessary changes, so as to strip it of such features as were irreconcilable with English ideas of criminal procedure, — the result would at least have been a somewhat less confused chance-medley of conflicting principles. How could the criminal law of England harmonize with the real-estate, commercial, and other laws of a part of France ? *.

* In illustration, we may just remark, that the "Coutume de Paris" gives the full force of a mortgage on a man's whole property, real and personal, to any written engagement he may make before a notary. The notary is the sole *Custodier* of all these papers. The French law had its penalties for abuse of the vast facilities this system gave for fraud. But the English law, knowing nothing of such a practice, is silent on this head. The two together, therefore, leave the Canadian notary to act in the premises as he pleases !

Had the whole law of England been established, and the abrogation of the French code been made perpetual, the result would still in time have been a system of intelligible and practicable law. The transition would have been violent; and some rights of property would have suffered, while it was going on. But time would have effected it; and in time its vexations would have been forgotten. In either of these cases, the courts and future legislature of the country might easily have been so constituted, (by the exercise of an ordinary degree of foresight on the part of those who should create them,) as to have performed this work gradually, indeed, but still effectively. As the case stood, the country was placed in a position, in which it was morally impossible for it to remedy the embarrassments of that position. We do not mean to say, that the *mere* fact of two incongruous codes having been put into operation, side by side, prevented their fusion into one code applicable to the wants of the community. A general constitutional system, that should have worked well, might have overcome this difficulty; but we have seen to some extent, what that of 1791 was in this respect. The ordinances passed before 1791, had done very little to bring things into form. The laws enacted since have done, — we were on the point of saying, — *nothing*. The vision at any rate must be microscopic, that can see aught they have done, which would not have been much better left undone.

We profess not to be learned in these cherished "laws and customs" of Lower Canada; nor would we wish our readers so hard a fate as that of being forced to make themselves learned in them.* But we must not pass on without endeavouring to convey some faint idea of their necessary effect on all persons, matters, and things, subject to their sway. They are essentially anti-commercial; and yet the country where they prevail must be, to a great extent, commercial, not merely because a commercial people, of English and American origin, have gained a footing in it, but because, from its command of the St. Lawrence, the trade of a great part of the continent *must* pass through it, must keep that commercial race on its soil, and must give them wealth there, and influence, and, in the end, numbers; all laws and usages

* For some account of them, see *North American Review*, Vol. XXVII. pp. 1 *et seq.*

of any uncommercial handful of men born there, to the contrary notwithstanding. Can a law, for example, which, along the whole course of the St. Lawrence, so far as it is directly open to the sea, would keep every acre of real estate subject to the payment of a heavy tax, on all improvement, to a seignior who does nothing to improve it, — can such a law, by any skill of man, be kept in force for ever ? Yet there it is in force, in this thirty-ninth year of the nineteenth century. All land, held under the seigniorial tenure, is burdened with a yearly payment of a fixed irredeemable rental (*cens et rentes*), to the seignior, often light, but not unfrequently the reverse. Whenever it is sold, a twelfth part of the purchase money is due to this same seignior, in the shape of *lods et ventes*. Thus, if a man buy land for $1,000, and in a year or two improve or build upon it to the value of $20,000, it will cost him a twelfth part of that sum to dispose of what he has just spent so much to get. If he had made no improvements, he might have sold again for the twelfth part of his first $1,000, the cost at which his unimproving predecessor parted with it. Let an estate change hands often, and its whole value is soon gone, in successive twelfths to the do-nothing seignior. The seigniories extend all along both banks of the St. Lawrence, and for miles back on each side, till we get beyond Montreal, the head of all navigation from over sea ; on both sides of the Richelieu almost to the province line, or outlet of Lake Champlain ; and for some distance up most of the other considerable rivers of the province ; in a word, everywhere, where trade and enterprise have the best field offered them by nature. There is a law in force (an act of the *British* Parliament by the way, and most vehemently complained against by the French Canadian Assembly) providing a means for getting rid of this tenure ; but unluckily it put the cart before the horse, by requiring the seignior to move first in each case, and the said cart has stood remarkably still on the strength of it. There is an ordinance, too, just passed by the special Council, for the emancipation of the city and island of Montreal ; but, from some of its provisions, it may be doubted, whether the procedure under it will not prove much too tedious for the exigencies of the case. What those exigencies are, may be readily inferred from the fact, that the city of Montreal, among the very oldest European settlements on the continent, and with natural advantages probably inferior

to those of no other site in North America, New York and New Orleans hardly excepted, ranks with the third or fourth rate cities of the Union. By nature the seaport of a territory only less than the great valley of the Mississippi, having water-power easily available, — and enough to cover her island with the mills and factories it might keep at work, — with a denser rural population round her, than surrounds any other city on the continent for the same distance, and with no serious natural difficulty in the way of the extension of her trade in any direction whatever, — this city has a population of little more than thirty thousand souls, and the whole island on which it stands, thirty-two miles long and ten broad at its widest part, city and country together, numbers only about fifty thousand !

Does any one need further witness to convince him, that a result so striking is to be traced to so obvious a cause ? The French Canadian law has evidence enough in store for the most incredulous. What if it be harder still to borrow on the security of seigniorial land, than it is to sell it to advantage ! An acknowledgment of debt passed before a notary becomes, as we have observed, a binding mortgage on all a man's real estate ; and, of course therefore, most creditors take good care to have one. These mortgages are not merely general, but secret. The notary keeps the originals, and, as there is no office of registry where copies are to be filed, it is impossible to tell how many different notaries may hold the same man's mortgages. On the death of a notary, his papers of this kind are deposited in a public office, and may be seen by parties interested ; but, during life, the notary acts under an oath of secrecy. An intending purchaser can thus, in no way, guess the incumbrances on the estate in treaty, except from the representations and supposed character of the vendor. How little these will serve his turn, may be inferred, when we add, that it is not merely the incumbrances *the present holder* may have brought upon the land, that are in question. Any uncancelled "*acte*" of any former holder will serve as well as one of yesterday. Such bonds are often held back for years, so long as a poor man, who cannot satisfy them, may continue in possession, and if, for any cause, a seizure and forced sale be thought inexpedient. The moment a new holder, who can pay, steps in, he is greeted with them, however, to a certainty. Arrears, too, of seigniorial dues, are held to be secured as by a mort-

gage. By a sham seizure and sheriff's sale, these claims may be brought out before purchase, or, if not brought out, cancelled ; and this course, therefore, though both costly and tedious, is the one in common use. But even this does not bar *all* claims. There are contingent rights acquired (under a labyrinth of laws about dower and inheritance) by the widows, children, and children's children of all who have ever held real estate ; the claims growing out of which neither sheriff's sale nor time extinguishes. How is a man to buy, sell, lend, or borrow, with mill-stone laws like these about his neck ? Prices, credit, trade, — what meaning can the words have, where such a code furnishes the glossary ?

The American reader, not conversant with the subject, may think that a representation like this must be overcharged. The Anglo-Canadian will feel and know, that it is the reverse. We have given an outline sketch of a part only of the picture. Could we add half the minor touches, which should go to a sketch of this part of the system as it exists in Lower Canada, and then proceed to show, how the other parts of the system all tend to make one another more intolerable, the representation would be rendered as much more faithful as it would become more startling.

We have spoken of the perpetuation of the French language, and the laws and usages co-existent with it, in Lower Canada, as a thing impossible ; and have said, that, if possible, the attempt to bring it about, would still have been, as it was, most unwise. Enough has surely been said, to establish both these positions. It remains, that we offer a remark or two on the measures taken with this design, and show, that they too were all that we have called them. It will not require much argument to do this. Whether we look to their inevitable tendencies, as regards the proposed English province of Upper Canada, or as it regards the English race in Lower Canada, or, finally, as regards the French themselves, we shall see them still in the same light, — ill-chosen means to an ill-chosen end.

How then was it, that the authors of the Constitutional Act, intending to separate the two populations for ever, and give each its own province, where it might be unmolested by the other, divided the country as they did between them ? From the St. Lawrence towards the Ottawa, the division line sets out along the southwestern boundary of the highest of the

French seigniorial grants ; and this reason alone was looked to in selecting it. It was forgotten, that the navigation of the St. Lawrence was broken by a rapid, just above Montreal ; so that this arrangement, by giving that city to the Lower Province, left no seaport to the Upper. To be sure, if the island of Montreal had been given to Upper Canada, there would have been an end put, in another way, to the project of dividing the races and their systems ; for this island and city of Montreal formed a seigniory, inhabited chiefly by French Canadians, and the property of a Catholic ecclesiastical community.

But, to show the weight of this objection to the line of demarkation selected. The two provinces had but one natural outlet to the ocean, and that their only direct channel of communication with the parent state. Had they both enjoyed equal access to this common outlet, the mischief would have been less ; but, as it was, one of them had it all to herself. All goods imported for either province must be landed in the Lower. The duties must be paid there. But Upper Canada paid part of these duties, and had a right therefore to part of the revenue. To how much, then ? Could the two colonies, one French and the other English, one collecting the whole revenue, and the other claiming part of it, the one which had the seaports uncommercial in its habits and laws, and that which was cut off from the sea commercial and maritime, — could these fail to quarrel ? But, besides the embarrassments of *a revenue in common*, they had those of *a task in common* too. The navigation of the St. Lawrence is impeded in both Provinces ; to a considerable degree, indeed, even below Montreal. Upper Canada must have water communication with the nearest seaport, and she must be anxious, that that seaport should have the best communication possible with the distant sea. But let her expend her money as she might, on canals *towards* Montreal, Lower Canada must finish them, or they would be worth nothing ; and below Montreal, Lower Canada still must be the party to improve, or no improvement could be had. These two matters of dispute, accordingly, have been in agitation from the first. The Imperial Parliament has been forced to try its hand at the adjustment of the quarrel about revenue ; but the award naturally made both parties more angry than ever. The improvement feud was

left to take its course; and unprofitable it has been to both the parties to it.

But the English in Lower Canada! If their countrymen in the Upper Province had reason to complain, how much more had they? They were not numerous in 1791; but their first settlement had been on the faith of a promise of English laws. Besides, their presence in the colony, and their comparatively rapid increase in wealth and numbers, were, from the nature of the case, unavoidable. Quebec and Montreal must have merchants, if only for the trade of Upper Canada; and these merchants, as a class, must be English, for the French were not and would not be merchants, either to the extent or in the mode required. On the north bank of the Ottawa, too, was the chief supply of timber for the trade with Great Britain; and the English merchants must have their full supply of it. These lands, too, had not been granted in seigniories to any distance up the river, and the English Crown now granted land in free and common soccage only. The French Canadians would not settle there, as it was beyond the bounds within which their laws were confined; and thus an English population extending up the Ottawa must have part in Lower Canada. In fact, for this latter reason (which everywhere made the French keep near their old settlements), a population of the other race was sure to settle more or less rapidly in several other directions, on the extensive tracts in the rear of them. A great part of this population was equally sure to be of American origin. The townships* first surveyed, were along the frontier of the United States; and these soon began to be settled from the southward. At a later period the tide set in from Ireland and Great Britain. It was just as certain, moreover, that the race speaking the English tongue must be, for a long series of years, a small minority under the system set in operation, as it was that it must all the while be present in the colony. How then was this race to fare, with the French law we have been describing in force over all the French part of the country, the validity of the English law, for many long years, called in question, as regarded the remainder, and an overwhelming French majority

* The land, granted in free and common soccage, was set off in "townships" of some one hundred square miles each. The division was purely territorial; and not, as in this country, the basis of a municipal system.

to maintain their own laws, without change, in their own territory, and to struggle for their extension over the whole province, simply *because* they were the laws, of all others, fitted to keep it, the said rival race, out or under ?

And the French, — with Upper Canada thus hostile from without, and this English minority (steadily advancing in numbers and wealth, as compared with themselves,) hostile within, to all which they were indulged with the seeming power of perpetuating, — what were they to do ? Their province set off on purpose to give them this power, were they not sure to make the attempt to exercise it ? If so, was not this, again, sure to embitter the hostile rivalry of the races, in a sort of geometrical progression ; till at length all other questions, — of Bureaucrat or Liberal, — of reform in law or government, — of local improvement, taxes, expenditure, land-granting, or aught else, — should be fairly lost sight of in the *melée*, and be merged in the one war of race and language ?

From this hasty review of the chief causes which have been at work to produce confusion in the British American colonies, we pass to speak in few words of their results. And here our notice must be more hasty still. The facts are too many to be cited one by one ; or the proof could be made clear to moral demonstration, that all we have been saying of the tendencies of the system, may be truly said of its results. We have not the space even to present a full summary of those results, as they differ in different colonies. A remark or two on the state of parties in each, is all we can venture upon.

In Newfoundland, then, the controversy is, in the main, that of a popular party against a Bureaucracy ; though this is certainly not its sole feature. The great bulk of the community is Catholic ; most of the officials, Protestants and of the High-Church School. The religious element accordingly enters largely into the feelings of each party. In general, the merchants residing near the seat of government, side with the administration against the House. The constitution has been but a short time in being ; and the struggle under it is at its height. The Colonial Office, however, has made a number of concessions to the assailants of the local government.

In Prince Edward's Island, the all-absorbing question grows out of the ownership of the soil ; the resident population en-

deavouring to tax the non-resident owners of the greater part of the island, that it may compel them to improve or sell the land, which they are at present holding in waste to the great detriment of the colony. The owners being mostly men of wealth and influence in England, and the colony small, the former have been able till of late to make their representations pass current at the Colonial Office. An arrangement, however, as to the sale and taxation of these lands, is now in progress, — we believe, indeed, completed, — by which the question will be satisfactorily settled as regards the colonists. The Bureaucratic quarrel has never risen to any height in this little island.

Nova Scotia has been the scene of a long and tolerably warm dispute between the official and popular bodies. In strength the two for a time were nearly equal; the Bureaucratic party at the outset having in some respects more than the usual quantum of local influence. Though the party hostile to it are a majority in the House, the minority siding with the officials is still respectable in numbers. The urgent representations of the House have gained for its party some most decided advantages; and, though changes are not yet made to the extent demanded, it is clear, that, if the popular party can maintain its hold on the Assembly, every thing will shortly follow that it requires. The question of high-church has been already spoken of, as respects this colony. It has had more influence here, perhaps, than in New Brunswick.

The adjoining province of New Brunswick was some years ago very violently agitated by the Bureaucratic dispute; but the complete triumph of the popular party has for some time made the state of things quite different. The leaders of the majority in the House now act in harmony with the Councils, in consequence of the changes made in the composition of the latter. In Nova Scotia, these changes did not go far enough to produce this result, and the Councils are not at one with the House, though their disputes are now far from violent.

Indeed, as a general remark, we may observe, that in these three provinces there has never been a manifestation made by any party, however small, of the feeling of *disaffection*, as contrasted with that of temporary *dissatisfaction*. The present lieutenant-governors are all esteemed; and those of

New Brunswick and Prince Edward's Island are decidedly popular, and have every prospect of continuing to be so. Even in Newfoundland, the most violent of the opposition strongly disclaim every thing like disaffection to the mother country.

Of the six provinces, Lower Canada is in every respect in the worst position. Her Bureaucracy were at first naturally of English origin; the conquered French population being then of necessity excluded generally from office. For years, however, the national element of the dispute remained in the shade, though the office-holders were still mostly of the origin of the minority, and their conduct in office was any thing but unobjectionable. The French majority were not the material for displaying political activity; and their representatives, therefore, though from the earliest period rejecting all demands for change urged by the English minority, were not for a long time found arrayed in active hostility to those individuals of that minority, who stood before as "*de par le Roy.*" When the transition to active hostility took place, the more efficient popular *leaders* were generally English,* who acted with the French against the officials, and hoped to induce the French to abandon their inert opposition to all improvement, so soon as the incubus of the Bureau should have been thrown off. A great portion of the English took the same side with the same view. Others leaned to the officials, from an opposite impression. In process of time, however, as the officials lost ground, these English allies of the majority party became disgusted at the unequivocal manifestations which were made, of a determination on the part of those French leaders, who always carried the great body of their countrymen with them, to adhere to the cherished project of French *nationalité;* and the English leaders, one by one, fell off from the side of the Assembly. The official party, now weakened and in fear for their craft, sought to throw themselves into a semi-alliance with the English minority; and thus the dispute gradually changed its real character, while in form, and professed objects, it remained much the same as ever. Not aware of the true nature of the contest, the English Liberal government sought, by yielding, in sub-

* Under this term we include here (and elsewhere in speaking of Lower Canada) *all* who use the English tongue; Americans, Scotch, and Irish, and their descendants born in Canada.

stance, every claim urged by the French party, as a popular demand against a Bureau oligarchy, — to stay the controversy. But this was oil, not water, to the flame. The French were only emboldened; the English only exasperated. The former, throwing off the mask, daily more and more, put forward demands that could not have been granted, without the consequence of driving the latter to absolute desperation. Revolt, indeed, began to be threatened, by many of the English, as inevitable, on their part, if such demands were granted. The government, as it could not but do, refused to yield further. The French leaders openly declared revolution to be their object. Suspicious alike of the Bureaucracy, the Home government, and the French, the English generally held back for a time, as though doubtful what course to take, in a dilemma so perplexing. After a time, the instinct of self-defence forced from them an uncertain note of preparation, as against the *soi-disant* revolutionists of the other origin. And in November, 1837, when the arrest of a few of the French leaders threw the party into insurrection, a few weeks sooner than the time at which they had proclaimed their determination to resort to it, the whole English population was in arms on the instant for its suppression. The consequences are well known.

Lord Durham's Report goes at great length into the subject of this war of races, and shows most conclusively, by a variety of considerations, that the grand features of the case are as we have just stated them. That a few English names should be found on the revolutionist side, proves nothing against it. The names so found, are none of them names of the rank and file. The *community*, speaking the English tongue, suppressed (or by their support enabled the government promptly to suppress) the insurrection. It stands aloof from the officials still; and from the Home government too; — from the former, as much as ever; from the latter, with a little less of distrust, now that the French and it are openly at variance. With all this, however, the attachments of English, Scotch, and Irish, almost without exception, are, to all appearance, as warm as ever to their country and the connexion with Great Britain. The coolness of their feeling towards the government is purely a result of the French struggle, and the recollections and suspicions it keeps alive. The French and their feelings, it is not so easy to describe

in few words. As the English are united in nothing but hostility to what is French, so are the *leading* men of the French in nothing but hostility to what is English. There is, however, this marked contrast between the two. Of the former, nearly all take sides and express opinions of their own, and hence arise differences of sentiment, which extend to all classes; among the latter, it is the few, only, who attempt this, and the great body simply follow the lead of those from among that few, who are most French Canadian and anti-Anglican. Those of the few who are more moderate, are without followers. The character and position of the race, however, we cannot here describe, further than we have already done incidentally. The subject requires much more space than we can here give, to explain it fully.

The contest, in Upper Canada, has been of a less equivocal character, than in Lower; although, here, too, (as Lord Durham's Report conclusively shows,) there has been a strong under-current of semi-national controversy. The tide of immigration has been strong from the old world; and the feelings of the old and new residents of the province have been, on several accounts, the reverse of cordial. Besides this circumstance, which has divided the population of Upper Canada everywhere, the form and size of the province are such, as to cut it up into a number of separate localities, each with its own little centre of party feeling and opinion. This, again, has tended to divide the party which might else have acted in concert against the dominant faction. The Clergy reserve question has embroiled matters, and divided parties further. And, lastly, the extent of the country, by the facilities it has given the Bureaucracy, for the multiplication of offices of petty trust, profit, or distinction, in all quarters, and for land and other jobbing in general, has still added fresh strength to that faction. The same causes have thrown more than ordinary temptations in the way of the Assembly; and it cannot be denied, that it has often yielded to them. The consequence has been, that, for a length of time, the rival parties have had alternate sway in the Assembly; one election going for the one, and the next, almost always, for the other. The struggle was thus necessarily longer, and, in its effects on the legislation and general welfare of the province, as well as on the temper of all the parties to it, far more mischievous, than in any other province, Lower Canada excepted.

When Sir Francis Head came out, in 1835, as Lieutenant-Governor, the popular party were in the ascendant. Sir John Colborne had just been recalled, on their representations; and his successor came with instructions to concede almost every thing they had asked. These instructions were made public, and gave satisfaction to most of the reform party. The Executive Council was remodelled, as an earnest of their approaching fulfilment. But Sir Francis quickly got himself into trouble with his new Council, by performing important acts, not only without its knowledge, but against the known principles of its new members. The Council complained, and demanded to be consulted on the whole business of the administration, or not at all. They were dismissed, and Sir Francis appointed a new Council. The Assembly took part with the dismissed Councillors, and stopped the supplies. The Governor dissolved the House; the chances of a general election were tried; and the result was the return of a great majority of members hostile to the party lately in the ascendant. A numerous body had seceded from its ranks, some convinced from the tenor of Sir Francis's instructions, that, if allowed his own course, he would, in the end, do all that the province really needed, and others alarmed at what they thought the precipitancy of a portion of their old associates. Sir Francis, too, had entered the lists openly as a partisan. His liberal instructions had been appealed to, and the designs of the majority in the late Assembly declared revolutionary. The candidates in opposition to them, stood forward on the hustings in the garb of *Constitutional* Reformers, as opposed to *Revolutionists*. The real cause of the quarrel (the question of a responsible Executive Council, an old demand of the popular party,) was thus almost wholly overlooked; and the result, a great many at the time imagined to be a defeat of a grand revolutionary project.

But the "sheep's clothing" was not slow to fall off. The new House, with the old Legislative Council, took ground against the "instructions," under cover of which they had just conquered; and Sir Francis, intoxicated with the notion of his having gained a "mighty moral triumph," and surrounded by a Council too well pleased with the gifts of office to be troublesome under their dispensation, became, from that day to the day he left the province, the devoted partisan

and servant of the old official party. The Colonial Office held back and showed displeasure ; but the Toronto officials knew their advantage and their man, and kept the field with exemplary pertinacity. At length, however, Downing Street patience was worn out, and Sir Francis was recalled, or, which amounted to the same thing, obliged to leave his post. The demonstration was not quite in time. His rashness had enticed a fraction of the *ci-devant* reform party into insurrection, and had done all that the folly of one man could do, towards securing the insurgents the sympathies of all parties in this country, and the boon of a foreign war besides, to give effect to them.

The insurrection in Upper Canada has had the fate of being magnified into an importance most extravagantly out of proportion to its real insignificance. Its defeated leaders, of course, magnified it in this country ; the party, of old their bitter enemies in the province, have done the same thing there ; the former to gain sympathy among our citizens ; the latter to throw popular odium upon the *whole* body of those who have been active as their opponents, in the province, by representing them as extensively implicated in a rebellion. The truth is, that the Head election, and its immediate consequences, for a time disorganized the old reform party. The men who had left them on the occasion of the former, did not at once return on account of the latter. A large body, too, of those who had fought hard for the party at the elections, held aloof from politics in angry mortification, from the time their results were made known. And thus the least reflecting and judicious, with a good many others, the more unprincipled of the party, were left to the very indifferent guidance they could give each other ; with a Governor almost as little gifted in any of these respects as themselves, to guide, or make believe guide, the whole.

The prospects of the general election, now on the eve of taking place, may readily be inferred. The Durham Report, recommending all that the more temperate reformers ever called for, — the bitter disappointment of the Head experiment of abandoning those claims, — in a word, we might say, the *history* of the last four years, — cannot be without effect. Nor does it appear, from present indications, that they will be. All seems to promise a reappearance of the liberal party on the field, in stronger force and under better auspices than

at any former time. But we are digressing from the line of remark we had laid down to ourselves.

Of Lord Durham's administration in the Canadas, and its abrupt termination, we do not propose at this time to speak. It is not a subject to be dismissed with a slight notice, if taken up at all. We could not have stated the case (as between the ex-governor-general, the British ministry, and his and their political antagonists) so as to present any thing like an adequate view of its true merits to our readers, without having first given them at least as much preliminary information as we have just been giving. And it would occupy us at least as much more space as that which we have already occupied, to do so now.

His Lordship's recommendations for the future government of British America must meet universal approval, wherever they are known, among our people. In the provinces, cut up as parties are by causes of dispute of all kinds, a like unanimity cannot be expected yet, in regard to them. But they must, ere long, combine in their support all lovers of good, popular, and stable government, there also. The signs are not inauspicious in this respect.

To remedy the evils growing out of the national feud in Lower Canada, his Lordship recommends, that that colony be at once merged in a new and more extensive province, so as to throw the French race into a minority; securing them, at the same time, from every thing like oppression at the hands of the new majority. He would give them their full weight in the representative body; would unite them, not merely with Upper Canada, but, as soon as possible, with the Lower Provinces too, where no feeling of hostility to them can be said to prevail; and by committing to every locality the utmost extent of power, for local government, that can safely be delegated to it, would, in fact, place *their own concerns*, after all, in their own hands, taking from them only the unreal mockery of a power to direct those of the other race. Easier terms than these, they cannot hope for from any party whatever, and have no right to ask. Harder, there is no good reason for any party's wishing to impose.

This general union of British America, with the proposed subdivision of the country, by Imperial legislation, into convenient Municipal Districts, is a scheme which, as its author proposes to carry it into effect, promises the most essential

improvements of every kind. It would break up the little oligarchies of each province, would sweep away the thousand petty causes of feud which their influence has fostered or occasioned, would give a new and sufficient field for the full developement of the energies of the whole people, in the future government and improvement of their newly *created* country, and would hold out a reasonable prospect of their future avoidance of those errors, which have till now so fatally contributed to impede their prosperity.

To this new province, Lord Durham would give, in substance, an entirely new constitution. The Legislative Council he would reform, by placing such restrictions on the power of appointing to it, &c., as should be most likely to insure the respect of the province at large for its opinions. And the Executive Council he would so remodel, as to have it consist of Heads of Departments, responsible to the Provincial Parliament; precisely as an English ministry is, — except, that, on matters not purely provincial, they would, of course, not be competent to decide and act, without reference to the Imperial Parliament and ministry. The Governor would thus become, in fact as well as in name, the representative of the Crown. The internal affairs of the province, he would be required to administer, through a Cabinet commanding the confidence of its people and their representatives. Imperial interference would be limited to that comparatively small number of cases, in which an interest, strictly Imperial, might be at stake. It is to this, more than to any other measure Great Britain can adopt, that she is destined to be indebted, if at all, for the lasting preservation of her Colonial Empire. It is the *sine quâ non* of colonial prosperity, content, and consequent adherence to her fortunes.

Lord Durham's proposed reforms extend to a variety of other subjects, indeed to all, which an Imperial enactment could possibly affect. Much must be left to the future action of the province itself; and it is, as we have observed, the grand feature of the Report, that it insists on the unreserved grant to the province, of the power of hereafter acting (with the *prospect* of being able to act wisely) for itself.

We would it were in our power to say, that the measures proposed by the British government are identical with these recommended measures. They savour of weakness, — weakness of two kinds; the one growing out of the state of

parties in England, the other out of that inherent defect in the constitution of the colonial office, to which we have so often adverted. Between the fear of the Tories at home, and the back-stairs influence of the oligarchists in the colonies, the best features of the Durham Report have no place in the ministerial plan. The union the government proposes, is a mere union of the Canadas ; and the measure of measures, the direct establishment of responsible government, is to be sought in it in vain. These are omissions, for which nothing else can make amends. Minor reforms are well enough in their way ; but they are not enough here. The new wine cannot be kept in the old bottles.

But this, too, is a subject we must dismiss, without venturing to enter on questions involving so much discussion. One remark, and we have done. The ministerial measure, it must be remembered, is a mere suggestion. The same weakness, which has made it defective, has prevented the government from attempting to force it through Parliament. The colonies are consulted. Let us hope, that their voice will be expressed so unequivocally, as to lead to its effectual amendment. If *the people* of the interested colonies fail to make their voice heard, in such a cause, we can only say, they deserve the consequences, be they what they may.

In a case thus abounding with difficulties and embarrassments, and pending the discussion by those most interested, of what so deeply interests them, what course should those pursue, who have no other interest in the affair, than their own feelings of good-will to their neighbours oblige them to take ? Had they better leave the case for those who *must*, to their own cost, be troubled with it, to decide ? Or had they better, by uncalled-for interference, embroil their affairs tenfold worse than ever ? Would charity, because it sees the ship in danger, and needing all the best and coolest efforts of her crew, fire into her shells and rockets, to distract those efforts, and insure, so far as in them lies, the triumph of those elements of danger by which she is surrounded ?

ART. VI. — *The History of the Navy of the United States of America.* By J. FENIMORE COOPER. In Two Volumes. 8vo. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 1839.

MR. COOPER has made a valuable addition to the history of the country, in the work before us. He appears to have used a commendable diligence in searching out whatever facts our early history affords, illustrative of the origin and growth of the national navy, and has dressed them out in a form as attractive, perhaps, as the unconnected nature of the events, and the meagreness of the annals from which he derived his materials, permitted.

With the exception of a few irregular exploits, and the more remarkable engagement of Paul Jones, in the Bon Homme Richard, in the revolutionary war, together with the capture of the Insurgent, by Commodore Truxton, in the Constellation, during our naval hostilities with France, in 1799, but few incidents occurred at those periods, of sufficient importance to come down to us with much minuteness of detail. These are all narrated by Mr. Cooper with sufficient clearness and vivacity. Our navy, both as it regards its ships and officers, can scarcely be said to have had a connected existence, from its first creation, during the revolutionary contest, until the commencement of the war against Tripoli. On the breaking out of that war, it was put on a more permanent and respectable footing, than it had hitherto obtained ; and, in the course of it, the foundation of that character, which it formed for itself in the late war with England, was laid in the brilliant actions of Preble, Decatur, and Somers. Most of the officers, who became distinguished during the last war, commenced their career at Tripoli, and received their early professional impressions in a school, which has conferred the deepest obligations on the Navy, and on the country. The burning of the frigate Philadelphia, during this war, may, indeed, be justly rated among the most brilliant achievements of the navy. It is described by Mr. Cooper in his best style, and we very reluctantly forego the pleasure of transferring it to our pages. We also intended, had our limits allowed, to extract his account of one of Commodore Preble's attacks on the gunboats and batteries of Tripoli, in August, 1804 ; a sketch which conveys a very lively idea of the desperate courage

evinced by the officers of our young navy throughout the whole of that struggle.

In approaching nearer our own times, the incidents of the late war with England, for the naval history of which more abundant materials exist, are narrated with greater detail. Among the earliest events recorded by our author, is the escape of the Constitution, under Commodore Isaac Hull, from a fleet of British ships, in July, 1812. The story itself, and the style of its narrator, are both so spirited, that we cannot deny ourselves the satisfaction of laying it before our readers.

"As the day opened, three sail were discovered on the starboard quarter of the Constitution, and three more astern. This was the squadron of Commodore Broke, which had been gradually closing with the American frigate during the night, and was now just out of gunshot. As the ships slowly varied their positions, when the mists were entirely cleared away, the Constitution had two frigates on her lee quarter, and a ship of the line, two frigates, a brig, and a schooner astern. All the strangers had English colors flying.

"It now fell quite calm, and the Constitution hoisted out her boats, and sent them ahead to tow, with a view to keep the ship out of the reach of the enemy's shot. At the same time, she whipt up one of the main deck guns to the spar deck, and run it out aft, as a stern chaser, getting a long eighteen off the forecastle, also, for a similar purpose. Two more of the twenty-fours below were run out of the cabin windows, with the same object, though it was found necessary to cut away some of the wood-work of the stern frame, in order to make room.

"By six o'clock, the wind, which continued very light and baffling, came out from the northward of west, when the ship's head was got round to the southward, and all the light canvass, that would draw, was set. Soon after, the nearest frigate, the Shannon, opened with her bow guns, and continued firing for about ten minutes, but, perceiving she could not reach the Constitution, she ceased. At half past six, Captain Hull sounded in twenty-six fathoms, when, finding that the enemy was likely to close, as he was enabled to put the boats of two ships on one, and was also favored by a little more air than the Constitution, all the spare rope that could be found, and which was fit for the purpose, was payed down into the cutters, bent on, and a kedge was run out, near half a mile ahead, and let go. At a signal given, the crew clapped on, and walked away with the ship, overrunning and tripping the kedge, as she came up with the end of the line. While this was doing, fresh lines and another

kedge were carried ahead, and in this manner, though out of sight of land, the frigate had glided away from her pursuers, before they discovered the manner in which it was done. It was not long, however, before the enemy resorted to the same expedient. At half past seven, the Constitution had a little air, when she set her ensign, and fired a shot at the Shannon, the nearest ship astern. At eight, it fell calm again, and further recourse was had to the boats and the kedges, the enemy's vessels having a light air, and drawing ahead, towing, sweeping, and kedging. By nine, the nearest frigate, the Shannon, on which the English had put most of their boats, was closing fast, and there was every prospect, notwithstanding the steadiness and activity of the Constitution's people, that the frigate just mentioned, would get near enough to cripple her, when her capture by the rest of the squadron would be inevitable. At this trying moment, the best spirit prevailed in the ship. Everything was stoppered, and Captain Hull was not without hopes, even should he be forced into action, of throwing the Shannon astern by his fire, and of maintaining his distance from the other vessels. It was known that the enemy could not tow very near, as it would have been easy to sink his boats with the stern guns of the Constitution, and not a man in the latter vessel showed a disposition to despondency. Officers and men relieved each other regularly at the duty, and, while the former threw themselves down on deck to catch short naps, the people slept at their guns.

"This was one of the most critical moments of the chase. The Shannon was fast closing, as has been just stated, while the Guerriere was about as near on the larboard quarter. An hour promised to bring the struggle to an issue, when, suddenly, at nine minutes past nine, a light air from the southward struck the ship, bringing her to windward. The beautiful manner in which this advantage was improved, excited admiration, even in the enemy. As the breeze was seen coming, the ship's sails were trimmed, and, as soon as she was under command, she was brought close up to the wind, on the larboard tack; the boats were all dropped in alongside; those that belonged to the davits were run up, while the others were just lifted clear of the water, by purchases on the spare spars, stowed outboard, where they were in readiness to be used again at a moment's notice. As the ship came by the wind, she brought the Guerriere nearly on her lee beam, when that frigate opened a fire from her broadside. While the shot of this vessel were just falling short of them, the people of the Constitution were hoisting up their boats, with as much steadiness as if the duty was performing in a friendly port. In about

an hour, however, it fell nearly calm again, when Captain Hull ordered a quantity of the water started, to lighten the ship. More than two thousand gallons were pumped out, and the boats were sent ahead again to tow. The enemy now put nearly all his boats on the Shannon, the nearest ship astern ; and a few hours of prodigious exertion followed, the people of the Constitution being compelled to supply the place of numbers by their activity and zeal. The ships were close by the wind, and every thing that would draw was set, and the Shannon was slowly, but steadily, forging ahead. About noon, of this day, there was a little relaxation from labor, owing to the occasional occurrence of cat's paws, by watching which closely, the ship was urged through the water. But, at a quarter past twelve, the boats were again sent ahead, and the toilsome work of towing and kedging was renewed.

"At one o'clock, a strange sail was discovered, nearly to leeward. At this moment, the four frigates of the enemy were about one point on the lee quarter of the Constitution, at long gunshot, the Africa, and the two prizes, being on the lee beam. As the wind was constantly baffling, any moment might have brought a change, and placed the enemy to windward. At seven minutes before two, the Belvidere, then the nearest ship, began to fire with her bow guns, and the Constitution opened with her stern chasers. On board the latter ship, however, it was soon found to be dangerous to use the main deck guns, the transoms having so much rake, the windows being so high, and the guns so short, that every explosion lifted the upper deck, and threatened to blow out the stern frame. Perceiving, moreover, that his shot did little or no execution, Captain Hull ordered the firing to cease at half past two.

"For several hours, the enemies' frigates were now within gunshot, sometimes towing and kedging, and at others endeavouring to close with the puffs of air that occasionally passed. At seven in the evening, the boats of the Constitution were again ahead, the ship steering southwest half west, with an air so light as to be almost imperceptible. At half past seven she sounded in twenty-four fathoms. For four hours, the same toilsome duties were going on, until a little before eleven, when a light air from the southward struck the ship, and the sails, for the first time in many weary hours, were asleep. The boats instantly dropped along side, hooked on, and were all run up, with the exception of the first cutter. The top-gallant studding-sails and stay-sails were set as soon as possible, and, for about an hour, the people caught a little rest.

"But at midnight it fell nearly calm again, though neither

the pursuers nor the pursued had recourse to the boats, probably from an unwillingness to disturb their crews. At two, A. M., it was observed, on board the Constitution, that the Guerriere had forged ahead, and was again off their lee beam. At this time the top-gallant studding-sails were taken in.

"In this manner passed the night, and on the morning of the next day it was found, that three of the enemy's frigates were within long gunshot on the lee quarter, and the other at about the same distance on the lee beam. The Africa and the prizes were much further to leeward.

"A little after daylight, the Guerriere, having drawn ahead sufficiently to be forward of the Constitution's beam, tacked, when the latter ship did the same, in order to preserve her position to windward. An hour later the Æolus passed on the contrary tack so near, that it was thought by some, who observed the movement, that she ought to have opened her fire; but, as that vessel was merely a twelve pounder frigate, and she was still at a considerable distance, it is quite probable her commander acted judiciously. By this time, there was sufficient wind to induce Captain Hull to hoist in his first cutter.

"The scene, on the morning of this day, was very beautiful, and of great interest to the lovers of nautical exhibitions. The weather was mild and lovely, the sea smooth as a pond, and there was quite wind enough to remove the necessity of any of the extraordinary means of getting ahead, that had been so freely used during the previous eight-and-forty hours. All the English vessels had got on the same tack with the Constitution again, and the five frigates wore clouds of canvass from their trucks to the water. Including the American ship, eleven sail were in sight, and, shortly after, a twelfth appeared to windward, that was soon ascertained to be an American merchantmen. But the enemy were too intent on the Constitution, to regard any thing else, and, though it would have been easy to capture the ships to leeward, no attention appears to have been paid to them. With a view, however, to deceive the ship to windward, they hoisted American colors, when the Constitution set an English ensign, by way of warning the stranger to keep aloof."

"At meridian the wind began to blow a pleasant breeze, and the sound of the water, rippling under the bows of the vessel, was again heard. From this moment the noble old ship slowly drew ahead of all her pursuers, the sails being watched and tended in the best manner that consummate seamanship could dictate, until four, P. M., when the Belvidere was more than four miles astern, and the other vessels were thrown

behind in the same proportion, though the wind had again got to be very light.

"In this manner both parties kept pressing ahead and to windward, as fast as circumstances would allow, profiting by every change, and resorting to all the means of forcing vessels through the water, that are known to seamen. At a little before seven, however, there was every appearance of a heavy squall, accompanied by rain; when the Constitution prepared to meet it with the coolness and discretion she had displayed throughout the whole affair. The people were stationed, and every thing was kept fast to the last moment, when, just before the squall struck the ship, the order was given to clew up and clew down. All the light canvass was furled, a second reef was taken in the mizen topsail, and the ship was brought under short sail, in an incredibly little time. The English vessels, observing this, began to let go and haul down without waiting for the wind, and, when they were shut in by the rain, they were steering in different directions to avoid the force of the expected squall. The Constitution, on the other hand, no sooner got its weight, than she sheeted home and hoisted her fore and main top-gallant sails, and while the enemy most probably believed her to be borne down by the pressure of the wind, steering free, she was flying away from them, on an easy bowline, at the rate of eleven knots."

"Thus terminated a chase, that has become historical in the American Navy, for its length, closeness, and activity. On the part of the English, there were manifested much perseverance and seamanship, a ready imitation, and a strong desire to get along side of their enemy. But the glory of the affair was carried off by the officers and people of the Constitution. Throughout all the trying circumstances of this arduous struggle, this noble frigate, which had so lately been the subject of the sneers of the English critics, maintained the high character of a man-of-war. Even when pressed upon the hardest, nothing was hurried, confused, or slovenly, but the utmost steadiness, order, and discipline reigned in the ship."— Vol. II. pp. 155 – 162.

The sequel of the naval events of the late war with England is related, in the course of the second volume of Mr. Cooper's work, with an ability corresponding with that of the description which we have quoted above. In interest, indeed, the second volume very far exceeds the first, owing, in part, to the more abundant materials within reach of the author, and also, in some degree, to the facts being familiar

to many of us, and having made a deep impression upon our minds at the time of their occurrence.

The whole of this portion of the work, describing our naval battles with England, is characterized by a remarkable tone of liberality towards that country, which compares most advantageously with those portions of the works of Brenton and James, in which the same events are described. We are not, indeed, without the apprehension, that Mr. Cooper's unwillingness to claim too much credit for our triumphs in this brilliant, though unequal struggle, may have led him to be more than just to England. That he has been so in one instance, and in that instance to the prejudice and depreciation of one of the most glorious of all our naval achievements, is too manifest. We allude to the battle of Lake Erie. He seems, moreover, to have labored to convey an unfair impression of the relative exertions of Commodore Perry and of Captain Elliott, his second in command, during the battle. The controversy, which he thus brings up, is not of our seeking. It is of so personal a nature, that we would gladly avoid it, if we could do so, consistently with critical honesty. But it is forced upon whoever undertakes to comment upon Mr. Cooper's book ; and, however disagreeable the task thus imposed, we cannot be so indifferent to the truth respecting one of the most brilliant exploits, nor so unjust to one of the most glorious names, in our naval annals, as to permit what we regard as gross misrepresentations concerning them to pass, without remonstrance of ours, into accredited history.

Our limits do not permit us to quote the whole of Mr. Cooper's account of this battle, as, with the comments which we propose to make on it, our article would be so far extended as to exclude the few hints on the condition and prospects of the navy, with which we propose to conclude our task. By citing the pages in which we are called upon to correct errors, the reader, with the work before him, will be able to follow and appreciate the justness of our commentary.

As a first instance, in which an indisposition, on the part of Mr. Cooper, to commend and highly estimate the merits of Commodore Perry, may be detected, we would call attention to the fact, that, after having stated, on page 389, Volume II., the circumstances attending the removal of the heavy vessels over the bar of Erie harbour, he fails to com-

mend the seamanlike skill, ingenuity, and great despatch, with which that operation was performed, whilst, in all similar cases throughout the course of his work, even where far inferior interests are at stake, he evinces a lively perception of the merit displayed, and never fails to commend it strongly.

In order to elucidate the unfairness of Mr. Cooper's account of the battle, we will first copy his description of the relative position of the two squadrons at the time the action began.

"Captain Barclay (the British commander) had formed his line with the Chippeway, Mr. Campbell, armed with one gun on a pivot, in the van; the Detroit, his own vessel, next; and the Hunter, Lieutenant Bignall; Queen Charlotte, Captain Finnis; Lady Prevost, Lieutenant-Commandant Buchan; and Little Belt, astern, in the order named. To oppose this line, the Ariel, of four long twelves, was stationed in the van, and the Scorpion, of one long and one short gun on circles, next her. The Lawrence, Captain Perry, came next; the two schooners just mentioned keeping on her weather bow, having no quarters. The Caledonia, Lieutenant Turner, was the next astern, and the Niagara, Captain Elliott, was placed next to the Caledonia. These vessels were all up at the time, but the other light craft were more or less distant, each endeavouring to get into her berth. The order of battle for the remaining vessels, directed the Tigress to fall in astern of the Niagara, the Somers next, and the Porcupine and Trippe in the order named." — Vol. II. pp. 391, 392.

Mr. Cooper subsequently states, that "the order of battle required them to form within half a cable's length of each other," and as the Niagara was, as he states, in her station immediately before the action commenced, it follows, that she was only one cable's length astern of the Lawrence. Very soon after this, the action commenced with a shot from the Detroit at the Lawrence; still the Niagara was in her station and within hail, for at this time Commodore Perry ordered the word to be passed by trumpet, through Captain Elliot, for the squadron to close, as before prescribed, to half cable-length's distance. Mr. Cooper does not mention the material fact, that this word was passed, through Captain Elliott, after the action commenced; nor does he mention the equally material fact, that signal was now made for each vessel to engage her opponent, as designated in previous orders. Now the designated opponent of the Niagara was the Queen

Charlotte, a fact which Mr. Cooper mentions at the commencement of his account of the engagement, but does not advert to afterwards, when it was seen, that the Niagara did not seek her opponent, so long as Captain Elliott remained on board of her.

We are told (p. 393), that the action commenced a few minutes before meridian, when the Niagara was hailed from the Lawrence, and the signal made for each vessel to engage her opponent, as previously designated. Mr. Cooper goes on to state.

"At this moment, the American vessels, in line, were edging down upon the English, those in van being necessarily nearer to the enemy than those astern of them, with the exception of the Ariel and Scorpion, which two schooners had been ordered to keep to windward of the Lawrence. As the Detroit had an armament of long guns, Captain Barclay manifested his judgment in commencing the action in this manner, and, in a short time, the firing between that ship, the Lawrence, and the two schooners at the head of the American line, became animated. A few minutes later, the vessels astern began to fire, and the action became general, but distant. The Lawrence, however, appeared to be the principal aim of the enemy, and, before the fire had lasted any material time, the Detroit, Hunter, and Queen Charlotte, were directing most of their efforts against her. The American brig endeavoured to close, and did succeed in getting within reach of canister, though not without suffering materially, as she fanned down upon the enemy. At this time, the support of the two schooners ahead, which were well commanded and fought, was of the greatest moment to her, for the vessels astern, though in the line, could be of little use in diverting the fire, on account of their positions and distance."—Vol. II. p. 393.

Where was the Niagara at this time, that she could not engage her designated opponent, the seventeen-gun ship Queen Charlotte, and thus relieve the Commodore, and assume her proper share in this unequal combat? If the Lawrence "did succeed in getting within reach of canister, though not without suffering materially, as she fanned down upon the enemy," why could not the Niagara, which, a few moments before, had answered a hail from the Commodore, and which had not, as yet, "suffered materially," or at all, also "fan down" to relieve her sorely pressed Commo-

dore, and assail the Queen Charlotte, which, Mr. Cooper tells us, the Niagara had been destined specially to "lie against"? If "the support of the two schooners ahead," which "were well commanded and fought," though they mounted together only six guns, "was of the greatest moment" to the Lawrence, of how much greater moment would the support of the Niagara have been, had she, mounting twenty guns, been also "well commanded and fought"!

Mr. Cooper next tells us, that

"After the fire had lasted some time, the Niagara hailed the Caledonia, and directed the latter to make room for the brig to pass ahead. Mr. Turner put his helm up in the most dashing manner, and continued to near the enemy, until he was closer to his line, perhaps, than the commanding vessel; keeping up as warm a fire as his small armament would allow. The Niagara now became the vessel next astern of the Lawrence."—Vol. II. pp. 393, 394.

Here was conduct worthy of Daniel Turner, worthy of the noble fellow-townsman under whom he served. Convert Mr. Cooper's "perhaps" into a certainty, and admit that Lieutenant Turner was closer to the enemy's line than his commander; if Lieutenant Turner, in the little Caledonia, of three guns, did not hesitate to "put his helm up in the most dashing manner, and continue to near the enemy, until he was closer to his line, perhaps, than the commanding vessel, keeping up as warm a fire as his small armament would allow," why could not Captain Elliott, in the Niagara, of twenty guns, being so near to the Caledonia as to be embarrassed by her movements, have "put his helm up," in the same "dashing manner," until he too had been "closer to the enemy" than the commanding vessel, and broadside and broadside with the ship which he had been destined "to lie against"? This would have been in strict conformity with the last words of Commodore Perry to his commanders, while delivering them their written orders on the eve of the battle, (and to which Mr. Cooper nowhere adverts,) telling them, that he could not advise them better, than, in the words of Lord Nelson, "If you lay your enemy alongside, you cannot be out of your place." But Captain Elliott, in the Niagara, did not imitate Lieutenant Turner's "most dashing manner" of bearing up. On the contrary, the effect of his order, given in violation of the order of battle fixed by the

Commodore, was to place the Caledonia between him and the enemy, instead of leaving this small vessel, unprotected by bulwarks, partially under cover of his bow, as the Ariel and Scorpion were under cover of the bow of the Lawrence. It is a little singular, that Mr. Cooper, having thus shown a true taste for what is noble in a naval officer, by eulogizing Lieutenant Turner for the dashing manner in which he bore down upon the enemy, should subsequently commend Captain Elliott for the directly opposite conduct of hauling up and keeping at long shots, and partially under cover, when he says (p. 402), "By steering for the head of the enemy's line, the latter was prevented from gaining the wind by tacking; and, when Captain Elliott imitated this manœuvre in the Niagara, the American squadron had a very commanding position, of which Captain Perry promptly availed himself." Lieutenant Turner is commended for dashing into the thickest of the fight, Captain Elliott for changing his Commodore's order of battle, and hauling out of it. Taking "a very commanding position" without the reach of danger, is mentioned with the same tone of commendation, and in the same paragraph, as rushing into the midst of it to conquer!

The account of the battle is thus continued;

"The effect of the cannonade was necessarily to deaden the wind, and for nearly two hours there was very little air. During all this time, the weight of the enemy's fire continued to be directed at the Lawrence; even the Queen Charlotte, having filled, passed the Hunter, and got under the stern of the Detroit, where she kept up a destructive cannonade on this devoted vessel. The effect of these united attacks, besides producing a great slaughter on board the Lawrence, was nearly to dismantle her, and at the end of two hours and a half, agreeably to Captain Perry's report, the British vessels having filled, and the wind beginning to increase, the two squadrons moved slowly ahead, the Lawrence necessarily dropping astern, and partially out of the combat. At this moment the Niagara passed to the westward, a short distance to the windward of the Lawrence, steering for the head of the enemy's line, and the Caledonia followed, to leeward." —Vol. II. p. 394.

When Mr. Cooper states, that "the Niagara hailed the Caledonia," and gave the order which led Lieutenant Turner to "put his helm up, in the most dashing manner," to run down upon the enemy, he merely informs us, that "the

Niagara now became the next vessel to the Lawrence." He leaves us under the impression, that the Niagara was in a position to take her fair share in the fight. It is only at the close of the next paragraph, that the initiated may dimly discover what became of the Niagara, when the Caledonia bore up to make room for her. "The Niagara passed to the westward, a short distance to the windward of the Lawrence, steering for the head of the enemy's line, and the Caledonia followed, to leeward." In the language of the land, this means simply, that the Caledonia passed between the enemy and her disabled Commodore, offering such feeble succour as she was able, whilst the stout Niagara placed the Commodore, as well as the Caledonia, between her and the enemy, as a double shield of protection. This is the true meaning of Mr. Cooper's own account; we might cite documents which Mr. Cooper has failed to use, to show, that, at this time, the Niagara lay to, with her maintop-sail to the mast, and her gib brailed up, having the Lawrence between her and the enemy.

During two mortal hours, then, "the weight of the enemy's fire continued to be directed at the Lawrence; even the Queen Charlotte, having filled, passed the Hunter, and got under the stern of the Detroit, where she kept up a destructive cannonade on this devoted vessel." And the Niagara, which had been destined "to lie against" the Queen Charlotte,—which might so easily have followed the little Caledonia into the thickest of the fight,—and which should rather have shown her the way thither, had been withdrawn by her commander, so as to make a cover of the devoted vessel, which he should, in conformity with his instructions, no less than in obedience to every noble prompting of an officer and a man, have hastened to rescue.

The Lawrence, abandoned by her consort, and left to struggle, single-handed, with the whole British fleet, had been utterly cut to pieces; twenty-two of her crew were killed, and sixty-one wounded. Only one gun could still be used on board of her, and the services of her noble commander were necessary to load and fire that one. The battle seemed to all to be lost, and the British seamen were already cheering for their anticipated triumph. Perry had fought nobly, and might well have shared the necessary fate of his vessel, leaving the responsibility and disgrace of defeat

to the unworthy associate, who had done every thing to secure it, when the day was again retrieved and won, by as noble an inspiration as naval history, through all times and ages, can afford. It was in this apparently hopeless moment of the battle, that the second lieutenant of the Lawrence, Dulany Forrest, said to Commodore Perry, "That brig (the Niagara) will not help us; see how he keeps off; he will not come to close action." "I'll fetch him up," said Commodore Perry. He ordered his boat to be manned, and, as he shoved off from the Lawrence, said, "If a victory is to be gained, I 'll gain it!" And well did he redeem his words; for, perhaps, of no naval battle may it be so truly said, that it was won by the personal exertions of the commander. How different the handling of the Niagara by Captain Elliott and by Commodore Perry. Under the former, at long shots, or under the protection of the Lawrence and Caledonia, and part of the time hove to and motionless, with her maintop-sail to the mast, and jib brailed up, seeking after the "very commanding position," which Mr. Cooper eulogizes; under Commodore Perry, changing her course eight points, or a whole right angle, and bearing down, under a press of sail, to encounter, not merely that Queen Charlotte, her opponent, which she had hitherto so successfully avoided, but the whole British fleet. Clear of her first commander, who had volunteered to go away from the scene of action, to bring up the small vessels, which were at a distance from the fight, the Niagara seems instinct with a new life. But we will let Mr. Cooper tell the tale, as here the facts are not susceptible of mystification.

"At this critical moment, the Niagara came steadily down, within half pistol shot of the enemy, standing between the Chippeway and Lady Prevost, on one side, and the Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Hunter, on the other. In passing, she poured in her broadsides, starboard and larboard, ranged ahead of the ships, luffed athwart their bows, and continued delivering a close and deadly fire. The shrieks from the Detroit proved that the tide of battle had turned. At the same moment, the gun vessels and Caledonia were throwing in close discharges of grape and canister, astern. A conflict so fearfully close, and so deadly, was necessarily short. In fifteen or twenty minutes after the Niagara bore up, a hail was passed, among the small vessels, that the enemy had struck, and an officer of the Queen Charlotte appeared on the taffrail of that ship, waving a white handkerchief, bent to a boarding-pike." — Vol. II. pp. 395, 396.

It was in this way, that the battle of Lake Erie was won, eminently, by the exertions of Commodore Perry, and equally so, in defiance of the studious want of exertion of Captain Elliott, his second in command. Yet we find, in a work, professing to give a faithful history of the American Navy, a disposition to disparage this, its most glorious event, and to distribute equal meeds of fame to the noble chief, who achieved it mainly by his own personal exertions, and the unworthy coadjutor, who did all that depended upon him to frustrate it.

As an evidence of a disposition to disparage the character of this victory, we will cite the fact, that the relative force of the two squadrons is not correctly stated by Mr. Cooper. He says, in his review of the battle ;

"It is not easy, to make a just comparison between the forces of the hostile squadrons, on this occasion. Under some circumstances, the Americans would have been materially superior, while, in others, the enemy might possess the advantage, in, perhaps, an equal degree. In those, under which the action was actually fought, the peculiar advantages, and disadvantages, were nearly equalized, the lightness of the wind preventing either of the two largest of the American vessels from profiting by their peculiar mode of efficiency, until quite near the close of the engagement, and particularly favoring the armament of the Detroit ; while the smoothness of the water rendered the light vessels of the Americans very destructive, as soon as they could be got within a proper range. The Detroit has been represented, on good authority, to be both a heavier and stronger ship, than either of the American brigs, and the Queen Charlotte proved to be a much finer vessel, than had been expected ; while the Lady Prevost was found to be a large warlike schooner. It was, perhaps, unfortunate for the enemy, that the armaments of these two vessels were not available, under the circumstances which rendered the Detroit so efficient, as it destroyed the unity of their efforts. In short, the battle, for near half its duration, appears to have been fought, so far as efficiency was concerned, by the long guns of the two squadrons. This was particularly favoring the Detroit, and the American gun vessels, while the latter fought under the advantage of smooth water, and the disadvantage of having no quarters. The sides of the Detroit, which were unusually stout, were filled with shot, that did not penetrate. In the number of men at quarters, there could have been no great disparity in the two squadrons."— Vol. II. pp. 399, 400.

If it were possible to unravel this web of opposing evidence and contending opinions, the conclusion would rather remain, (even without taking into the account, that the writer is a countryman of ours, sufficiently patriotic to have won for himself the cognomen of "American,") that the American force was in no respect inferior, in ships and men, to the British. The facts are quite otherwise. In the account of the British force, where it is presented collectively by Mr. Cooper, the vessels, composing it, have an armament of fifty-nine guns. Subsequently, the Chippeway and Little Belt, not enumerated in this list, are found taking part in the action; the Chippeway is there stated to have had one gun, but the armament of the Little Belt is not mentioned. As we know, from other sources than Mr. Cooper's book, that the British force consisted of sixty-three guns, we infer, that the additional three were mounted on the Little Belt. The American force, as enumerated by Mr. Cooper, amounted to fifty-five guns; but one of the vessels contained on the list, the Ohio, of one gun, was absent from the action, on distant service. Thus it strangely happens, that, in the general enumeration of the opposing squadrons, from which almost every reader would receive his abiding impression of their relative forces, two British vessels are omitted, which appear as taking part in the action, while, on the contrary, one American vessel is enumerated, which did not take part in it. Even Brenton, so prejudiced in all his accounts of the naval actions between England and the United States, admits, that, "in number and weight of guns, the two squadrons were nearly equal: but the Americans had every advantage in the number and quality of the men." The facts of the case, with regard to the relative numbers of guns and men, (and, as these facts cannot be gleaned from Mr. Cooper's book, we the rather mention them,) are simply these. The British squadron consisted of six vessels, mounting, in all, sixty-three guns; the American squadron consisted of nine vessels, mounting fifty-four guns. With regard to the absence of any great disparity of men, stated by Mr. Cooper, it is sufficient to cite the fact mentioned by Commodore Perry, in writing to General Harrison, that the number of British prisoners taken on the occasion, exceeded that of the Americans, who went originally into action.

Mr. Cooper's criticism of this battle (p. 402) is written

with a very different spirit from that, with which he eulogizes other victories, far less suited to excite the enthusiasm of an American. He states objections, that have been made to Captain Perry's mode of attack, and then argues with so little zeal, in refutation of them, as to leave the reader in doubt, as to which side his own opinion leans ; so that the charge of having committed errors, which the reader now first hears insinuated, remains, and leaves, on the whole, an unfavorable impression. Even the heroic exploit of leaving the Lawrence, when wrecked and beaten, to pass under a heavy fire to the Niagara, in order to make a last chivalrous effort to retrieve the day, by taking her into the thickest of the fight, to the station which he had originally assigned to her, and from which she had so sedulously kept aloof, is disparaged, in an elaborate note, in which we are told, that "Captain Elliott was much longer in the same boat, and passed nearly through the whole line twice." It is not mentioned, that Captain Perry passed from under the guns of the enemy, when the Lawrence lay a wreck, exposed to a deadly fire, directed at him, to the Niagara, for the purpose of returning instantly with her, into the midst of the enemy's squadron, while Captain Elliott, on the contrary, passed from the Niagara, still so far beyond the reach of danger, as yet to have had only two men wounded, to that portion of the squadron which was yet more remote. Mr. Cooper concludes this note, which bears so much evidence of an intention to disparage Commodore Perry, for the benefit of Captain Elliott, by saying ; "There was, no doubt, a personal risk, in all the boats, but there was personal risk everywhere, on such an occasion."

In evidence, that the personal risk was not everywhere the same in this action, we will quote some facts stated by Mr. Cooper, with regard to the casualties in the American squadron. Speaking of the unparalleled carnage on board the Lawrence, he says,

"Of her crew, twenty-two were killed and sixty-one wounded, most of the latter severely. When Captain Perry left her, taking with him four of his people, there remained on board but fifteen sound men. The Niagara had two killed, and twenty-five wounded, or about one-fourth of all at quarters." — Vol. II. p. 397.

He subsequently says,

"Although the Niagara suffered in a much less degree,

twenty-seven men killed and wounded, in a ship's company that mustered little more than one hundred souls at quarters, under ordinary circumstances, would be thought a large proportion." — Vol. II. pp. 398, 399.

Here, certainly, was considerable personal risk, though the killed of the Niagara, compared with that of the Lawrence, was only in the proportion of two to twenty-two. But, if the reader infers, and Mr. Cooper does not lead him to infer otherwise, that the killed and wounded of the Niagara were struck by the side of Captain Elliott, the inference would be most erroneous. We learn, from other sources than Mr. Cooper's book, that two men were wounded on board the Niagara, up to the time of Captain Elliott's leaving her, and two men were also wounded on board of the Somers, to which vessel Captain Elliott repaired, and we will suppose, that these two men were wounded after Captain Elliott took command of her. It follows, that of the total killed and wounded, of the squadron, amounting, in all, to twenty-seven killed, and ninety-six wounded, twenty-four were killed, and eighty-six wounded at the side of Commodore Perry, while four were wounded at the side of Captain Elliott. Though Mr. Cooper says, "there was personal risk everywhere," he will scarcely deny, that here the degree was very different, being as four to one hundred and ten.

The moral of Mr. Cooper's account of the battle of Lake Erie, seems to be summed up in the following words; "For his conduct, in this battle, Captain Perry received a gold medal from Congress. Captain Elliott also received a gold medal." Throughout the account of this battle, there seems to us, for the reasons we have enumerated, to be an effort to disparage the brilliancy of the victory generally, and to detract from the glory of the hero who won it, by an attempt to raise the name of Captain Elliott to the same unsullied eminence with that of his chief. We are told, that "Captain Perry, in his Report of the action, eulogized the conduct of his second in command, Captain Elliott." We are not told, that Captain Perry subsequently recalled this eulogy in the most solemn manner, explaining, in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy (bringing charges against Captain Elliott) the noble and generous motives, which led him into error.

"After the battle was won, (he says,) I felt no disposition rigidly to examine into the conduct of any of the officers of the

fleet; and, strange as the behaviour of Captain Elliott had been, yet I would not allow myself to come to a decided opinion, that an officer, who had so handsomely conducted himself on a former occasion, as I then, in common with the public, had been led to suppose Captain Elliott had, could possibly be guilty of cowardice or treachery. The subsequent conduct, also, of Captain Elliott; the readiness with which he undertook the most minute services; the unfortunate situation in which he now stood, which he lamented to me, and his marked endeavours to conciliate protection, were all well calculated to have their effect. But, still more than all, I was actuated by a strong desire, that in the fleet I then had the honor to command, there should be nothing but harmony after the victory they had gained, and that nothing should transpire, which would bring reproach upon any part of it, or convert into crimination the praises to which they were entitled, and which I wished them all to share and enjoy.

"These, Sir, are the reasons, which induced me, at the time, not to bring on an inquiry into his conduct. The cause and propriety of my now doing so, will, I trust, require but few explanations. I would willingly, for my own sake, as well as his, after the course I had pursued, for the purpose of shielding him, have still remained silent; but this Captain Elliott will not allow me to do. He has acted upon the idea, that by assailing my character he shall repair his own.

"After he was left in the command, on Lake Erie, I was soon informed of the intrigues he was there practising, some of which are detailed in these charges. These I should not have regarded, as long as they were private; but I then determined and declared, to many of my friends in the navy, that, should Captain Elliott ever give publicity to his misrepresentations, I would then demand an investigation of the whole of his conduct. This necessity is now forced upon me."

From the affidavits of evidence, accompanying the charges against Captain Elliott, forwarded by Commodore Perry to the Secretary of the Navy, and from other affidavits, subsequently furnished by other officers of the squadron on Lake Erie, the signers of which occupied important stations during the fight, and have ever been held among the most honorable and high-minded officers in the navy, it would have been an easy task for us to have shown the manner in which the battle of Lake Erie was won by Commodore Perry, and jeoparded by Captain Elliott, and to have assigned to the chieftain and his associate their just meeds of glory and dishonor. Finding, however, in the work of Mr. Cooper itself, the means of

arriving at the truth, by an analysis of the facts, so as to remove the unjust impression, which the statements and commentaries together are suited to convey, we have preferred to avail ourselves of the materials which he has himself afforded, to vindicate the claims of a departed hero to the gratitude of his country, and the uses of history from unjust perversion, to serve the temporary interests of persons or parties.

Apart from the serious objections, which we have been reluctantly compelled to urge against Mr. Cooper's book, with regard to his unfair account of the battle of Lake Erie, we have little to say against the tone and spirit of its execution. We might, perhaps, also except the efforts which he makes to vindicate the conduct of some officers, who have been the occasion of dishonor to the country ; a vindication which is the more offensive, because it is contrasted with the disparagement of others, whose reputation is cherished among the proudest national recollections. His style, though incorrect and inelegant, is strong ; and, for the sake of its strength and energy, we can excuse the want of polish, the frequent recurrence of favorite ideas, such as "facts invariaaby preceding opinion, in a country as purely practical as this," and the constant and awkward use of sea-phrases, often unintelligible to the ordinary reader, even when properly applied. With these exceptions, the work has the merit of liberality, talent, and ingenuity. The narratives of battles are almost always nervous and striking, and the criticisms, which accompany them, generally just and discriminating.

The Introduction of the work is a highly sensible and important paper, in which Mr. Cooper has stated the result of his reflections on the condition and wants of the navy. His ideas are just in themselves, and valuable, as the fruit of such long study of a favorite theme. We should be glad to make room here for the whole of his Introduction, but must restrict ourselves to a few extracts.

"While those who have reflected, have clearly foreseen, that the republic must assert its place in the scale of nations, defend its territory, and maintain its rights, principally by means of a powerful marine, all are compelled to acknowledge, that the growth of this branch of the public service has been slow, uncertain, and marked by a policy as timid as it has been fluctuating."

"It has long been confessed, that America possessed every

qualification for the creation of a powerful navy, but men and money. The necessary skill, the required aptitude for sea service, and the other requisites, have always been admitted ; but it has been asserted, that neither the finances, nor the population, would allow of the draw on their resources, that is unavoidably connected with a strong marine. The two deficiencies, if they actually existed, would certainly be fatal.

"In the years 1812, 1813, and 1814, the republic expended considerably more than $50,000,000 on its current military operations, without reference to the large sums, that were subsequently paid, on the same account. This war lasted but two years and eight months, and, during the first season, its operations were very limited. $30,000,000 more were paid, on account of military charges, in the two years of peace that immediately succeeded, making a total of $80,000,000. It is known, that even this large sum falls materially short of the truth. During the same five years, the money expended on the navy amounted to only $30,000,000, although the peculiar nature of the service on the Lakes involved an enormous and an unusual expenditure ; and a war with Algiers occurred, during which the country maintained, afloat, a much larger force than it had ever previously employed. In addition, the greater part of this expenditure was the cost of new constructions. It follows, that America expended nearly two dollars on her army, and its military operations, in the war of 1812, for every dollar expended on her navy, including the expense of building most of the costly vessels of the service. Had the fact been precisely reversed, it is probable, that the proportions required by good policy would have been better observed, and there can be but little doubt, that the country would have reaped the advantage ; for no serious invasion of America will ever be attempted, in the face of a strong fleet, after the country shall be provided with docks and arsenals, by means of which, accidental reverses can be remedied. By dividing the large sum expended on the army and navy, between the years 1812 and 1816, inclusively, $40,000,000 would have fallen to the share of each branch of the service, which would have given $8,000,000 a year to the navy. This sum would be amply sufficient, to maintain a force of twenty sail of the line, with a suitable number of small vessels, to cruise in company. Against such a fleet, no European power could have attempted an invasion of a coast, so distant from its own resources." "In the contest of 1812, the vessels of war were directed to destroy the ships they took, because the enemy was known so closely to infest the coast, that it was impossible to get a prize in, whereas a strong force would put an end to all sorts of blockades."

"But the probationary period of the American marine is passing away, and the body of the people are beginning to look forward to the appearance of their fleets on the ocean. It is no longer thought, there is an unfitness in the republic's possessing heavy ships; and the opinion of the country, in this, as in other respects, is slowly rising to the level of its wants. Still, many lingering prejudices remain in the public mind, in connexion with this all-important subject, and some that threaten the service with serious injury. Of these, the most prominent are, the mode in which the active vessels are employed; a neglect of the means of creating seamen for the public service; the fact, that there is no force in commission on the American coast; the substitution of money for pride and self-respect, as the aim of military men; and the impairing of discipline, and lessening the deference for the justice of the state, by the denial of rank."

"It will be clear to the dullest mind, that the evolutions of a fleet, and, in a greater or less degree, its success, must be dependent on the qualities of its poorest vessels, since its best cannot abandon their less fortunate consorts to the enemy. The naval history of the world abounds with instances, in which the efforts of the first sea-captains, of their respective ages, have been frustrated by the defects of a portion of the ships under their command. To keep a number of vessels in compact order, to cause them to preserve their weatherly position, in gales and adverse winds, and to bring them all, as near as possible, up to the standard that shall be formed by the most judicious and careful commander, is one of the highest aims of naval experience. On the success of such efforts, depend the results of naval evolutions, more frequently than on any dexterity in fighting guns. An efficient fleet can no more be formed without practice in squadrons, than an efficient army without evolutions in brigades. By not keeping ships in squadrons, there will also be less emulation, and consequently less improvement."

"By putting in commission six or eight two-decked ships, and by causing them to appear, from time to time, on all the more important stations, on this side of the two great southern capes, the country, at no material additional cost, would obtain the several objects of practice in fleets, of comparative trials of the qualities of the most important class of vessels in the navy, of a higher state of discipline, and of a vast improvement in the habits of subordination, on the part of commanders, a defect, that all experience shows, is peculiar to the desultory mode of service now in use, and which has produced more naval disasters in the world, than probably any other cause. In a word,

the principal ends of a navy can no more be obtained, by the services of single ships, than wars can be decided by armies, cut up into battalions. Small vessels are as indispensable, for lower schools of practice, as company drills in an army ; but squadrons alone can produce the highest class of officers, the steadiest discipline, or the desired objects.

"In addition to this neglect of accustoming the service to the use of the particular sort of force, necessary to render a marine effective for great ends, the history of the world cannot, probably, supply a parallel to that forgetfulness, which the American government has manifested, of all the known incentives of human exertions, in the management of the navy." "Next to personal reputation, military rank is the highest stimulus of a military life. Its possession enters into all the day-dreams of the young aspirant for fame and honors, is inseparable from self-respect, and is indissolubly connected with discipline." "For many years, all the promotions of the American marine were limited to three ! Even at this day, with full experience of the evils of a system of incentives so meagre, and of a concentration of rank so destructive of self-respect and discipline, the life of the American naval officer is cheered by only four promotions, two of which are little more than the changes that nature herself demands, by transferring the officer from the duty of a boy, to duty more becoming a man."

"It is not easy, fully to impress on the minds of civilians the immense results, that are dependent on a due division of military rank. The commission, which represents the power of the state, in a short time gets to be the substitute of personal qualities, and produces that prompt and nearly passive obedience, which are indispensable to the success of military movements."

"The rank of a captain in the navy never can be a sufficient inducement to attract the highest talents, in a country in which every species of preferment is open to competition. Hope has hitherto kept the service together, the want of fleets furnishing an apparent apology for trusting to the future. To pretend, however, to manage fleets, with officers of the same rank as the commanders of single vessels, infers as great an absurdity, as to pretend to manage ships with no other rank than that of a midshipman. There is, indeed, a greater connexion between rank and discipline as applied to fleets, than between rank and discipline as applied to ships."

"The necessity of creating higher rank in the navy, on account of its influence on other services, more especially when acting in concert with American fleets, has often been pointed out. The answer to this practical argument, has usually been

a high pretension, in behalf of the republic, to act agreeably to its own policy, and a right to insist, that any notion of superiority, that it may choose to attach to the station of a captain, in its own navy, shall be recognised by the agents of other governments. This extravagant idea can be supported by neither usage, reason, nor common sense. In the first place, all international questions should be settled by the general consent of states, and not by the peculiar policy of any particular community. As well might America pretend to say, its *chargés d'affaires* shall have the rank of ambassadors at foreign courts, as to say, that its captains, under any circumstances, shall have the rank of admirals on foreign stations." "The usages of nations must control this interest, as well as all others, that equally affect different states; and as there is nothing new, or peculiar, in captains occasionally commanding squadrons, under the temporary title of commodores, among all the naval powers of Christendom, other people may object to America's attaching a new importance to an old commission." "Admirals are as necessary to fleets, as captains to ships. The thing must exist, under some appellation or other; and, if the old term brings with it additional dignity, respect, authority, and adds fresh incentives to exertions, it is utter imbecility to discard it. There is no more fitness in calling the commander of a fleet a captain, or even a commodore, than in styling the first magistrate of the republic a justice of the peace."—Vol. i. pp. xiii.–xxxi.

A fact has just occurred, within our own waters, to illustrate the soundness of these remarks. We read, in the journals of the day, that the French Admiral Baudin, in command of the West India station, made a visit to Pensacola, while Commodore Shubrick, commanding our naval forces in the West Indies, was lying in the harbour. Owing to his inability to exchange courtesies, on equal terms, with an officer inferior to him in rank, in a foreign service, the French Admiral left the port prematurely. Yet both these officers were commanders-in-chief, and the American, probably, had under his orders the heaviest force. The difficulty consisted in the disparity of rank, the one being a duly commissioned admiral, the other only a post-captain, with the brevet rank of commodore, which likewise exists, as an inferior rank, in all other navies. We hope, for the sake of the discipline of the navy, and the attitude which our national pride would wish it to assume towards all foreign navies, both in peace and war, that the rank of admiral may be speedily established in it.

Another measure, of scarcely inferior importance to the creation of the rank of admiral, we consider to be the establishment of a naval academy for the education of midshipmen. If it were necessary to prove, that a preparatory school for the education of young officers for the navy is as important as the corresponding establishment, now existing, for the education of officers for the army, at West Point, we might show, that the naval profession is not less distinct from ordinary pursuits than the military, and, therefore, no less requires a specially adapted education. If, then, a preparatory education is as necessary to qualify a youth to become distinguished in the navy as in the army, it cannot be denied, that high qualifications, in the naval officer, are quite as essential to the safety and honor of the country. In time of war, the navy is to fight our battles at a distance from our shores; surely our officers should not merely be brave, but skilled in all the arts that decide the fate of battles; versed not merely in all that theory can suggest, but acquainted with every expedient, that has ever been resorted to, by the naval heroes of every age. In seasons of peace, our friendly relations with other powers are in no slight degree intrusted to the keeping of our naval commanders; for it is on the common highway of the ocean, that our interests and honor are most often brought into collision with those of other powers. At all times, our ships of war are the representatives of our country, in every quarter of the globe; it is chiefly by the worth, intelligence, and courtesy of their officers, that an estimate can be formed of the nation that sends them forth.

Our ideas of a naval academy, and they are unchanged since we first expressed them, ten years ago, in this Journal,* are, that it should be established in some healthy, isolated situation, with the sea in sight, affording constant opportunities of beholding the manœuvres of ships. The age of admission might be thirteen years, and the term of service either three or four years. The system of discipline should be rigid, yet paternal. Mathematics would, of course, form the groundwork of the pupils' education; but its study should not be pursued beyond the point necessary to render the various problems of nautical astronomy intelligible. Upon this would be raised the superstructure of natural philosophy, astronomy, navigation, surveying, the principles of naval architecture,

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XXX. pp. 360, *et seq.*

and the theory of working ships. To these studies should be added a knowledge of history, of the laws of nations, and of the rules of composition. The French and Spanish languages, and drawing, should also be taught.

The exercises should consist in fencing, and the use of firearms ; but chiefly in the manœuvres of a small ship, of one or two hundred tons, moored near the academy. Rigging and stripping ship, exercising guns, reefing, furling, steering, and heaving the lead ; every operation, in short, should be performed by the lads themselves. Each class should have its proper station ; the junior class, on deck ; the next would know enough to be top-men ; and so on, with the stations of petty officers ; the senior class would do the duty of officers, and be stationed about, to direct and aid the efforts of the crew ; while in rotation one of the number would be invested with the command. One day in each week should be employed in a cruise round the harbour ; while, in summer, the ordinary season of vacation might be passed in an extended cruise along the coast. Every thing done, on board of such a vessel, would be done in the best manner ; the youths would have before them an epitome of their future profession, and would be constantly engaged in the actual execution of its details. If this system were introduced, it would furnish an invaluable groundwork of professional education to our officers. The first examination for admission would reject many applicants, and the subsequent years of probation would clear off all the stupid, vicious, and insubordinate. Those who should pass the ordeal creditably, and enter the navy as midshipmen, would be of the greatest use by their own services, no less than by stimulating the efforts of their superiors. With such an institution, we might dispense entirely with the schools existing at the several naval stations, and also with the present worthless and utterly abortive system of schools on board ship, where, in many cases, the schoolmaster is the occasion of stimulating little other ingenuity, than that of playing tricks, at his own expense, which tricks, however subversive of discipline, are sometimes encouraged by the contemptuous and disparaging treatment pursued by commanders towards this class of officers.

If it be of importance to take measures for the education of the officers of our navy, of still greater importance is it

to endeavour to establish a settled system for the manning of our fleets. We think, that a basis for such a system might be found in the law of Congress for the enlistment of apprentices into the navy. Even to the extent to which this system has been carried, it has been productive of good, by introducing a class of recruits into the navy very superior to any that have hitherto been entered. As yet, however, only five hundred apprentices have been entered since the law passed, nearly three years ago. At this rate, though the character of our seamen, petty officers, and warrant officers, may, in a course of years, be considerably improved, by the introduction into the service of a portion of better-trained materials of native stock, but little will be effected towards the great object of manning the navy with a class of native seamen, specially trained for it. We believe, however, that the apprentice system, properly expanded and judiciously carried out, may man the navy entirely in ten years. At present, the boys, of the character and propensities which lead them to go to sea, and make their parents willing that they should do so, are only taken from the four large cities where there are recruiting stations. Stations should be established at more numerous points, but on a smaller and less expensive scale, for entering apprentices for the navy ; and advertisements should be published, far and wide in the country, setting forth the terms on which the government would receive them, and the obligations by which it would bind itself to furnish them with education, and a profession by which they could always support themselves comfortably, and rise in the navy, or merchant service, according to their degree of merit and ambition. In this way, a drag net might be thrown over the whole country, and probably two thousand boys, between thirteen and seventeen years of age, might be annually procured. As they improved, and distinguished themselves for good conduct, they should be advanced to be ordinary seamen and seamen, and, in the closing years of their apprenticeship, they would, many of them, be qualified to become petty officers. Graduated apprentices should have the preference for the stations of petty officers ; and, as they advanced in experience and ability, the stations of boatswain and gunner should be likewise open to them. These stations are now often filled by foreigners, and, though the pay is handsome, are filled very badly. The

gunners of the service are particularly deficient, and unworthy of their station, though it is one of great responsibility and importance. Their annual pay, in a line-of-battle ship, amounts to near eight hundred dollars, and yet, perhaps, there are not three on the list thoroughly competent for their duty. There should be a school, for the education of gunners' mates and gunners, on board of our steamers of war, which should also be used, each summer, as a school of practice for gunnery, as is now the case with the Fulton. We should like to see the system of gunnery education, practised on board the Excellent at Portsmouth in England, introduced into the Fulton forthwith, and into the other steamers as they are completed. In this way we might soon have gunners, who would be Americans, and know their duty.

With regard to the naval apprentices, after a few months' preparatory training in the receiving-ships, to each of which a small cruiser, for exercise, might be attached, they should be sent on distant cruises, with rigid orders to the commanders to carry out a prescribed system of education. To prevent desertion among the apprentices, after they have become sailors, they should be kept well ahead of the purser, with large balances due them. At the expiration of their terms of service, they might receive a discharge which would entitle them to receive their pay, as on leave of absence, if returning within two months ; and the same system might be pursued now towards petty officers and seamen, permitting them, at all times, to report themselves on board of any receiving-ship, at the expiration of two months from the time of their discharge, receiving their pay for the interval, and the same rank as in the last ship. By pursuing the apprentice system to its utmost limits, there is little doubt, that the navy would, within ten years, man itself entirely with native seamen, familiar with its ships and officers, and having all its interests warmly at heart. It would also serve to furnish skilful seamen to the merchant service, instead of being, as it now is, a drain upon it.

In the mean time, and until the apprentice system can be made the means of completely manning the navy, we should be sorry to see our ships continue in port, and our navy prevented from taking that extension, which the protection of commerce requires, by the want of seamen to fill up their complements. Let our ships, now waiting for crews, fill up

with any material they can get, so long as the number is complete, and sail. If they have sailors enough, petty officers included, to reef the maintop-sail, they can be taken care of from the first, and, in a few months of skilful training, will be able to perform every evolution creditably. The Independence, which spreads nearly as much canvass as the Pennsylvania, sailed from Boston, in 1837, with a crew of less than six hundred men, exclusive of officers. They were unusually young and light hands, and most of them entirely raw. Yet, from the moment of bending sails, there was no striking deficiency, and in a very few months the ship could enter into comparison, in the performance of evolutions, with the most practised cruisers. Any of the sloops, now waiting for crews, might perfectly well go to sea with three fourths of their crews composed of boys and landsmen. The difficulty of manning our ships, under the present system, would be much lessened, if the ships, returning from abroad, were to arrive in May and June, and those bound out to sail in July and August. The men would have a pleasant season to spend their hard-earned pay in, and would soon be ready to take service in the departing ships. Our ships, too, would approach and leave our coast in fine weather. The extensive mortality, which always occurs when ships are fitted out in the winter, and the many deaths which take place in the course of the cruise, clearly attributable to the same cause, might thus be avoided.

With regard to the character and construction of our ships, great necessity exists for the adoption of fixed principles, and settled models for every different class. The greatest difference of opinion exists, as to which are the best ships in the service, and most worthy to be adopted as models. The prevailing opinion is probably in favor of the Ohio, as a line-of-battle ship, the Constitution, United States, or President, as a frigate, the Vincennes, or John Adams, as a sloop, and the Spark, as a small vessel. It is highly desirable, on this account, to bring a number of our best vessels, of every different class, together, to cruise, with a view to establish, beyond a doubt, which are superior. This object, and that of the general improvement of the navy, could be easily effected by carrying out the proposition of Mr. Cooper for the perpetual maintenance of a cruising squadron of six or eight line-of-battle ships, accompanied by a number of the best frigates

and smaller vessels. Such a squadron would, at the same time, form a school for the perfecting of every thing belonging to the service, by affording a degree of competition which has never yet existed, and display the power of the republic, in every sea, in a manner well suited to protect the interests of our commerce. Whenever any coast became the scene of war or blockades, our fleet should appear on it, for the double purpose of observation and instruction to the officers, and of furnishing to our merchants the best possible guaranty against spoliation. In order that this guaranty may be more effectually rendered, not merely by our fleet of observation and experience, if we shall ever have one, but by our cruisers generally in every sea, we think that our commanders should be furnished with general instructions to regulate their conduct with regard to the protection of commerce, the respect to be paid to blockades, what blockades are valid and binding, and what are not; also, with regard to affording refuge to political fugitives; and whether they should, under any circumstances, land a portion of their crew, for the protection of American citizens, in moments of revolutionary struggle. It seems to us very clear, that portions of the crews of our ships should not be landed in cities, disturbed by insurrections, to protect the property of American citizens; and yet this has occasionally been practised. The existence and efficiency of a man-of-war is thus jeoparded by the liability of a portion of her crew to be cut off, and with it her ability to perform her legitimate duty of receiving American citizens under the protection of the flag. Moreover, a commander, landing a portion of his crew, may thus be easily betrayed into a breach of neutrality. With regard to the reception of fugitives, it is true, that genuine patriots may, in seasons of domestic trouble, be compelled to fly for their lives; but it is the duty of neutrals to respect the sovereignty of the port which offers them hospitality, and the dominant party which holds sway there by the will of the majority. If, however, hospitality should be granted to those who, when in peril of life from revolutionary movements, seek the hospitality and protection of our flag, the boats of our ships should, at any rate, never invade the sovereignty of a foreign state for the purpose of withdrawing criminals, or political delinquents, from its jurisdiction. The commander of a man-of-war loses his ability to protect his

own countrymen, and to fulfill his legitimate office of exerting his influence in their behalf, whenever he irritates the existing authorities of a country, by invading its sovereignty, and violating its independence.

We hope, then, for the sake of the interests and honor of the country, to see our naval commanders furnished with a brief and comprehensive code of international law, in the shape of concise orders, for the regulation of their conduct in all questions that are likely to occur to them in the prosecution of their responsible duties. These orders would distinctly instruct them, as to the control they would exercise over our merchantmen, the protection they should render them, when to allow them to be captured for a breach of virtual blockade, and when to stand to their guns in defence of them, when a blockade is illegal and ineffective. The conduct to be pursued, with regard to the demand of deserters from our service, and the delivery up of those from foreign services, should also be distinctly prescribed. We are of opinion, that deserters should never be delivered up, except by virtue of a reciprocal treaty stipulation.

By means of orders, such as we have described, the information, scattered over many volumes of international law, would be placed within the reach of our naval commanders, in the compass of a dozen pages, prescribing the line of their conduct, in whatever circumstances of difficulty they might be placed. Thus, in the conduct of our external relations, through the medium of our ships, the combined wisdom of our ablest jurists would be substituted for the erring guidance of minds not accustomed to grapple with legal problems, and, at the very moment when they are called on to decide and act with vigor, too often crushed by the pressure of a responsibility so much more formidable to them than cannon-balls. It is true, that our commanders, when left to themselves, have generally acquitted themselves creditably of their important charge to protect the interests of commerce, and sustain the honor of our flag ; but it is also true, that they have occasionally made very pitiful exhibitions. We would wish to see these instructions, not merely issued to all our naval commanders, but published to the world, that foreign nations might not only be informed with regard to the settled policy of our country, on all the great principles of international law affecting the commerce of the seas, but also,

that we were ready, on all occasions, by force of arms, to defend it. So far from bringing us in collision with foreign nations, orders such as these, when published to the world, would be our sure guaranty from aggression. They would, moreover, be one step towards the triumph of justice throughout the world.

To form a just estimate of what should constitute the disposable force of our own navy, it is necessary to take into consideration the disposable naval force of other powers. There are no fewer than five powers that maintain, at this time, a stronger force in commission than we do; namely, England, France, Russia, Turkey, and Egypt. Were we suddenly to go to war with any one of the three former, we should necessarily be overpowered, blockaded, and driven temporarily from the ocean, in the first struggle. As, however, it is with England or France, that we are most likely to come in collision on the ocean, we will take a brief view of the force and condition of their navies. By a statement, made by an intelligent officer of our service recently employed in examining the condition of the European navies, it appears, that, in September last, the British navy, including ships in process of construction, consisted of ninety-one line-of-battle ships, one hundred frigates, twenty corvettes, twenty-three steam ships, and one hundred and seventy-six smaller vessels. Of these, twenty-three line-of-battle ships, ten frigates, eighteen corvettes, sixteen steam ships, and one hundred and fifty-one small vessels were actually in commission. The French navy consisted, at the same time, of forty-nine line-of-battle ships, sixty frigates, forty-four corvettes, thirty-one steam ships, and forty-six small vessels. Of these, eleven line-of-battle ships, seventeen frigates, twenty-four corvettes, twenty steam ships, and thirty-six small vessels were in commission. Let us now examine what was, at the same time, the condition of our own navy. We had eleven line-of-battle ships, seventeen frigates, fourteen corvettes, one steam ship, ten small vessels, and one store-ship. Of these, two line-of-battle ships, three frigates, thirteen sloops, one steam ship, ten small vessels, and the store-ship were in commission. The comparison of numbers, between our ships, as thus stated, and those of England and France, is absolutely ludicrous; and yet our commerce, the protection of which is the most legitimate object of a navy, is

rapidly approaching to an equality with that of England, and is three times that of France. If the disparity of numbers is so much against us, in a comparison of our navy with that of England and France, we are not so sure as we would wish to be, that a comparison, in other respects, would be more favorable to us. In the order of their ships, whether for appearance or for service, in the efficiency of the batteries, the arrangement of the sights and locks, the condition of the small arms, and their convenient arrangement for use, as well as in the habit of using them, in successful effort to attach the crews to the service, in every thing, in short, but the issue of ardent spirits and the infliction of the lash, we are not sure, that our navy would not suffer in a comparison with that of England. We fear, indeed, that the English navy, in its condition, bears somewhat the same relation to ours now, as ours did to it at the commencement of the late war. The acknowledgment is made reluctantly and with mortification, but with a view to reformation. With regard to the French navy, it is inferior to ours in the evolutions of single ships, and in seamanship generally ; but superior in the arrangement of the batteries, magazines, and small arms. Gunnery is more practised, and better understood, in the French navy than in ours. A familiarity, too, with the use of hollow shot, projected horizontally, gives them a great advantage over us. Shot of this description were first invented, in this country, towards the close of the war with England, by R. L. Stevens, Esquire, and some were preparing to be put on board the President frigate, when she sailed and was brought to action by a squadron of British ships. These shots, having been found, by experiment, to be very destructive, were put, formerly, on board of our ships of war ; but, of late years, the practice has been discontinued. In the mean time, the French have introduced them into all their ships. Four heavy guns, for the discharge of hollow shot, are placed in each of their large ships, and two in the smaller vessels. These hollow shot were found very effective in the attack on the castle of San Juan de Ulloa. The English are also introducing them into all their newly-fitted ships. It is time that our officers, also, should become acquainted with the use of a highly destructive missile, originally invented among us.

In full view of all these circumstances, we think, that, in

order to be prepared to come successfully out of any struggle, in which we may hereafter be involved, our naval preparations should be on a footing, to enable us to put to sea, within five years, with a force of forty sail of the line, and an equal number of frigates. Half of this force should be ready to sail within a year, the rest of the ships should be on the stocks, or in frames, ready to be set up. Six line-of-battle ships might be kept in commission, as a fleet of observation, and school of practice. Six frigates, with twenty sloops, and a dozen brigs, would suffice, for the ordinary protection of commerce, throughout the world; the fleet of line-of-battle ships being always ready to repair to a threatened point of hostilities or blockade.

A home squadron, of half a dozen vessels, would be exceedingly useful, for the purpose of relieving vessels coming on our coast at inclement seasons, and, at all times, as a school of practice and a nursery for seamen. The home squadron might, also, include all the revenue vessels, they being brought into the regular service. In England, where the temptation to smuggle is so much greater than here, the cruisers, which protect the revenue, form part of the regular service. There is no reason, why the same system should not answer here; and at a time when it is desirable to find useful employment for our officers, such a field for it, as the preventive service would afford, should not be neglected. The officers of our navy, taking part in this service, in turn, would all obtain accurate local information of our coasts and harbours, which would be of the greatest value to them. The present officers of the revenue service could be introduced into the navy as masters, and masters' mates, or placed upon pension. In times past, the revenue vessels have, occasionally, been commanded by naval officers, but not as belonging to the regular navy. If they have been guilty of misconduct, or failed to give satisfaction to the Treasury Department, they have been dismissed from their commands, without suffering at all as naval officers. If we were to adopt the preventive service, as it exists in England, in connexion with our home squadron, the system could not fail to work well, and the navy to derive great benefit from it.

Instead of the present system, of attaching a ship permanently to one station for three years, great benefit would be derived from introducing a rotation of stations. The ships,

which go first to the Mediterranean, might leave it, on the approach of winter, during which they do not cruise in that sea, and proceed to Brazil, by the Canary Islands, and the coast of Africa; after remaining a year on the coast of Brazil, they might return homewards by the West Indies, completing their term of service on that station. In like manner, the East India ships might return by the Pacific and Brazil, as the Columbia and John Adams, indeed, are about to do; and the Pacific ships, having remained on the coast of Brazil until the season should be favorable for passing Cape Horn, might circumnavigate the world in the contrary direction, returning by the East Indies and the Cape of Good Hope. Great advantage would result from this system, in the protection of commerce, as the field of cruising would be greatly extended, and our ships would be constantly appearing in remote quarters and unexpectedly. The object of professional improvement would be promoted, by our ships being almost constantly at sea, and the irksomeness of a long detention on a particular coast would be avoided. The flag ships might remain constantly on the same station, if it were deemed advisable. In addition to our present stations, the constant presence of a sloop, in the neighbourhood of our principal whaling station, for the time being, would be exceedingly useful to that valuable branch of commerce and nursery of seamen.

In addition to our present classes of ships, we should find great advantage in having three or four frigates, to draw not more than nineteen feet, for flag ships on the Brazil and West India stations. Vessels of this draft might be made to sail and perform well, and could enter the ports of the river La Plata with ease, as well as most of our southern harbours, and those of the Gulf of Mexico. Sloops of war will not answer the purpose, as they are not considered, abroad, sufficiently respectable to bear the flag of a commander-in-chief.

If we are not to have admirals, and without them we can never have a respectable or well-disciplined navy, at any rate our commodores should never be permitted to go to sea without captains to command their ships. Commodores, without captains under them, scarcely ever merit the name. They are merely captains of particular ships, often making use of their superiority only to render the other ships of the squadron subservient to their own, instead of feeling an equal

interest in all. Moreover, from the advanced age at which they usually reach this station, they are unsuited to handle their ships in a skilful and dashing manner. The mature judgment and caution, which would fit them to govern fleets, as admirals, are not so applicable to the active command of single ships, which requires promptness and excitability. We are of opinion, that, in addition to captains in all flag ships, it would be highly conducive to discipline, if the executive duty, now assigned to the first lieutenant, were performed by commanders in all our line-of-battle ships and frigates. No vessel, however small, which is sent on a foreign station, should be commanded by a lower class of officers, than that of commander; and vessels commanded by lieutenants, on the home station, should have passed midshipmen to keep the watches.

Among the existing evils of the service, is the frequent change of officers in our ships. In no case should an officer be transferred from the ship in which he originally sailed, unless his health should be so much impaired, as, in the case of a seaman, would lead to his being sent home as an invalid. Nothing occasions so much discouragement among the seamen of a ship, as to find their officers leaving them, either to go home, or to pass to another ship. The evil of a change of commanders is of course much greater, and should, if possible, never be incurred.

Another evil, of greater magnitude, is keeping a crew out beyond the term of their enlistment. Besides disgusting seamen with the service, and discouraging their return to it, it often leads to acts of insubordination at the termination of the cruise, which are deplorable in themselves and fatal in their example. Nor is this evil much abated, where men on foreign stations, towards the end of the term of their service, when they should be on their way home to be discharged, are cajoled to reënter until the return of the ship to the United States. In the first place, a favor is to be asked of those, who, while on board of our ships, should be required only to obey. In the second place, the choice is not honestly offered them. They would all prefer going home and being discharged, when their times should be out; but the bribery of a week's liberty and two or three months' pay, after years of close and almost uninterrupted confinement, is more than they can resist. A dishonest bargain is made with them, and on

their arrival in the United States, they burst the bonds of discipline, and enact scenes disgraceful to the service, and permanently prejudicial to its character. Three years are quite long enough for our officers and seamen to be absent from their country, and we should be glad to see our ships return much within that time.

In concluding these remarks, which a strong interest in the subject has led us to extend far beyond our intention, we would express the fervent hope, that our navy may, ere long, receive the extension and improvement, which the best interests of the country demand.

Art. VII. — *Dictionary of Latin Synonymes, for the Use of Schools and Private Students; with a Complete Index.* By Lewis Ramshorn. *From the German;* by Francis Lieber. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 1839. 8vo. pp. viii. and 475.

We are glad to see, in our own language, a translation of this valuable work of an eminent German scholar and practical instructor. If the Latin language is still to be a part of our course of education, — and we hope it will long continue to be so, — it must be studied with the aid of such works as the present; for which, indeed, we shall be obliged, for some time, to look to Germany, now at the head of the literature of all Europe.

The volume before us is not the original work of Dr. Ramshorn, but an *abridgment* of it, made by the author himself, expressly for the use of schools. The principal difference, however, between the two is, that while the vocabularies agree, the larger work has a more extensive list of authorities under each word, and has also a designation of the book and section of the Roman authors in whose writings the citations are to be found; but the present abridgment has only the name of the author, without a reference to the book or chapter of his work. By this arrangement, the work is comprised within a moderate compass, and is thus better adapted to the use of schools and students in general.

The French philosopher, D'Alembert, remarks, that, in addition to the different significations of the same word, a philosophical grammarian must examine in what cases differ-

ent words have the same meaning, or are *synonymous*, as we call them. He justly adds, that we give that name to two descriptions of words ; first, to those which have strictly and absolutely the same signification, and may on all occasions be substituted for each other ; and, secondly, to those which present the same idea with slight modifications, so that we cannot employ the one for the other, except when we do not want to pay any regard to those modifications. "It would," continues that acute writer, "be a great defect in a language, to have synonymes of the first kind ; but it would be a still greater one, to be destitute of those of the other description ; such a language would necessarily be meagre and without delicacy of expression. In truth, what makes two or more words synonymous is, a general signification, which they have in common ; and what prevents their being in all cases synonymous is, the delicate and almost imperceptible shades of meaning, which modify that general signification. Accordingly, whenever from the nature of the subject discussed, it does not become necessary to express those shades of meaning, but only the general sense, any one of the synonymes may be used ; and, consequently, if there is any language, in which we can never employ, indifferently, one of two words for the other, we must conclude, that the two words are distinguished, not by a delicate shade of meaning, but by a more coarse and strongly marked difference ; and thus the language, not being able to express those shades of meaning, will be poor, and deficient in delicacy." *

A similar remark upon the real differences between words commonly called synonymous, had been made, centuries before, in respect to the Latin language, both by Cicero and Quintilian ; the former of whom says, that "although these words seem to be *almost* equivalent to each other, yet, as there is a difference between the things signified, the words signifying those things will also differ ; " † and Quintilian, to the same effect, says, — "We commonly use many words for the same thing ; but these, if you discriminate carefully, will exhibit, each, a peculiar force or meaning of its own ;" and he afterwards adds, that, of these synonymes, "some are more decent than others, some are more elevated, some are

* D'Alembert, *Elémens de Philosophie*, chap. viii., *Grammaire.*

† Cic. *Topic.* viii. : "Quanquam enim vocabula *prope idem* valere videantur, tamen, quia res differebant, nomina rerum distare voluerunt."

more elegant, some more agreeable, and some more sonorous." * With similar views, that deepest thinker of all antiquity, Aristotle, had also remarked, before the age of Cicero and Quintilian, that as equivocal or *homonymous* words were useful to sophists and to those who reason to deceive, so, on the other hand, to the poet *synonymes* were necessary, *τῷ ποιητῇ δὲ συνωνυμίαι.*†

The great utility of synonymes stimulated the ancient critics and grammarians to make collections of them, at an early period in literature. Of those now extant, the most ancient is that of *Greek* synonymes, by Ammonius, a grammarian, who flourished, according to some writers, in the second century, and according to others, in the fourth. His collection, under the title of *Ἀμμωνίου περὶ Ὁμοίων καὶ Διαφόρων Λεξέων,* was first printed by Aldus Manutius, in 1497, and afterwards, with corrections, by Henry Stephens, who published this, with other Treatises relating to the Greek language, in the Appendix to his *Thesaurus;* from which it was copied by Scapula, Constantine, and others, and annexed to their lexicons of the Greek language. The best edition, however, is that of Valckenaer, published in 1739, in two small quarto volumes, one of which consists of the valuable annotations of that eminent scholar.

The early Roman writers have not left us any professed collection of synonymes in their language, like that of Ammonius for the Greek. We find, however, interspersed through their works, occasional observations on the subject, and numerous instances given of words, considered to be either synonymous, or slightly distinguishable from each other in meaning. But for a well-known example in Cicero's Epistles, we should, at this day, be very likely to suppose, that the verbs *amare* and *diligere* had the same force; he says, however, making a marked distinction, "ut scires, eum non a me *diligi* solum, verum etiam *amari*." ‡ So Seneca distinguishes between *tutus* and *securus;* "*Tuta* scelera essé

* Quintil. *Instit.* "Pluribus autem nominibus in eâdem re vulgo utimur; quæ tamen si diducas, suam quandam propriam vim ostendent." — Lib. vi. c. 3, 17. "Sed, cum idem frequentissime plura significent, quod *συνωνυμία* vocatur, jam sunt aliis alia honestiora, sublimiora, nitidiora, jucundiora, vocaliora." — Lib. viii. c. 3, 16. *Edit. Spalding.*

† Arist. *Rhetor.* Lib iii. c. 2. In his Categories the word *συνώνυμα* is used in a sense somewhat different. *Categ. cap.* 1.

‡ Cic. *Epist. ad Famil.* Lib. xiii. ep. 47.

possunt, *secura* non possunt." * A more striking example of the different shades of meaning in Latin words, occurs in Cicero's "Tusculan Questions," which our younger readers, at least, will not be displeased to see at large; "Est ergo *ægritudo* opinio recens mali præsentis, in quo demitti contrahique animo rectum esse videatur: . . . . . ægritudini [subjiciuntur] . . . . . angor, luctus, mœror, ærumna, dolor, lamentatio, sollicitudo, molestia, afflictatio, desperatio, et siquæ sunt de genere eodem. . . . . *Angor* [est] ægritudo premens; *luctus*, ægritudo ex ejus, qui carus fuerit, interitu acerbo; *mœror*, ægritudo flebilis; *ærumna*, ægritudo laboriosa; *dolor*, ægritudo crucians; *lamentatio*, ægritudo cum ejulatu; *sollicitudo*, ægritudo cum cogitatione; *molestia*, ægritudo permanens; *afflictatio*, ægritudo cum vexatione corporis; *desperatio*, ægritudo sine ulla rerum exspectatione meliorum." †

On this passage D'Alembert justly remarks;—"We invite the attention of the reader to the whole passage, and what precedes and follows it; he will there see, with what care and precision the ancients could define things, whenever they took pains to do it; he will, moreover, be convinced, that, if the ancients had taken care to define all their words thus minutely, we should find an infinity of shades of meaning which escape us in a dead language." ‡ In addition to the Roman authors here cited, we may refer to Varro, Festus, Aulus Gellius, Donatus, and others, who bestowed some attention on this subject. Among the more modern writers, we ought not to overlook the celebrated French lawyer, Brissonius, whose work, *De Formulis et Solennibus Populi Romani Verbis*, though primarily intended for the elucidation of the Roman Law, contains a body of criticism, on numerous Latin terms, of high value to the general student in classical literature.

Besides the collections of Synonymes of the Greek and Latin languages, there have been similar ones made for some of the living languages of Europe; and among these, the well-known work of the Abbé Girard, the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Universel des Synonymes de la Langue Française*, was the first in point of time, and has served as the model for succeeding authors, in his own and other countries. He was

* Senec. *Epist.* 97.
† Cic. *Tuscul. Quæst.*, Lib. iv. cap. 7, 8.
‡ D'Alembert, *Synonymes, verbo* Douleur.

the first French writer who made this subject his particular study ; though some others had occasionally employed themselves upon it. Girard's work was originally published more than a century ago (1718), and has since gone through the hands of various editors, the last of whom, the well-known French writer, M. Guizot, has most materially improved it ; and the work now contains all that is important in the collections of Beauzée, Roubaud, D'Alembert, and the ancient French Dictionaries in general.

In Italy, a book of Synonymes of the Italian language was published at Parma, in the year 1778, by Alessandro Maria Bandiera ; and a very complete work on this subject, by Giovanni Romani, was printed at Milan in 1825 – 6.

The Germans, with their characteristic industry and philosophical spirit, have effected more than any other nation in this department of literature. For the synonymes of their own language, they have the works of Stosch, Heynatz, Eberhard, and many others, in which (as Guizot justly observes) we find constant proofs of the solidity, depth, and extent of their views in philological science.

Our English brethren, it gives us pain to say, are as far behind the Germans in this, as in other departments of philology. Their first work, we believe, was that of the "multifarious" Dr. Trusler, who is described by an English author, as "one of those superficial writers, whom the booksellers employ to compile books for superficial readers." His book, however, has been consulted by two subsequent writers, Taylor and Crabb.

Next to Trusler's work we have the "British Synonymy," by the celebrated Mrs. Piozzi (in 1794), whose learning Johnson described, with emphasis, as "that of a schoolboy in one of the lower forms" ; and her book is now forgotten as one of the authorities on this subject.

To these succeeded a little work, called "English Synonymes Discriminated," by W. Taylor, Jr., published in 1813. It is a work of considerable merit, but not extensive enough for the use of scholars.

The latest English work is that of Crabb, who has collected a great mass of materials from other writers, particularly from Mr. Taylor, but has not exercised sufficient discrimination in the use of them. Yet he seems to have been stimulated to undertake the work, because "we [English]

have not a single writer who has treated it in a *scientific* manner, and adequate to its importance." [!]

The indifference, which has been manifested by English scholars in respect to the *synonymy* of their own language, has been still more conspicuous in the case of the Latin; which is the more extraordinary, as England has long boasted of her cultivation of classical learning. And it is a little remarkable, that she has suffered the scholars of Scotland to have the honor of producing the first British original work on *Latin* Synonymes (which was published, too, since the present century began), by Dr. John Hill, Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh; a bulky quarto, which did not at all satisfy the wants of the public, and, we believe, is no longer known among the "apparatus" of students. English scholars are, therefore, still obliged to depend upon the work of M. Gardin Dumesnil (formerly Professor of Rhetoric in the University of Paris), entitled "Synonymes Latins," &c. "à l'Imitation de M. l'Abbé Girard," and originally published at Paris in the year 1788. This useful work was translated and published in English, "with additions and corrections," by the Rev. J. M. Gosset, in 1808, and still enjoys a high reputation in England.

But, valuable as the work of Dumesnil was for students of Latin, at the period when it was constructed, the researches of scholars, particularly in Germany, have since furnished a large mass of materials, from which improvements and corrections could be made. This has been ably done by Dr. Lewis Ramshorn, in his original "Latin Synonymics," of which the work, named at the head of this article, is an abridgment, for the use of "schools and private students," made by the author himself.

Dr. Ramshorn is an eminent philologist and practical instructer in Germany; and the work before us bears ample testimony to his merits in both these respects. He has taken for the basis of his work the *Synonymes* of Gardin Dumesnil, recast and augmented, as a new edition of the Universal Latin Synonymes of Ernesti.

"Upon the works of these two scholars, then," says Mr. Lieber, the translator of the present American edition, "Dr. Ramshorn, a distinguished philologer, and practical teacher in Germany, has built his own, adding from the rich treasures of the science of languages, so abundant in his country. Comparative philology and etymologic knowledge, now so zeal-

ously and successfully cultivated in Germany, form a science which exhibits to us order, organic connexion, depth of meaning, and progressive developement, where before, disorder, disjointedness, caprice, or a barbarous want of perception seemed to exist, in so great and vast a sphere, embracing many tribes and generations, that the scholar, who enters deeper and deeper into this comprehensive system, extending over Asia and Europe, ancient and modern, feels, as we may imagine one to feel, who beholds the firmament for the first time, after being informed, that all its glittering hosts move in order, and according to the wisest principles. Neither the present cultivation of this branch of philologic knowledge, nor that of any other, appertaining to the study of antiquity, has been without its due influence on the composition of the above-mentioned work, which makes it, in my opinion, a production of singular merit. My friends agreed with me, that an abridgment, adapted to our schools and colleges, would supply a want, which has long been felt by those who instruct in Latin. So soon, therefore, as I became acquainted with the fact, that Dr. Ramshorn himself had prepared a 'school edition' of his work, I resolved to translate it into English. I have done so, and feel convinced, provided I have performed my task with any degree of success, that few works can be offered, to all who study or promote the study of antiquity, more welcome than this." — *Preface of the Translator*, p. iii.

In this commendation of the work, and its great value to the faithful and zealous student, we most cordially concur, as we have no doubt every one will, who shall have occasion to examine it as minutely as we have done. We have not room for many extracts; but to enable the reader to judge, in some degree, of the plan and execution of the work, we here subjoin a few specimens; regretting, at the same time, that our limits do not permit us to exhibit a larger portion of it.

"Amare, Diligere; Amicus, Familiaris, Necessarius; Amor, Caritas, Pietas. *Amare*, to love, from inclination, and because the subject pleases our heart; *Diligere*, from esteem, as a subject dear to us: *Scias Egnatium a me non diligi solum, verum etiam amari.* Cic. *Amicus*, friend in general, and the sincere, true friend; *Familiaris*, a friend of the house, with whom we have become familiar by daily intercourse; *Necessarius*, a friend allied to us by duty, as by relations of public office, the duties and relations of hospitality, mutual acts of kindness: *Cum Dejotaro mihi amicitiam res publica conciliavit, familiaritatem consuetudo attulit, sum-*

mam vero necessitudinem magna ejus officia in me et in exercitum meum effecerunt. Cic. — *Amor*, love, as affection and sensual, also with animals; *Cāritas*, the intense love to a highly valued object, result of reflection, and only of a pure kind; *Pietas*, dutiful love, from natural as well as religious impulse, toward those to whom we owe our life and the happiness of it: *Aut caritate moventur homines, ut deorum, patriæ, parentum; aut amore, ut fratrum, liberorum, familiarium.* Cic. *Pietas erga patriam aut parentes aut alios sanguine conjunctos officium conservare monet.* Id." — pp. 66, 67.

"Anima, Spiritus, Animus, Mens. *Anima*, the breath, inasmuch as it is air; the soul, as the vivifying substance, according to the ancients, of every living being: *Clodium animan efflantem reliquit.* Cic. *Spiritus*, the breathing, breath, which inhales and exhales the air in draughts: *Aspera arteria excipit animan eam, quæ ducta est spiritu.* Cic. *Extremum spiritum ore excipere.* Id. *Animus*, the human soul as the *principium* of feeling, desire, and thinking: *Immortalitas animi. Constamus ex animo et corpore.* Cic. *Mens*, understanding, as faculty of reflection; disposition: *Menti regnum totius animi a natura tributum est.* Cic." — pp. 71, 72.

"Cognoscere, Agnoscere, Dignoscere. *Cognoscere*, to become acquainted with, to know something by certain marks of distinction (in German, *erkennen*). *Cæsar Illyricas nationes adire et regiones cognoscere volebat.* Cæs. *Statilius cognovit et signum et manum suam.* Cic. *Agnoscere*, recognising something already known, acknowledging: *Deum agnoscis ex operibus ejus.* Cic. *Dignoscere*, to distinguish something by known marks from other things: *Ut possem curvo dignoscere rectum.* Hor." — p. 122.

"Educere, Educare, Tollere. *Educere*, rearing, has reference to care and preservation; *Educare*, bringing up, educating, education and formation of body and mind; *Tollere*, according to Roman custom, the taking up, as father, the infant from the ground, and thus undertaking its care and education; *Parentis est, quem procreavit et eduxerit, eum vestire.* Cic. *Educat nutrix, instituit pædagogus.* Varr. *Quod erit natum, tollito.* Plaut." — p. 183.

"Inquit, Ait, Dicit. *Inquit* (*in*, — Gothic *quithan*, speaking, saying; *inquit*, therefore, he speaks into, the conversation; *inquam*, is conjunctive form), he says, says he, and quite general as a formula of introducing words of another: *Hoc libro quasi ipsos induxi loquentes, ne inquam et inquit sæpius interponeretur.* Cic. *Ait*, he assures, asserts, maintains, as a formula of citing the assertion of another, which we cite by way of narration, and as contradistinction to *negat;*

he affirms. But if not only mere negation and affirmation are opposed to each other, but whole affirming or negativing sentences, the words *Dicit — negat* are used; besides this use, *dicit* is simply an indicating and prefatory formula of citing the words of others: *Ne faciam, inquis, omnino versus? Aio.* Hor. *Sthenium educunt: aiunt ab eo literas publicas esse corruptas.* Cic. *Considius ad Cæsarem accurrit; dicit, montem, quem a Labieno occupari voluerit, ab hostibus teneri.* Cæs." — p. 259.

"Negotium, Res. *Negotium*, occupation, opp. *otium: In otio esse potius, quam in negotio.* Ter., the occupation or affair as the task for a free activity to obtain an object, especially used of an official, professional, and in general of a dutiful business: *Negotium magistratibus est datum, ut curarent, ut sine vi mihi ædificare liceret.* Cic. *Res*, 190, every subject of which we can *rei*, that is, every thing which can be supposed to exist (*reor* is connected with the German *reden*, to speak, for speaking and thinking or judging coincide originally); the thing, as generic term for something, the more definite determination of which is to be known from its accompaniments, e. g. *divina, militaris: Non re ductus es, sed opinione.* Cic. *Rem agere*, transacting, attending to an affair, which touches the interest of some one; *Negotium agere*, attending to an affair, business, which claims our attention on account of some duty or obligation. *Res est mihi tecum*, I have to do with you, to fight it out with you; *Negotium*, I have something to settle with you. (The deficiency in the English language, that we have but one word, *thing*, for the German *Ding* and *Sache*, renders it always difficult for one who has not entered entirely into the spirit of Latin to comprehend the whole and full meaning of *res;* because, though the Latin has, like the English, but one word, *res* signifies infinitely more than the English term *thing*.)" — pp. 319, 320.

"Pluma, Penna, Pinna. *Plūma* the down-feather: *Plumæ versicolores columbis datæ sunt.* Cic. *Penna*, the larger wing-feather, also the wing itself; *Pulverem pennis detergere.* Plin. *Gallinæ pullos pennis fovent.* Cic. *Pinna*, a thick, stiff, and longer feather: *Galli caudis magnis, frequentibus pinnis.* Varr. *Pinnæ datæ piscibus.* Plin., fins." — pp. 349, 350.

Such is the body of this useful volume. But we must not omit to notice the *introductory* remarks (about forty pages), under the head of "Latin Terminations"; of which Mr. Lieber observes, that "they will be considered by many as containing, now and then, views too bold or fanciful." He has, for good reasons, however, decided to retain the whole

of this Introduction ; observing, that he did not feel authorized to omit it, partly on account of its own merit, which will be more available, however, for the teacher than the pupil, partly because the author refers to it in the main body of the work. The doctrine laid down in it is, that a word receives a specific meaning by its *termination*, and becomes, through it, a part of speech ; that the *root* of a word consists, generally, of a short syllable ending with a consonant ; but that, of many Latin words, it is lost, if it has not been preserved in other ancient languages ; that the oldest nominal forms contain the personal pronouns ; the others, the declensions. Under this last head, the author has the following remarks, which will serve as a specimen of his views.

"The *third declension* is the oldest on account of the generality of its forms ; for, through them, it designates only existence and its modifications, and contains most original words ; the monosyllabic almost exclusively.

"The *first* and *second* distinguish clearly subject and quality, person and thing, and the *genera*.

"The *fourth* declension designates permanent conditions, as such, and in some, inanimate objects ; e. g. *acus, arcus, cornu*.

"The *fifth* contains only denominations of essential properties, hence only *feminine* nouns. This is also the reason why it had, at an early period, many words in common with the third and first declensions, as *quies, quiei, quie ; plebes, plebei*, and the long ablative terminations, *famē, molē, tabē ;* farther, *materies* and *materia*, &c.

"In the *third* declension there are, besides, the monosyllabic radical words without form, as *lac, sol, ren, lar, cor, fur*." — pp. 1, 2.

The author, accordingly, then proceeds to a consideration of the Substantive, Adjective, Verbal, and Pronominal Forms. Under the first, for example, he remarks, that

"The termination *s* is the general form designating existence ; first, when attached to the last radical sound or fused with it, as sus, urbs, mas, laus, mors, pax, grex, nix ; secondly, with a vowel, in nubes, quies, navis, lapis, honos, custos, lepus, palus. The termination *tas*, gen. *tatis*, designates quality ; *tus*, gen. *tūtis*, property ; thus *juventas* is youth distinguishable by early years, delicacy, and blooming beauty; *juventus*, youth in its vigor and strength, opp. *senectus ; juventa*, the whole age, period of youth ; *senectus*, old age as

condition of decreasing powers, but also venerable on account of greater experience ; *senecta*, old age, as the last period of man's life ; *senium*, old age, with its complaints and burdens, oppressive age. *Veritas*, truth, as quality ; *verum*, as the True itself." — p. 2.

In this manner he proceeds through the different divisions of his subject ; and though, as Mr. Lieber observes, in his Preface, the author's views may be, now and then, too bold or fanciful, yet the reader, particularly instructers, will find abundant materials for consideration, which will be important to the thorough study of the Latin language.

We cannot but congratulate the students of the Latin language in this country upon the publication of a work, which is superior to any one of the kind, that we are acquainted with, in the English language ; and it cannot fail to be considered a necessary part of the *apparatus* of every student's library, as well as of every school where the Latin language is taught.

We must not conclude our remarks upon this volume, without adverting to the extraordinary care with which it has been carried through the press ; a consummation, not so easy as most readers would imagine, in works where the variety of types and languages is apt to mislead the most lynx-eyed corrector, and in school-books, above all others, of the highest importance. The type and paper, we may add, are excellent ; and we notice these particulars, because we entirely agree with that celebrated English instructer, Knox, whose experience taught him, that "the type and paper [of school-books] cannot be too beautiful. These allure and please the eye" ; * and we may, in the present instance, without much departure from the meaning of the Roman poet, apply to this neat volume the commendatory remark, — "Chartæ regiæ, ... et pumice omnia æquata."

* Knox's "Liberal Education," Vol. I. p. 47.

ART. VIII. — *A Discourse on the Life, Services, and Character of Stephen Van Rensselaer, delivered before the Albany Institute, April 15th, 1839; with an Historical Sketch of the Colony and Manor of Rensselaerwyck, in an Appendix.* By DANIEL D. BARNARD. Albany. Printed by Hoffman & White. 8vo. pp. 144.

THE late General Van Rensselaer, whose life is the subject of this valuable pamphlet, was a man richly deserving of remembrance. His character was of sterling purity. Few persons, in any country or age, have silently and unostentatiously exercised a happier influence on society. Born to the hereditary possession of great wealth, which increased in his hands, not by the arts or through the passion of accumulation, but purely because the simplicity of his taste left a surplus of his income, after all the calls of duty and benevolence were answered, it would have been difficult for the sternest censor to find aught to reproach in the modesty of his life and manners. His purse was the treasury of the poor, who resorted to it for their own wants, and of the philanthropic, who found it an unfailing spring of liberal aid for every work of Christian charity. But his bounty, as far as possible, was dispensed in secret, and with that discrimination, which a sense of justice, no less than the unambitious tone of his own character, required. He granted generous aid to deserving objects, but flung no largesses into the lap of sturdy or popular beggars. The task of giving judiciously, out of large means, is by no means quite so easy to be performed, as may at first be thought, by those who reflect little on the subject, and think, if they had the philosopher's stone, they could make everybody rich and happy. The number of demands, very great, always, on all who are known or supposed to have wealth, is indefinitely and oppressively multiplied, whenever the willingness to give liberally is known to coëxist with the means. The great mass of private wants, real and fictitious, the boundless circle of public charities, deserving and undeserving, are diligently urged upon the consideration of the affluent. No fortune is adequate to the tithe of these calls, if it should all be appropriated to satisfy them. The task of apportionment, of selection, and refusal, is difficult and thankless. It was performed by

General Van Rensselaer, with guileless simplicity of heart, with a strict regard to principle, and with such gentleness of spirit, where high-raised expectations were to be disappointed, that, as probably no man of property in the country ever gave more away, so no man's charities were ever less invidious and offensive.

General Van Rensselaer's liberality was not confined to acts of charity. He wisely appropriated a portion of his ample means to the promotion of practical education; of which, perhaps, we ought rather to speak as of an act of charity, in the noblest sense of the term. The School of Natural Science, which he founded and endowed at Troy, is a monument of far-sighted benevolence. Among its principal objects, one was "to qualify teachers for instructing the sons and daughters of mechanics in the application of experimental chemistry, philosophy, and natural history, to agriculture, domestic economy, and the arts and manufactures." Mr. Barnard speaks of its results in the following terms:

"It is impossible to compute, or perhaps to give any rational conjecture about, the amount of good which has already been effected through this munificent and skilfully-devised charity; much more impossible is it to compass, in thought, the benefits which coming generations must reap from that system and plan of Education, of which the example was first set, and the eminent utility satisfactorily tested, in the Rensselaer Institute. Schools have been set up on the Rensselaer method, in various and distant parts of our country; and it has been stated to me as a fact, from calculations actually made, that the Institute has itself furnished to the community more experimental Teachers and Professors, State Geologists, Principal and Assistant Engineers on Public Works, and practical Chemists and Naturalists, than have been furnished, in the same time, by all the Colleges in the Union. If the half of this statement be true, the result, in this single particular, is a proud one for the memory of the Patron, through whose almost unknown munificence it has been effected." — pp. 82, 83.

The personal history of General Van Rensselaer is, in some respects, one of extraordinary interest. He belonged to a class, never numerous in the Northern and Middle States, scarcely known, in fact, in New England, that of large landed proprietors. He inherited an immense property, known by the name of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck, granted to his ancestor in the earliest period of the Dutch

jurisdiction in New York ; and with it the title, privileges, and honors of a *Patroon*, as the lord of the manor appears to have been called in the Dutch colonial law. As far as we are aware, General Van Rensselaer was the only individual, to whom, within the memory of man, this title, originally of right, and after the American Revolution by universal courtesy, has been conceded. The class of very rich men, generally, but not without exceptions, (of which Hancock and Carroll, as well as the Patroon are memorable examples,) at the commencement of the Revolution, looked with fear upon that event, and shrunk from its possible results, among which confiscation was that which the entire history of rebellion rendered most familiar to a timid mind, wedded to the enjoyment of the good things of life. General Van Rensselaer was barely eleven years old, when the war broke out ; but his guardians and family embraced the cause of independence, and he was nurtured upon pure whig principles. His large property, his attachment to the federal constitution at the time of its formation, and his adherence to its principles, against the various measures which, at different periods, have been devised, in violation of its spirit, sometimes of its letter, for the purpose of carrying temporary, political ends, threw him, for the better half of his life, into the political minority of his native State. He was associated, as Lieutenant-Governor, with Mr. Jay, for six years, but failed, by a small number of votes, to be elected his successor. Had he been willing to use a few catchwords of party, he would easily have won and worn, through life, the honors which were won from him by others, great and patriotic men, certainly, but who were willing to speak the *Shibboleth*, which he was not. In the war of 1812, he was placed in the chief military command by his rival, Governor Tompkins ; and, though nothing could well be conceived less congenial, than his domestic, tranquil, unobtrusive character, with the fervor, the passion, and recklessness of military life, yet he promptly obeyed the call, engaged with spirit in the discharge of his duties, and did all that could be done by an invading general, who, after entering the enemy's country, finds his army troubled with constitutional scruples on the subject of following him.

General Van Rensselaer was a Canal Commissioner in New York, from the first formation of the Board, which had

in charge the magnificent system of internal navigation of that State. His known practical wisdom, in the management of extensive private concerns, made it an object of public policy to enlist his name and influence on the side of the *big ditch*, at the time when the noble enterprise had to struggle into existence under the weight of all the odium which could be cast upon it, by politicians of the same gauge and calibre with those, who are unceasing in their efforts, in our own State, to cast reproach upon an enterprise of similar character, and, considering the proportion of our means, not of inferior magnitude.

In Congress he moved in a sphere above the storms of party. It was pleasing to contemplate one, whose political course was unwavering, still commanding universal respect by amenity of manners and purity of character. It fell to his lot, by his casting vote in February, 1825, to decide the ballot of New York ; and, in so doing, to cause the election of President John Quincy Adams, at the first trial. It is necessary to be acquainted with the private history of that day, to know what firmness was required to perform this duty, and from what convulsions it saved the Union. There were those, it is said, who desired that, out of a long-protracted struggle in the House of Representatives, a state of affairs should arise, which would defy all arbitration but that of the sword. It devolved on General Van Rensselaer, by his casting vote in the delegation of his State, to avert the danger of any such convulsion, if such danger existed. But such was the unquestioned honesty of his purpose, that even this critical relation to a question so momentous in no degree affected his universal popularity in Congress.

The secret strength of his character was no doubt founded on religious principle. In the morning of life, and while surrounded by every thing which could tempt him to worldliness, he made a public profession of religion in the church of his fathers, and maintained, to the end of his days, the character of a consistent Christian. This topic is happily adverted to by Mr. Barnard ; —

" In presenting, as nearly as may be in the order of time, the events of this good man's life, I must not omit to mention one in this place, certainly of no inconsiderable importance, if only considered as affecting our right judgment of his character. It was in the spring of 1787, when he was short of

twenty-three years of age, in the vigor of manhood, just on the threshold of mature life, which sparkled brightly before him, with large possessions, and wealth enough to lay the world under contribution for whatever it can afford to pamper appetite and passion, and supply the means of wanton and luxurious indulgence ; it was then, and under such circumstances, that he deliberately chose, by a formal profession of religious faith, and a personal vow of religious obedience, according to the doctrines and discipline of the Christian Church as adopted by the Dutch Reformers, to pledge himself to a life of temperance, simplicity, truth, and purity. How well he kept his vow, is known to all who had occasion to observe him ; and how eminently he was blest in keeping it, was seen in all those quarters, where, I think, the Christian is wont to look for the promise of *the life that now is*, — in the calm and quiet of a peaceful existence, in domestic relations of the most tender, harmonious, and beautiful character, and in a resigned, appropriate, and happy death." — pp. 36 – 38.

His remains were committed to the tomb with ceremonies well befitting the occasion ; —

" His own desire had been frequently expressed, that, when the time came, his body should be borne to the common Tomb of his Fathers, with simple ceremonies only, and with an entire absence of ostentatious parade. This injunction was obeyed by his family, as far as the public, and public bodies, would consent it should be. It was arranged, that the religious solemnities of his funeral should be celebrated at the North Dutch Church in this city, — his own place of public worship, — and in the presence of that fellowship of Christians belonging there, with which he had been connected, as a Member in Communion, for more than half a century. From thence to the family vault, near his late residence, a procession was formed. The Body, in its simple and unadorned Coffin, was borne on mens' shoulders, — the bearers frequently relieving each other, — the pall supported by those who had known him long and loved him well. No hearse was permitted to receive the burden. The mourners followed ; after them, the Municipal Authorities of the City ; several public Societies ; the Chief Magistrate and other Executive Officers of the State ; and the Legislature in order ; and then came citizens and strangers, falling in by two and two, until the procession was extended to a most unusual and imposing length. All were on foot. No carriages were used. The military were in citizens' dress. All badges of office had been laid aside. No plumes nodded ;

no helmets glistened ; no music murmured ; solemn, slow, and silent, the procession moved on, through thick and thronging, but orderly and respectful ranks, crowding the streets, and lining the casements of every dwelling on either side. And thus were the remains of the good man carried, and deposited in their resting-place ; and thus were they attended. None ever had a more simple funeral ; none were ever followed by a larger train of sincere and sorrowing mourners." — pp. 91, 92.

The author of this pamphlet is well known to most of our readers, as a distinguished member of Congress, during the administration of Mr. Adams, and of the Assembly of New York, as a member from Albany. His speeches, on numerous important topics of finance, education, and general policy, mark him out as one of the most enlightened of our statesmen. Uniting the cultivation of letters with that of politics, he has favored the public with several addresses, delivered on literary occasions, and before the societies for intellectual improvement, which abound at the present day. They are all of a very high order. Sound principles, forcible reasoning, happy illustration, and a chaste style, characterize Mr. Barnard's writings. The present Discourse is, we think, one of the most valuable of his productions. It presents us a very satisfactory historical sketch of the life and services of a most distinguished individual. It will furnish materials to the historian. The Appendix contains an outline of the history of the Colony and Manor of Rensselaerwyck, the hereditary estate of the family. This little colony, — but large patrimony, — must, we think, be *sui generis* in its origin and fortunes ; and it serves with other efforts at colonial establishment, singularly various as they were, to illustrate the vague and searching activity of the spirit of adventure, in its direction toward the settlement of America at the commencement of the seventeenth century.

Art. IX.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *The Mathematical Miscellany.* Conducted by C. Gill, Professor of Mathematics in the Institute at Flushing, Long Island. Vol. I. pp. 414. 8vo.

This volume is formed of six numbers, which have been published as a periodical, two numbers yearly, during the last three years. Without intending to give any thing like an analysis of the work, we have thought it our duty to promulgate, to the extent of our circulation, a knowledge of its publication; claiming for the learned and ingenious contributors to its pages the honor which their labors, in the most abstract department of science, so richly merit. We feel this duty the more strongly impressed upon us, when we reflect, that, apart from the satisfaction found in the successful investigation and solution of the problems of the Miscellany, its authors can look for no possible reward but that of reputation, which, if limited to those who read and appreciate their work, must be altogether too narrow for their deserts. We perceive, moreover, in the modest and unpresuming science of this work, some compensation for the high tone of pretension, amongst us, to discovery, in departments of philosophy, in which, if truth must be told, we are lamentably deficient.

Publications, similar to that here noticed, have been long known in Europe. The most celebrated of these, the "Ladies' Diary," was commenced in 1704, and is yet continued. On the list of its contributors are the names of Simpson, Emerson, Landen, Hutton, and Vince. In addition to the "Ladies' Diary," the English have, likewise, supported the "Gentlemen's Diary," the "Mathematical Companion," Hutton's "Miscellanea Curiosa," and Leybourn's "Mathematical Repository"; the pages of which bear the names of some of the most eminent of the English mathematicians. Nor is a mathematical periodical entirely new in this country; as the present work was preceded by "The Mathematical Correspondence," "The Analyst," and, more immediately, by the "Mathematical Diary"; the publication of which was commenced, in the year 1825, under the direction of Dr. Adrain, then mathematical professor in Columbia College, and was continued by him and Mr. Ryan to the year 1830; forming two volumes of 316 and 194 pages.

The "Diary" contains problems of the highest order, the solution of which required the most consummate skill in the application of mathematical analysis. Amongst the principal contributors to this work, besides its editors, were, Dr. Bowditch, (who took a constant and deep interest in its success, and, as the most effectual exhibition of his desire to encourage it, always furnished solutions to all the problems,) and the eminent mathematicians, Professors Strong, Anderson, and Nulty.

The character of the "Miscellany" differs, in no essential respect, from its predecessor, except in the addition of what is called a Junior Department, comprising problems suited to the strength of those who have not yet penetrated the depths of mathematical learning. The body of the work, like the "Diary," contains problems requiring the whole power of the calculus, as is shown by the solutions of its principal contributors, of whom we cannot refrain from mentioning the names of the eminent Professors, Avery, Catlin, Gill, the editor, Peirce, Root, and Strong. Nor can we forbear adding to this record the fact, that the name of Professor Strong runs through every number of the "Diary" and "Miscellany," as having furnished solutions to every question in both works. Since we regard the publication of the "Miscellany" as highly honorable to its authors, and one of the most efficient means which can be devised for promoting the cultivation and advancement of the science to which it is devoted, we cannot but hope, that it will be continued in an uninterrupted series.

---

2. — *The Writings of* John Marshall, *late Chief Justice of the United States, upon the Constitution.* Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1839. 8vo. pp. 728.

This volume contains the opinions delivered by the late Chief Justice, upon the various questions of constitutional law which came before him while in office. It includes, not only those of the whole bench, drawn up by himself, but one or two other opinions, in which he dissented from the majority of the Court, as well as some of his own decisions upon the circuit. The object of the editor, in the present compilation, is stated to have been, first, to place these masterly discourses within the reach of the general public, by collecting them together, out of the numerous volumes of Reports in which they lie scattered; and secondly, to furnish the student of the Constitution

with the means of ready reference to the leading cases, to which his text-books so frequently direct him. In this latter view, the present work forms an indispensable companion to Judge Story's Commentaries on the Constitution, as well as to those of Chancellor Kent. To render the volume perfect in this respect, the editor has, with good judgment, added the decisions of the Supreme Court, delivered by other judges prior to the death of its late, lamented chief.

It is superfluous, at this day, and after what we have heretofore said, to add a remark upon the opinions of Chief Justice Marshall, whom his illustrious compeer has, with such appropriate emphasis, styled "The Expounder of the Constitution." They will go down to posterity as contemporaneous expositions, shedding a flood of light upon that great instrument; not to be obscured but by a ruthless violation of the spirit of the text itself. We have only to express our judgment, that the editor of this volume has rendered an essential service to the country at large, as well as to the student of constitutional law, by its publication; and that, without it, no apparatus for this important study can be deemed complete.

---

3. — *Undine, a Miniature Romance.* From the German of Baron DE LA MOTTE FOUQUÉ. Colman's Library of Romance. New York. 1839. 12mo. pp. 211.

FOUQUÉ's beautiful little Romance is too well known to need any detailed criticism at our hands. We mention it now, merely to say, that the new translation, — understood to be from the pen of a retired scholar of Massachusetts, — is distinguished by close fidelity to the original, and by elegance and freedom at the same time. It is evidently a work of love. The translator's mind is pervaded by the spirit of the book, and he has therefore been able to reproduce it, with all the life and delicate beauty which the original exhibits on every page. A work of such pure imagination as Undine, — so exquisitely conceived, and so admirably sustained in all its parts, — requires in the translator a taste, a fancy, and a command over the resources of language, not ordinarily possessed. All these conditions are fulfilled in the work before us; and we hope the translator will feel himself bound to try his hand again in the same way. It will be doing good service to the literature of the country.

4. — *The Most Important Parts of Blackstone's Commentaries reduced to Questions and Answers.* By Asa Kinne. New York: W. E. Deane. 1838. 8vo. pp. 190.

The compiler of this book has transcribed, nearly or quite *verbatim*, Mr. Field's "Analysis of Blackstone's Commentaries, in a Series of Questions," published in 1811; to which he has annexed brief answers, from the text itself. The merit of Mr. Field's plan consisted in this, that, in order to answer the questions, the pupil must study, and even master, the entire Commentaries; while his attention was at the same time drawn to the principal subjects. But Mr. Kinne, having set down an answer to each question, either takes away a chief motive to study and reflection, or leads the student to a view of the subject so very rapid and superficial, as to leave but few and faint traces in the mind. The former method calls into action and improves the whole intellect; the latter exercises the memory alone. The one would qualify the student to compose a legal catechism; the other will only enable him to say he has learned one. The difference between them is like that between two students of mathematics, the one of whom has solved each problem for himself, while the other has only transcribed and committed to memory the results of his fellow. He does but wade; his fellow can swim.

Of the present compiler's honesty in offering this book to the public as his own original conception; in withholding all allusion to Mr. Field, into whose labors he has so unceremoniously entered; and in using parts of that gentleman's preface without acknowledgment, we at present say nothing. Our main purpose in noticing this production is to record our solemn and earnest protest against the facility with which gentlemen, in the higher ranks of science, are accustomed to give their signatures in commendation of works they have but slightly turned over, or never read at all, and of whose authors they know nothing. Mr. Field's "Analysis" was printed in this country in 1822, and has since been appended to the several American editions of Chitty's Blackstone, now on almost every lawyer's shelves; and yet here is a piratical transcript of that work, rendered of very questionable value by the compiler's additions, ushered forth to the public, like the latest patent medicine, with a string of certificates from some half a dozen eminent judges and lawyers, no one of whom, it is but charity to suppose, ever examined it with any care, yet all of whom commend it as an original work, of great merit, and highly deserving the patronage of the profession. Would

they have given any man a letter of credit to their grocer, upon so little inquiry into his character ?

---

5. — *The Tusculan Questions of Marcus Tullius Cicero. In Five Books.* Translated by GEORGE ALEXANDER OTIS, Esq. 12mo. Boston : James B. Dow, Publisher. 1839.

"OPINIONUM enim commenta delet Dies, naturæ judicia confirmat." These words of Cicero the translator of the Tusculan Questions has very properly adopted as a part of the motto to his volume ; as the inroads which time has made on some points of speculative philosophy, and the confirmation it has afforded to others, are nowhere more strikingly visible, than in this work. The great Roman orator, philosopher, and moralist, as is well known, was deeply versed in the writings of the Greeks ; but he brought to the investigation of truth a mind, in a good degree independent of authority; nor was he afraid to declare openly his own opinions. Moral qualities the most attractive and impressive are exhibited in his philosophical writings; and his sentiments are clothed in a style so polished and ornamented, and yet so precise and well adapted to the subject in discussion, that a charm is diffused over the whole, which takes an irresistible hold on the reader. To the full understanding, however, of a work so ancient, something more is now wanting than the bare text. This translation, therefore, we think, should have been accompanied with a clear statement of the object of each of the dialogues, and of the nature of the argument. Something likewise is needed, if all the interest is to be given to the work of which it is susceptible, to apprize the reader of what later investigations have shown to be erroneous, or have confirmed, in the reasonings of Cicero. Illustrations of this kind need not have occupied much space, and would have made this translation far more intelligible and attractive ; and the entire want of them is the first objection we have to this performance.

Another objection is, that this translation, considered as an exhibition of the thoughts of Cicero, is not unfrequently erroneous, often obscure, where there is no direct violation of the author's meaning, and sometimes so harshly and even awkwardly expressed, as to form a most striking contrast to the easy, graceful, and harmonious flow of the original. To show very obvious and undeniable mistakes in expressing in English Cicero's meaning, we might turn to almost any page of the

volume. The first sentence of the first book shall furnish an example. Here the words "remissa temporibus" are translated "dropped at times." The only question, which can arise about the meaning of these words, is, whether "temporibus" is in the dative case, or in the ablative, signifying the cause. According to the former construction, Cicero must be understood to say, that his philosophical studies had been "yielded," or "given up to untoward events"; and, according to the latter, that this relaxation had occurred "by," or "in consequence of" such events, where the difference is in the expression, and not in the general idea. That "temporibus" is an ablative of time in the grammatical sense, is what no commentator on this work ever thought of, and is a translation wholly inadmissible. Cicero does not affirm, that his speculations in philosophy had been "dropped at times," but that they had received a check in the disastrous period immediately preceding, though kept constantly in view, and that now, after a long interval, they were resumed.

We will now pass to the second section of the same book in the original, where we find this sentence; "Objecit [Cato] ut probrum M. Nobiliori, quod is in provinciam poëtas duxisset; duxerat autem consul ille in Ætoliam, ut scimus, Ennium;" which Mr. Otis has thus done into English. "He [Cato] objects it as a reproach to Marcus Nobilior, that he permitted poets to attend him into his province. That consul took with him, however, into Ætolia, as we know, Ennius." Not to dwell upon other points of this translation, the sense of "autem," in the latter clause, is wholly mistaken. Where some new fact is introduced, and a slight opposition, perhaps, is implied, the conjunction "autem" has nearly the force of "enim"; as δέ in the Greek, in similar circumstances, corresponds to γάρ. The tense of "duxerat" is varied in the translation to the entire derangement of the meaning of the author. The following would better express the meaning of the original. "For that consul, as we know, had taken Ennius with him into Ætolia." The most obvious import of the translation of Mr. Otis is, that the consul, M. Nobilior, took Ennius with him, notwithstanding the reproaches of Cato; but this is not what Cicero says.

On the next page of the translation, we find this passage. "Geometry was held by them [the Greeks] in the highest honor; and, therefore, nothing more illustrious, than their mathematicians. But we have advanced the limits of this art no further than its uses in surveying and reasoning." Cicero here plainly implies, that the Romans made a less extensive application of geometry, than the Greeks; and yet, if the

former made one of the limits of this science, its use in "reasoning," its boundaries were not very contracted. Besides, as "reasoning" is used in this place in its more general sense, what is to prevent the mere English reader from understanding "surveying" in a sense equally unlimited? And if the Romans employed geometry in a manner coëxtensive with "surveying and reasoning," taken in their abstract acceptation, the question arises, What more enlarged use was made of this science by the Greeks? But the words "metiendi rationandique," ought to have been rendered "measuring land and casting accounts"; which would have precluded all difficulty. This passage is quoted by Latin lexicographers as proof, that the verb "ratiocinor" sometimes means "to compute." We might proceed in this way through the five dialogues.

As an example of imperfect rendering and oddly constructed English, we quote the following; "How can he want anything, who himself is not? for the very name of wanting is sad, because it has this import: he had, he has not; he desires, he requires, he needs. These, I think, are the discomforts of the wanter. He wants eyes. Blindness is odious; children, bereavement." Whoever wishes to understand this, should turn to the thirty-sixth section of the first book of the original, where the meaning is plain.

There are two classes of readers, forming together a comprehensive body, who cannot fail to be dissatisfied with this translation of the Tusculan Questions; those who are familiar with the Latin original, and those who are not. The former will soon lay down a book, in which they find a favorite work so greatly misrepresented; and the latter will hardly take it up a second time, when most of the volume, in language so indistinct, and the whole entirely destitute of the necessary illustrations, must appear to them obscure and pointless.

---

6. — *The Token and Atlantic Souvenir; a Christmas and New Year's Present.* Edited by S. G. Goodrich. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 1840. 16mo. pp. 304.

The Token comes out this year in handsomer style than usual. The engravings are generally excellent, the paper is clear and strong; and the literary merits of the book are greater than those of some of its predecessors. Among the prose sketches, is a very interesting piece, called "Ancient Reminiscences," by the Author of the "Three Experiments." It is a brief biography of Francis Shirley Bollen, granddaughter

of Governor Shirley, who passed the early part of her life in Cambridge, in the family of Judge Trowbridge. The subsequent years of this young lady's life were spent in England, and were marked by romantic and melancholy incidents, enough to form the substance of a very respectable novel. The piece concludes with a very lively and well-written letter, dated 1762, which we would have quoted but for the cause which so often embarrasses us at this stage of a Number.

Most of the poetry in the volume is not remarkably good. The "Sibyl," by Miss Browne, is one of the best pieces; those by Mr. Mellen, with the exception of two or three brilliant thoughts, disguised under the most affected phraseology, are the worst. Miss Gould and the Author of "Miriam" appear with their accustomed excellence.

---

7. — *Beauties of Everett.* Boston: James Burns. 16mo. pp. 180.

This little volume is very well as far as it goes, but a much better edition of the Beauties of Everett was published some years ago, by the American Stationers' Company, in octavo. What we mean is, that beauty is such a pervading element in the works of Edward Everett, that it is impossible to make a selection. The moment we open a volume of his, — no matter where, — we seem to breathe an atmosphere of beauty; the beauty of profound thought, expressed in the purest and sweetest eloquence of the English language; illustrated by graceful and poetical imagery, drawn from a wide range of knowledge; — that calm and finished beauty, which would have enchanted the most refined assembly of Athens. We do not believe the Orations of Mr. Everett can be matched from the whole literature of modern times, in this respect; and therefore, we say, that no selection can be made. Still, the extracts which the editor of this little volume has given us, will, perhaps, be read by many who have never seen the collected writings, or heard the spoken eloquence, of Mr. Everett. The short biography of the distinguished author cannot fail of being read with lively interest. While we are upon the Beauties of Everett, we venture to add another gem to the string of brilliants. It is from his admirable speech at the late Second Centennial Celebration at Barnstable.

"Do you think, Sir, as we repose beneath this splendid pavilion, adorned by the hand of taste, blooming with festive garlands, wreathed with the stars and stripes of this great republic, resounding with strains

of heart-stirring music, that, merely because it stands upon the soil of Barnstable, we form any idea of the spot as it appeared to Captain Miles Standish and his companions, on the 15th or 16th of November, 1620? Oh, no, Sir. Let us go up for a moment, in imagination, to yonder hill, which overlooks the village and the bay, and suppose ourselves standing there on some bleak, ungenial morning, in the middle of November of that year. The coast is fringed with ice. Dreary forests, interspersed with sandy tracts, fill the back ground. Nothing of humanity quickens on the spot, save a few roaming savages, who, ill-provided with what even they deem the necessaries of life, are digging with their fingers a scanty repast out of the frozen sands. No friendly lighthouses had as yet hung up their cressets upon your headlands; no brave pilot-boat was hovering like a sea-bird on the tops of the waves, beyond the Cape, to guide the shattered bark to its harbour; no charts and soundings made the secret pathways of the deep as plain as a gravelled road through a lawn; no comfortable dwellings along the line of the shore, and where are now your well-inhabited streets, spoke a welcome to the Pilgrim; no steeple poured the music of Sabbath morn into the ear of the fugitive for conscience' sake. Primeval wildness and native desolation brood over sea and land; and from the 9th of November, when, after a most calamitous voyage, the May-flower first came to anchor in Provincetown harbour, to the end of December, the entire male portion of the company was occupied, for the greater part of every day, and often by night as well as by day, in exploring the coast and seeking a place of rest, amidst perils from the savages, from the unknown shore, and the elements, which it makes one's heart bleed to think upon.

"But this dreary waste, which we thus contemplate in imagination, and which they traversed in sad reality, is a chosen land. It is a theatre upon which an all-glorious drama is to be enacted. On this frozen soil, — driven from the ivy-clad churches of their mother land, — escaped, at last, from loathsome prisons, — the meek fathers of a pure church will lay the spiritual basement of their temple. Here, on the everlasting rock of liberty, they will establish the foundation of a free State. Beneath this ungenial wintry sky, principles of social right, institutions of civil government, shall germinate, in which, what seemed the Utopian dreams of visionary sages, are to be more than realized.

"But let us contemplate, for a moment, the instruments selected by Providence, for this political and moral creation. However unpromising the field of action, the agents must correspond with the excellence of the work. The time is truly auspicious. England is well supplied with all the materials of a generous enterprise. She is in the full affluence of her wealth of intellect and character. The age of Elizabeth has passed, and has garnered up its treasures. The age of the Commonwealth, silent and unsuspected, is ripening towards its harvest of great men. The Burleighs and Cecils have sounded the depths of statesmanship; the Drakes and Raleighs have run the whole round of chivalry and adventure; the Cokes and Bacons are spreading the light of their master-minds through the entire universe of philosophy and law. Out of a generation of which men like these are the guides and lights, it cannot be difficult to select the

leaders of any lofty undertaking; and, through their influence, to secure to it the protection of royalty. But, alas, for New England! — No, Sir, happily for New England, Providence works not with human instruments. Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called. The stars of human greatness, that glitter in a court, are not destined to rise on the lowering horizon of the despised Colony. The feeble company of Pilgrims is not to be marshalled by gartered statesmen, or mitred prelates. Fleets will not be despatched to convoy the little band, nor armies to protect it. Had there been honors to be worn, or pleasures to be enjoyed, or plunder to be grasped, hungry courtiers, mid-summer friends, godless adventurers, would have eaten out the heart of the enterprise. Silken Buckinghams and Somersets would have blasted it with their patronage. But, safe amidst their unenvied perils, strong in their inoffensive weakness, rich in their untempting poverty, the patient fugitives are permitted to pursue unmolested the thorny paths of tribulation; and, landed at last on the unfriendly shore, the hosts of God, in the frozen mail of December, encamp around the dwellings of the just;

> 'Stern famine guards the solitary coast,
> And winter barricades the realms of frost.'

"While Bacon is attuning the sweetest strains of his honeyed eloquence to soothe the dull ear of a crowned pedant, and his great rival, only less obsequious, is on his knees to deprecate the royal displeasure, the future founders of the new republic beyond the sea are training up for their illustrious mission, in obscurity, hardship, and weary exile in a foreign land.

"And now, — for the fulness of time is come, — let us go up once more, in imagination, to yonder hill, and look out upon the November scene. That single dark speck, just discernible through the perspective glass, on the waste of waters, is the fated vessel. The storm moans through her tattered canvass, as she creeps, almost sinking, to her anchorage in Provincetown harbour; and there she lies, with all her treasures, not of silver and gold, (for of these she has none,) but of courage, of patience, of zeal, of high spiritual daring. So often as I dwell in imagination on this scene; when I consider the condition of the Mayflower, utterly incapable, as she was, of living through another gale; when I survey the terrible front presented by our coast to the navigator who, unacquainted with its channels and roadsteads, should approach it in the stormy season, I dare not call it a mere piece of good fortune, that the general North and South wall of the shore of New England should be broken by this extraordinary projection of the Cape, running out into the ocean a hundred miles, as if on purpose to receive and encircle the precious vessel. As I now see her, freighted with the destinies of a continent, barely escaped from the perils of the deep, approaching the shore precisely where the broad sweep of this most remarkable headland presents almost the only point, at which, for hundreds of miles, she could, with any ease, have made a harbour, and this, perhaps, the very best on the seaboard, I feel my spirit raised above the sphere of mere natural agencies. I see the mountains of New England rising from their rocky thrones. They rush forward into the ocean, settling down as they advance; and

there they range themselves, a mighty bulwark around the Heaven-directed vessel. Yes, the everlasting God himself stretches out the arm of his mercy and his power, in substantial manifestation, and gathers the meek company of his worshippers as in the hollow of his hand."

---

8. — *Observations on the Typhoid Fever of New England. Read at the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Medical Society, May 29th*, 1839. By Enoch Hale, M. D., Attending Physician to the Massachusetts General Hospital. Boston : Whipple & Damrell. 1839. 8vo. pp. 77.

The nature of diseases, involving the question of their identity or diversity, was formerly considered as depending on their symptoms, or the external signs which they exhibit, and which are cognizable by our senses. But the modern habits of investigating disease have furnished an ulterior ground for the discrimination of morbid affections, founded not so much upon the symptoms, as upon the anatomical changes which take place in important organs of the body, and of which changes the symptoms are merely consequences.

The anatomical character of many diseases is well established and undoubted. Thus pleurisy is an inflammation of the membrane which lines the chest, and phthisis is a tuberculous disease of the lungs. But there are other diseases, the precise structural changes accompanying which, are, at the present day, unknown.

The continued fevers, especially those of temperate climates, have been regarded as obscure in their anatomical character, and have afforded fertile themes of discussion and controversy. From the circumstance of their pervading every part of the body, and affecting all its functions, they have been considered as dependent on no particular lesion, or morbid change, of any part or organ, and they have, therefore, been denominated *idiopathic* fevers by the English, and *fièvres essentielles* by the French.

For some time past, the patient and accurate researches of the French pathologists have been bringing this question very near to its point of settlement. And, after the successive approximations of various observers, it has been determined by the observations of the indefatigable Louis, that the common continued fever of Paris depends on, or rather is connected with, certain changes, in the elliptical patches of the *ilium*, commonly called *Peyer's glands ;* and that these changes are also accompanied with a morbid alteration of the corresponding

mesenteric glands, and, likewise, in most cases by a change in the size and consistence of the spleen.

Soon after this discovery became known in this country, it was found, that the continued fevers, in and about Boston, exhibited the precise characters which had been pointed out by Louis; and similar observations were made, to a certain extent, in Philadelphia and in Great Britain, and elsewhere. So that the anatomical character of our most common continued fever, was considered, for a time, as definitively settled.

But at length it was observed, in some parts of Great Britain and Ireland, that patients died of continued fever, in whom no morbid change whatever could be detected in the organs which have been alluded to; so that the faith of medical men began to be shaken in the infallibility of the criteria laid down by the great French pathologist. The mystery was not solved, until it was found, by more extensive observation, that the symptoms, which occurred in the cases where Peyer's glands were affected, were different from those which existed in the cases where these glands were not affected. The final result has been the admission of the existence of two distinct diseases, one of which, called *typhus*, is a contagious fever, occurring in the British islands, and observed also in Philadelphia, and which is especially prone to affect dense masses of population, as in prisons, ships, and crowded habitations of the poor; the other, called *typhoid* fever, which is the common fever of Paris and of New England, appearing also in various other parts of the United States and of England, and which is, for the most part, sporadic and non-contagious.

Dr. Hale's Discourse is an able and intelligent exposition of the pathology of the Typhoid fever of New England, as exhibited in its physical signs and anatomical appearances. Besides results derived from his private practice, he has given the analysis of one hundred and ninety-seven cases, that have occurred, within the last six years, in the Massachusetts General Hospital, of which one hundred and seventy-five terminated in recovery. In addition to his lucid and instructive account of typhoid fever, he has bestowed a brief notice on the recent works which relate to the fevers of Great Britain, and has furnished an account of typhus, founded on the successive observations of Doctors Lombard, Staberoh, West, Stokes, &c. in Europe, and of Doctor Gerhard in this country.

In respect to the treatment of typhoid fever, Dr. Hale's authority is added to the growing mass of testimony in favor of the mild and expectant plan, over that which has consisted in violent and fruitless efforts to force the disease to a speedy termination.

NOTE

TO ARTICLE V. OF THE PRESENT NUMBER.

The last accounts from Upper Canada would seem to threaten a less peaceable state of things for the coming winter, than we have been anticipating. "In September or October," say the high Tory papers, "the invasions are to commence. Winter is not to be waited for, this time; and the attack is to be as much more formidable than before, as it is earlier." An unlikely tale enough. Still, its authors claim to speak on authority; and there are not wanting ambiguous intimations to the same effect, from parties on this side the line, supposed to be in all the secrets of the "Patriot" cause.

In 1837, the Canadian insurgents doubtless carried with them the honest sympathies of a very large proportion of our frontier population. The British nation feels no shame for its sympathy with Greece and Poland; and ours need feel none, for this their early interest in the supposed parallel case of Canada. As for the Navy Island and other movements of that winter, they are quite another thing. The honest sympathy we speak of gave *opportunity* for them, but was not their *cause.* The leaders in these affairs belonged to a class, whose sympathies are of a very different stamp; and their doings, and the number and general character of their followers, were worthy of their motives. Last winter's movements had little or no connexion with any general popular feeling on Canadian affairs. This feeling, indeed, was fast subsiding, and could hardly then be called a popular feeling at all. Take them for all in all, the "Hunters' lodges" were as thorough a hoax, on a large scale, as has been played off these many years. Of the many, whose names figured on the lodge-books, a small number, only, ever thought to raise a finger "in the beaten way" of fighting; and, even of that small number, the zeal of most needed little cooling. The hostility of the Upper Canadians was no sooner proved, than it was found efficient to this end. Sir George's spies, by the information they gave, cost Canada a world of useless alarm, and Great Britain a goodly amount of gold. Less than half the arming, drilling, marching, and paying, that grew out of it, would amply have sufficed to secure the provinces from any second Prescott expedition.

As regards the coming winter, two things are tolerably certain; first, that there is now no *general* feeling of interest in the Patriot cause, even along our frontier, and no approach to it in any other part of the country; and, second, that in Canada,

as well as on our frontier, there is a class of men who desire war, and are bent on mischief. On our side, these men take the name of "Patriots." Some of them, — by no means a majority, — are from Canada ; very few, Canadians or Americans, are of a character to do any honor to any cause. The better class of refugees and emigrants from Canada (and this class is far from small) have no dealings with them. In Canada, no party is more averse to the war-clamor, or more sincerely deprecates "patriot" expeditions, than the intelligent liberal party of the Upper Province. Engaged in a political struggle, in which success is all-important to them, and with a fair prospect, to say the least, if they can but have fair play, they see in this brigand movement the one great obstacle in the way of their success. The High Church Oligarchy, and their adherents, are the only party that gain by it. It gives them what they most stand in need of, — a hold on the public mind. It casts an odium on the cause they fear and hate, and enables them to vilify and harass the friends of liberal and good government in the province, by ascribing to them the actions they most deprecate. No wonder it is this party, that is ever most ready with false rumors of fresh risings and invasions. The friends of liberal principles will surely not be guilty of the folly of playing into their hands.

Of the general result of the discussions, at present going on in the provinces, provided they are left to their natural course, no great doubt can be entertained. The four lower provinces have each a House of Assembly, pledged by their past course, to support the Durham recommendation of "responsible government" ; and in each the great body of the people holds, and has long held, the same doctrine. Lower Canada has, strictly speaking, no *political* parties at all. The English race, in general, for the present, looks at the "responsible government" project with disfavor ; but this is just because, in times past, the other race has demanded it. Unite the provinces, and so put *their* race in the majority ; and in a very short time they will be the first to insist upon it. In Upper Canada, all parties may, in point of fact, be said to insist on it already. The high Tories object to it in name, and that with no little clamor ; but they are as warm, as any of their neighbours, against Imperial interference, the moment it affects themselves. *Au reste*, the open secession of their allies of all shades, — the allies by whose aid alone they were victorious at the last election, — threatens their party with political annihilation at the next.

The British government, we have remarked, has pronounced itself against the concession of this principle of "*local* in-

dependence," as it is sometimes termed. On this point, we should speak with caution. Lord Normanby, the head of the colonial department, in his last speeches in the House of Lords, has expressed himself in more favorable terms, than were used by Lord John Russell, in the Commons. The ministry, it would seem, are tolerably ready to concede the point *in practice*, so soon as it shall be asked in earnest. Their objection seems to be to the bonâ fide avowal of the *principle*, in a Parliament, where their political antagonists are so powerful, and so inveterate against them.

The fate of the union project is not altogether so certain. The union of the six provinces, recommended by Lord Durham, has not been much discussed ; for the reason, no doubt, that the ministerial measure contemplates only a union of the Canadas. To this latter measure, there are some most serious objections, on the score of policy ; and several parties in the Canadas are altogether hostile to it. The ministerial bill, as a whole, we believe almost all parties condemn, on one account or other. It is clear, that it must undergo essential changes, to make it generally acceptable. The question is, whether any plan for a mere union of the Canadas can be made so.

While the proof sheet of the above remarks is before us, we hear, by the arrival of the *British Queen* steam-ship, of the exchange of departments between Lord Normanby and Lord John Russell. We do not suppose this change, of itself, is likely to have much effect as regards the character of the ministerial measures. But, as leader of the House of Commons, Lord John has long been the most prominent member of the present Cabinet ; indeed, he has always been understood to be in every way the most effective man in it. So that his assumption of the duties of the Colonial department, must be regarded as a declaration on the part of the ministry, of their sense of the paramount importance, at the present crisis, of the Colonial politics of the Empire. It holds out to the provinces the promise of having their affairs effectively attended to. A new Governor-general, too, is on his way to Quebec ; a civil, in place of a military, governor. This is well. The difficulty is one which needs a statesman's hand to remove it, not a soldier's ; and as Mr. Poulett Thompson leaves the Cabinet to undertake his present mission, it is to be presumed he comes out with a full understanding, on his part, of their views, and full confidence, on their side, in his.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ANNUALS.

The Religious Offering. Edited by Miss Catherine H. Waterman. 1840. Philadelphia: W. Marshall & Co. 18mo. pp. 288.

The Violet; a Christmas and New Year's Present for 1840. Edited by Miss Leslie. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 18mo. pp. 216.

The Gift; a Christmas and New Year's Present for 1840. Edited by Miss Leslie. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 12mo. pp. 328.

The Token and Atlantic Souvenir; a Christmas and New Year's Present. Edited by S. G. Goodrich. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 16mo. pp. 304.

The Youth's Keepsake; a Christmas and New Year's Gift for Young People. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 18mo.

The Ladies' Annual Register and Housewife's Almanac for 1840. By Caroline Gilman. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 12mo.

The Literary Souvenir; a Christmas and New Year's Present for 1840. Edited by William E. Barton, Esq. Philadelphia: E. L. Carey & A. Hart. 8vo. pp. 226.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

Memoir of a Mechanic, being a Sketch of the Life of Timothy Claxton, written by Himself. Together with Miscellaneous Papers. Boston: George W. Light. 16mo. pp. 179.

Memoir of Mrs. Sarah Louisa Taylor; or an Illustration of the Work of the Holy Spirit, in awakening, renewing, and sanctifying the Heart. By Lot Jones, A. M., Missionary in the City of New York. New York: John S. Taylor. 18mo. pp. 324.

Memoir of Hannah Moore. By S. C. Arnold, of Brooklyn. New York: T. Mason & G. Lane.

Biographical Notices of Mr. Charles Hayward, Jr. and Mr. Samuel T. Hildreth. Reprinted, with Additions, from the "Christian Examiner" for September, 1839. Cambridge; Metcalf, Torry, & Ballou. 8vo. pp. 36.

EDUCATION.

Multum in Parvo; or a Brief and Comprehensive System of English Grammar, upon a New Plan; from which a Knowledge of the Subject can be obtained much quicker and much easier than from any other System. Designed for the Use of Schools, and for Private Learners. By the Author of "Grammar Simplified." Boston. 4to. pp. 22.

Animal Mechanism and Physiology; being a plain and familiar Exposition of the Structure and Functions of the Human System. Designed for the Use of Families and Schools. By John H. Griscom, M. D., Professor of Chemistry in the New York College of Pharmacy, and Lecturer on Animal Mechanism and Physiology. Illustrated by

numerous Wood Cuts, by Butler. New York: Harper & Brothers. 18mo. pp. 357.

Sanders's Spelling Book; containing a minute and comprehensive System of Orthography; designed to teach a System of Orthography and Orthoëpy in accordance with that of Dr. Webster; for the Use of Schools. By Charles W. Sanders. Andover: Gould, Newman, & Saxton. 12mo. pp. 166.

Mitchell's School Geography, embellished with numerous Engravings, simplified and adapted to the Capacity of Youth. Illustrated by an Atlas of 16 Maps. By S. Augustus Mitchell. Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait, & Co. 18mo. pp. 329.

Early Lessons on Scripture History. Designed for Schools and Families. Prepared for the New York Sunday School Union. By E. C. Forbes. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 18mo. pp. 160.

The Pictorial Spelling Book. By Rensselaer Bentley. New York: Robinson, Pratt, & Co.

The Little Learner; or Rudiments of Reading. By John Pierpont. Boston: David H. Williams. 18mo. pp. 72.

The School Teacher's Manual; containing Practical Suggestions on Teaching, and Popular Education. By Henry Dunn, Secretary to the British and Foreign School Society, London. Prepared for Publication in this Country, with a Preface, by T. H. Gallaudet. Hartford: Reed & Barber. 12mo. pp. 223.

Mental and Practical Arithmetic, for the Use of Academies and Schools. By Charles Davies. Hartford: A. S. Barnes. 18mo. pp. 334.

First Lessons in Algebra; embracing the Elements of the Science. By Charles Davies. Hartford: A. S. Barnes. 12mo. pp. 252.

The Grammar of the English Language. By Oliver B. Pierce. New York: Robinson & Franklin. 12mo. pp. 399.

An Introduction to Astronomy, designed as a Text-Book for the Students of Yale College. By Denison Olmsted, A. M., Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy. New York: Collins, Keese, & Co. 8vo. pp. 276.

The Fourth Reader. For the Use of Schools. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 12mo.

The School Library. Published under the Sanction of the Board of Education of the State of Massachusetts. Vol. I. Introductory Essay to the School Library. Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, & Webb. 12mo. pp. 48.

Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, translated from the Eleventh German Edition, by T. J. Conant, Professor of Hebrew in the Literary and Theological Institution at Hamilton, N. Y. With a Course of Exercises in Hebrew Grammar, and a Hebrew Chrestomathy, prepared by the Translator. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 8vo. pp. 324 and 60.

We had in type a notice of this valuable work, which we reluctantly find ourselves compelled to defer. Professor Conant has rendered a substantial service to the cause of Biblical learning, and done honor to the important denomination of which he is a member. Besides executing with excellent fidelity and good judgment his translation of the grammar of the great Hebraist of the age, he has made some useful additions of his own, and has

in numerous instances corrected mistakes of a too common class, which, if they give little trouble to some readers, are the worst annoyance to others, — that of errors in references. He has also made an addition of a very judicious as well as novel character, in a series of grammatical Exercises. The typographical execution is in the best style of the Cambridge University printers. The letter-press is beautiful, and all but immaculate.

HISTORY.

An Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency. By Joseph B. Felt. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 8vo. pp. 248.

Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States, by Francis L. Hawkes, D. D., Rector of St. Thomas Church, New York. Vol. II. New York: John S. Taylor. 8vo. pp. 523.

History and General Views of the Sandwich Islands Mission. By Rev. Sheldon Dibble, a Missionary at those Islands for Seven Years. New York: Taylor & Dodd. 12mo. pp. 268.

History of Long Island; containing an Account of the Discovery and Settlement. By Benjamin F. Thompson: New York: E. French. 8vo. pp. 536.

Historical Collections; being a General Collection of Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, &c., relating to the History and Antiquities of every Town in Massachusetts, with Geographical Descriptions. Illustrated by Two Hundred Engravings. By John Warner Barber, Author of "Connecticut Historical Collections," &c. Worcester: Dorr, Howland, & Co. 8vo. pp. 624.

JUVENILE BOOKS.

The Well-bred Boy. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 18mo.

Rollo's Experiments, by the Author of the "Rollo Books." Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 18mo.

Rollo's Museum. By the Author of the "Rollo Books." Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 18mo.

LAW.

Commentaries on the Law of Agency, as a Branch of Commercial and Maritime Jurisprudence, with occasional Illustrations from the Civil and Foreign Law. By Joseph Story, LL. D., Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University. Boston: C. C. Little & J. Brown. 8vo. pp. 544.

A Treatise upon the Practice of the Court of Chancery, with an Appendix of Forms. By Murray Hoffman, Esq. In Two Vols. Vol. II. New York: Halstead & Voorhies. 8vo. pp. 311.

American Digest of the Laws respecting Real Property, generally adopted and in Use in the United States; embracing, more especially, the Law of Real Property in Virginia. By John Tayloe Lomax, one of the Judges of the General Court, and formerly Professor of Law in the University of Virginia. Philadelphia: John S. Littell.

Trial for Libel. State of Louisiana *vs.* John Gibson. Before the Honorable the Criminal Court of the First Judicial District of the State of Louisiana, faithfully reported by T. W. Collens, Esq. and W. G. Swethan. New Orleans: John Gibson. 8vo. pp. 70.

MEDICINE, ANATOMY, AND SURGERY.

Homœopathia, the Science of Specific Remedies; showing the Consistency of the Homœopathic Treatment of Consumption, with that of Dr. Ramage, of the London Lung Hospital; and that combined they constitute a Complete System of Remedial Means for its Cure. The substance of a Dissertation read October 2d, 1839, before the New Haven County Medical Society. By John L. Sullivan, M. D. New Haven: Babcock & Gilpin. 12mo. pp. 60.

A Treatise on the Preservation of the Teeth, for the Use of Families. By Daniel Mann, M. D., Surgeon Dentist. 8vo. pp. 12.

Outlines of Physiology, with an Appendix on Phrenology. By P. M. Roget, M. D., Secretary to the Royal Society; Professor of Physiology in the Royal Institute of Great Britain. First American Edition, revised, with numerous Notes. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 516.

A Guide to Mothers and Nurses in the Management of Young Children. By Caleb Ticknor, M. D., Author of the "Philosophy of Living." New York: Taylor & Dodd. 12mo.

Medical Lexicon. A new Dictionary of Medical Science, containing a Concise Account of the various Subjects and Terms, with a Vocabulary of Synonymes in different Languages, and Formulæ for Officinal and Empirical Preparations, &c. Second Edition, with numerous Modifications and Additions, by Robley Dunglison, M. D., M. A. P. S., &c. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 820.

Diseases of the Uterus; a Series of Clinical Lectures, delivered at the Hospital La Pitié. By M. Lisfranc; and edited by H. Pauly, M. D. Translated from the French, by G. Henry Lodge, M. D., Fellow of the Massachusetts Medical Society, &c. Boston: William D. Ticknor. 8vo. pp. 401.

Boylston Prize Dissertations on Inflammations of the Periosteum, Eneuresis Irritata, Cutaneous Diseases, Cancer of the Breast; also Remarks on Malaria. By Usher Parsons, M. D., &c. Boston. 8vo. pp. 248.

An Elementary Treatise on Auscultation and Percussion, or the Application of Acoustics to the Diagnosis of Diseases, with a Synoptical Table. By A. Racibonski, M. D. Translated, with Notes, &c., by Minturn Post, M. D. New York: Collins, Keese, & Co. 8vo. pp. 261.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Picturesque Pocket Companion and Visiter's Guide through Mount Auburn. Illustrated with upwards of Sixty Engravings on Wood. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Company. 18mo. pp. 252.

This tasteful little volume is brought out in good time. It is well known how favorite a resort Mount Auburn is, during the summer months, both for great numbers of those who reside in its vicinity, and for multitudes who visit us transiently from almost every part of the United States, as well as from other countries. To all these, and to other parties who might be mentioned, (including those persons now interested in establishing Cemeteries more or less after the model of this, in most of our cities and large towns,) such a book has been a *desideratum*.

Among other matters, we have here a complete history of Mount Auburn, an article of considerable interest at present, but likely to be valued still

more hereafter. To this are appended the acts of incorporation, under which the proprietors have managed their affairs, their rules and regulations, in a word whatever may be considered to fall within the statistical or business division of the subject. Then there are various reports and other documents, republished, including one of General Dearborn's, full of interest, especially as illustrating the designs and principles of those who have cooperated in the prosecution of this enterprise. Mr. Justice Story's Dedication Discourse (which, we believe, was out of print) is in this Collection.

Then come, what to many readers will doubtless make the most attractive portion of the work, descriptive sketches of the most remarkable monuments which the Cemetery contains, interspersed, very liberally, with accurate wood-cuts. These cuts deserve no little favor. They are, by no means, of the indifferent execution too common among us; great pains have evidently been taken, and that successfully, to make them in reality, what they purport to be, embellishments of the volume, and, moreover, exceedingly valuable representations of matters of fact. The latter part of the work is devoted to a selection of general reading matter, in prose and poetry, appropriate to the design of the volume. It is a little remarkable, how much of this matter has been suggested by Mount Auburn itself, or is connected with the establishment in some way. Almost a literature of itself has gathered about it during the few years of its existence.

We are glad to see an intimation, by the editors of this work, that the proprietors think of surrounding the cemetery with a substantial and elegant stone wall, in place of the wooden fence which now exists. The public at large are interested in all these matters, and they will learn with pleasure, that the proprietors are in good condition for these designs, having, at the close of the last year, funds "invested in treasury" to the amount of $11,980. The total cost of grounds and improvements, to that company, is stated at $34,107; 634 lots have been disposed of.

The Author's Printing and Publishing Assistant; including interesting Details respecting the Mechanism of Books. New York: F. Saunders. 12mo. pp. 43.

The White Sulphur Papers, or Life at the Springs of Western Virginia. By Mark Pencil, Esq. New York: S. Colman. 12mo. pp. 166.

Letters of Eliza Wilkinson during the Invasion and Possession of Charleston, (S. C.) by the British in the Revolutionary War. Arranged from the Original Manuscripts, by Caroline Gilman. New York: S. Colman. 12mo. pp. 108.

An Examination of Phrenology, in Two Lectures, delivered to the Students of the Columbian College, District of Columbia, February, 1837. By Thomas Sewall, M. D., Professor of Anatomy and Physiology. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. Boston: D. S. King. 8vo. pp. 110.

Young Lady's Guide to the Harmonious Developement of the Christian Character. By Harvey Newcomb. Boston: James B. Dow. 12mo. pp. 344.

Intermarriage; or the Mode in which, and the Causes why, Beauty, Health, and Intellect result from certain Unions; and Deformity, Disease, and Insanity, from others, &c. With Eight illustrative Drawings. By Alexander Walker. New York: J. & H. G. Langley. 12mo. pp. 384.

A New Universal Gazetteer, containing a Description of the princi-

pal Nations, Empires, Kingdoms, States, Provinces, Cities, Towns, Forts, Seas, Harbours, &c. &c., of the Known World; with an Account of the Extent, Boundaries, and Natural Productions of each Country, the Government, Customs, Manners, and Religion of the Inhabitants, &c. &c. Arranged and compiled by R. Brookes, M. D. The whole remodelled, and the Historical and Statistical Department brought down to the Present Period. By John Marshall, Esq. Illustrated with Two Hundred Engravings. 8vo. pp. 800.

The Young Lady's Home. By Mrs. Louisa C. Tuthill. New Haven: S. Babcock. 12mo. pp. 369.

An Inquiry into the Condition and Prospects of the African Race in the United States, and the Means of bettering their Prospects. By an American. Philadelphia: Haswell, Barrington, & Haswell. 12mo. pp. 214.

The Philosophy of Courtship and Marriage. By Ἐρωτικός. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 18mo. pp. 71.

Review of Parker and Fox's Grammar, Part I. Published by several Friends of Real Improvement. Boston: S. Harris. 8vo. pp. 38.

Third Annual Report of the American Physiological Society, together with the Proceedings at the Annual Meeting, June 1st, 1839. Boston: George W. Light. 12mo.

The Right Use of Fruits. Health Tract, No. 4. By Dr. William A. Alcott. Boston: George W. Light. 12mo. pp. 24.

Sketches by Mrs. Sigourney. New Edition. Amherst: J. S. & C. Adams. 12mo. pp. 216.

Flora's Lexicon; an Interpreter of the Language and Sentiment of Flowers, with an Outline of Botany, &c. By C. H. Waterman. Philadelphia: Hooker & Claxton. 12mo.

Letters on the Internal Improvement and Commerce of the West. By the Hon. David Henshaw. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo. pp. 29.

Letters on the Subject of a Line of Railroads from Boston to the Mississippi. Boston. 4to. pp. 12.

Report upon the Finances and Internal Improvement of the State of New York. 1838. Reprinted at Boston, by Dutton & Wentworth. 1839. 8vo. pp. 65.

Third Annual Report on the Geology of the State of Maine. By Charles T. Jackson, M. D., Geologist to the State of Maine, &c. &c. Augusta: Smith & Robinson. 8vo. pp. 276.

A Map of the United States, &c.; with a Reference Gazetteer. By William Chapin. New York: William Chapin & J. B. Taylor.

Treatise on the Steam Engine. By James Renwick, LL. D., Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry in Columbia College, New York. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Carvill & Co. 8vo. pp. 327.

The Complete Farmer, including the Culture of the Orchard, the Garden, and the Raising and Management of Live Stock. By an American. New York: S. Colman. 12mo. pp. 508.

Observations on the Writings of Thomas Jefferson, with Particular Reference to the Attack they contain on the Memory of the late General Henry Lee, in a Series of Letters, by H. Lee. Second Edition,

with an Introduction and Notes, by Charles Carter Lee. Philadelphia: J. Dobson. 8vo. pp. 262.

Indian Captivities; being a Collection of the most remarkable Narratives of Persons taken Captive by the North American Indians, or Relations of those who, by Stratagem and desperate Valor, have effected the most surprising Escapes from their cruel Hands. To which are added Notes, Historical, Biographical, &c. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: Antiquarian Bookstore. 12mo. pp. 360.

The Dedication of Green Mount Cemetery, July 13th, 1839. Baltimore: Woods & Crane. 8vo. pp. 36.

Evils of the Revolutionary War. Boston: New England Non-Resistance Society. pp. 16.

NEW PERIODICALS.

The New York Journal of Medicine and Surgery. New York: George Adlard. 8vo. pp. 244. Quarterly. $5 per annum.

The American Journal of Dental Science. Edited by Chapin A. Harris and E. Parmly. 8vo. pp. 48. Monthly. $3 per annum.

Colman's Monthly Miscellany. Grenville Mellen and William Cutler, Editors. New York: Samuel Colman. 8vo. pp. 96. Monthly. $5 per annum.

The Jurist; or Law and Equity Reporter, containing full Reports of the Cases argued and determined in the several Courts of Law and Equity in England, during the Year 1839. New York: Halstead & Voorhies. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 8vo. pp. 80. $7 per annum.

The Literary Geminæ; a Monthly Magazine in English and French. Worcester, Mass. 8vo. pp. 48. Monthly. $2 per annum.

The Merchant's Magazine and Commercial Review. New York: Freeman Hunt. 8vo. pp. 96. Monthly. $5 per annum.

The Family Visiter, or Silk Culturist. New York: Theodore Foster. 4to. pp. 36. Monthly. $2·50 per annum.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

Sydney Clifton, or Vicissitudes in Both Hemispheres. A Tale of the Nineteenth Century. New York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 223 and 218.

Charles Vincent; or the Two Clerks. A Tale of Commercial Life. New York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 223 and 280.

Sejanus, and other Roman Tales. New York: F. Saunders. 12mo. pp. 220.

Hyperion, a Romance. By the Author of "Outre-Mer." New York: S. Colman. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 213 and 226.

Life among Lunatics. By J. B. Derby, Author of "Scenes in a Mad House." Boston: B. H. Greene. 18mo. pp. 72.

Imogine, and the Demon's Cave. Tales by George Ann Humphreys Sherburne. Washington: W. Fischer. New York: George Adlard.

The Adventures of Harry Franco. A Tale of the Great Panic. New York: F. Saunders. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 271 and 256.

ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES.

The Annual Addresses to the Candidates for Degrees and Licenses in the Medical Institution of Yale College, February, 1839. By Thomas Miner, M. D. Hartford.

An Address delivered in South Hadley, Mass., July 24th, 1839, at the Second Anniversary of the Mount Holyoke Seminary. By Rufus Anderson, D. D. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 8vo. pp. 24.

An Address delivered before the Peace Society of Amherst College, July 4th, 1839. By John Lord, A. M. Amherst: J. S. & C. Adams. 12mo. pp. 31.

The Military Profession in the United States, and the Means of promoting its Usefulness and Honor; an Address delivered before the Dialectic Society of the Corps of Cadets of the Military Academy, West Point, at the Close of the Annual Examination, June 19th, 1839. By Benjamin F. Butler. New York: S. Colman. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 8vo. pp. 46.

Addresses delivered at the Inauguration of the Professors of Middlebury College, March 18th, 1839. 8vo. pp. 56.

Anniversary Address to the Class of Graduates of the Vermont Medical College, in Woodstock, delivered June 12th, 1839. By Davis Palmer, President of the College. 8vo. pp. 12.

An Oration delivered by Request of the City Authorities, before the Citizens of Boston, on the Sixty-Third Anniversary of American Independence, July 4th, 1839. By Ivers James Austin. Second Edition. Boston: John H. Eastburn. 8vo. pp. 36.

An Address delivered before the Democratic Citizens of Plymouth County, Mass., at East Abington, July 4th, 1839. By S. J. Thomas. Boston: Beals & Greene. 8vo. pp. 52.

An Address delivered before the Philomathean Society of Mount St. Mary College, Emmettsburg, at the Annual Commencement. By Edward A. Lynch, of Frederick City, Md. Frederick: Ezekiel Hughs.

The Comparative Value of Greek and Hebrew Poetry in a Course of Liberal Study; an Inaugural Address. By Innes Grant, Professor of Languages in Oneida Institute, Whitesboro'. 8vo. pp. 14.

An Address delivered on the Occasion of Laying the Corner-Stone of the New Medical Hall of Transylvania University, July, 1839. By Robert Wickliffe, Jr. Lexington, Ky.: Noble & Dunlap. 8vo. pp. 29.

Address of S. P. Hildreth, M. D., President of the Third Medical Convention of Ohio, delivered at Cleveland, May 14th, 1839. Cleveland: Penniman & Bemis. 8vo. pp. 33.

The Jubilee of the Constitution. A Discourse delivered at the Request of the New York Historical Society, in the City of New York, on Tuesday the 30th of April, 1839, being the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Inauguration of George Washington as President of the United States, on Thursday the 30th of April, 1789. By John Quincy Adams. New York: Samuel Colman. 8vo. pp. 136.

An Oration delivered on the Fourth Day of July, 1839, before the Citizens of Nashua, without Distinction of Party. By Samuel Osgood. Published by Request. Nashua: Albin Beard. 8vo. pp. 40.

An Address delivered before the Golden Branch Society of Phillips Exeter Academy, August 22d, 1839. By John Hopkins Morison. Boston: Printed by I. R. Butts. 8vo. pp. 23.

POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

The Bride of Fort Edward, founded on an Incident of the Revolution. New York: S. Colman. 12mo. pp. 174.

Fanny, with other Poems. New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 130.

Essays and Poems. By Jones Very. Boston: C. C. Little & Co. 16mo. pp. 75.

Poems, by Robert M. Charlton and Thomas J. Charlton, M. D. Boston. 16mo. pp. 174.

The Charter Oak, and other Poems. By John Jay Adams. New York. S. Colman. 12mo. pp. 60.

Earl Rupert; and other Poems. By James Nack. With a Memoir of the Author, by Prosper M. Wetmore. New York: George Adlard. 12mo.

The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser. In Five Vols. First American Edition, with Introductory Observations on the Fairy Queen, and Notes by the Editor. Vol. I. Boston: C. C. Little & J. Brown. 8vo. pp. 371.

Sabbath Recreations; or, Select Poetry of a Religious Kind, chiefly taken from the Works of Modern Poets, with Original Pieces never before published. By Miss Emily Taylor. First American Revised Edition, in which many Pieces have been withdrawn from the English copy, and Others substituted. By John Pierpont. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 12mo. pp. 288.

THEOLOGY AND SERMONS.

Select Family and Parish Sermons. A Series of Evangelical Discourses, selected for the Use of Families and Destitute Congregations. By the Rt Rev. C. P. McIlvaine, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Ohio. With a Preliminary Address, by the Same. In Two Volumes. Columbus: Isaac N. Whiting. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 648.

The Religion of a Happy Child. A Sermon delivered before the South Congregational Society, August 4th, 1839. By the Rev. Mellish I. Motte. Printed for the Sunday School, at their Request. Boston: Tuttle, Dennet, & Chisholm. 8vo. pp. 19.

A Discourse on the Latest Form of Infidelity; delivered at the Request of the "Association of the Alumni of the Cambridge Theological School," on the 19th of July, 1839. With Notes. By Andrews Norton. Cambridge: John Owen. 8vo. pp. 64.

Sunday Morning Reflections. New York: S. Colman. 12mo. pp. 78.

The Obligations of the World to the Bible. A Series of Discourses to Young Men. By Gardiner Spring. New York: Taylor & Dodd.

A Scriptural View of Slavery and Abolition. By W. P. N. Fitzgerald. New Haven. 1839.

The Child's Book of Devotion. By John A. Murray. New York: Taylor & Dodd. 18mo.

Sermons preached in the Church of the Epiphany, Pa. By Stephen H. Tyng, Rector. Philadelphia: William Stavely. 8vo. pp. 307.

Jesus at Nain; or the Widow's Son Raised. Boston: Mass. Sabbath School Union. 32mo. pp. 72.

The Importance of Sustaining the Law. A Discourse delivered in Bowdoin Street Church, Boston, on Sunday Morning, June 16th. By Hubbard Winslow. Boston. 8vo.

The Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. With References to the Scriptures. Salem; Henry Whipple. Boston: Whipple & Damrell.

The Union Bible Dictionary. Prepared by the American Sunday School Union. Boston: American Sunday School Depository. 8vo. pp. 522.

The Christian Youth's Book, and Manual for Young Communicants. By William Craig Brownlee, D. D. New York: R. Carter.

The Last Days of the Saviour; or, History of the Lord's Passion. From the German of Olshausen. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 16mo. pp. 248.

Blessedness of the Faithful Servant. A Sermon preached in Pownal, Maine, January 31st, 1839, at the Interment of the Rev. Perez Chapin, late Pastor of the Congregational Church in Pownal. By Asa Cummings, Editor of the "Christian Mirror." Portland. pp. 32.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

A Winter in the West Indies and Florida; containing General Observations upon Modes of Travelling, Manners and Customs, Climate and Productions, with a particular Description of St. Croix, Trinidad de Cuba, Havana, Key West, and St Augustine, as Places of Resort for Northern Invalids. By an Invalid. New York: Wiley and Putnam. 12mo. pp. 199.

A Diary in America, with Remarks on its Institutions. By Captain Marryat, C. B., Author of "Peter Simple," "Jacob Faithful," &c. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 2 vols. pp 242 and 228.

Rambles in Europe; or a Tour through France, Italy, Switzerland, Great Britain, and Ireland, in 1836. By Fanny W. Hall. New York: E. French. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 228 and 246.

S. COLMAN,

(8 ASTOR HOUSE, NEW YORK,)

HAS IN PRESS, AND WILL SHORTLY PUBLISH,

"THE POETS OF AMERICA, ILLUSTRATED BY ONE OF HER PAINTERS;"

DESIGNED AS A GIFT BOOK FOR 1840.

A specimen of this beautiful work is before us. The editor, Mr. John Keese, has selected from the productions of the American poets such pieces as were suited to his plan, and the pieces are illustrated by very delicate engravings, by Chapman. There are thirty-six pages of illustrations etched on steel. Mr. Colman certainly deserves great praise for his efforts to improve the American style of printing.

INDEX

TO THE

FORTY-NINTH VOLUME

OF THE

North-American Review.

A.

Abbott, Jacob, The Teacher by, noticed, 244 — cited, 246.

Adams, John, Hamilton's pamphlet against, 183.

Adams's Arithmetic, popularity of, 251.

Addison, Joseph, criticisms on Milton by, 337.

Admiral, on creating the office of, in the United States' navy, 453.

Agriculture, neglected, 238 — increased in interest, in England, *ib.* — Board of, established there, and surveys made, 239 — on the continent, *ib.* — Massachusetts Society for promoting, 240 — publications on, 242.

Albany Convention in 1754, facts respecting the, 89.

Algic, meaning of the word, 355.

Algic Researches, by Schoolcraft, reviewed, 354.

Alston, Mrs., Burr's attachment to, 196, 204 — her education, 204.

American Revolution, border wars of the. See *Border Wars*.

Ammonius, the Greek synonymes of, 469.

Antonio. See *Raimondi*.

Aqua-tinta engraving, 129.

Arithmetic, Leonard's Practical Treatise on, noticed, 251.

Art, previous to all rules, 132 — influence of the Reformation upon, 331.

Attention, importance of the power of, in education, 244.

Auburn, Mount, The Picturesque Companion and Visiter's Guide through, noticed, 494.

B.

Barnstable, Everett's Speech at, 491.

Beleter, commander at Detroit in 1760, 101.

Biography, remarks on, 155.

Bird, Dr., The Adventures of Robin Day by, reviewed, 220 — remarks on his writings, *ib.*

Blackstone, Sir William, Kinne's Questions on the Commentaries of, noticed, 487.

Book-keeping, Leonard on, 256.

Boone, Daniel, military anecdote of, 297.

Border Wars of the American Revolution, full of interest, 277, 278 — commencement of hostilities in the, 285 — siege of Fort Schuyler, 291, 294 — battle of Oriskany, 292 — expedition of George Rogers Clark, 295, 301 — massacre at Wyoming, 297 — siege of Boonesborough, 298 — capture of St. Vincent's, 299, 301 — Sullivan's expedition against the Iroquois, 303 — Brodhead's expedition, 304 — summary of the events of seven years of the, 310 — massacre of the Christian Delawares, 313 — expeditions of Crawford and Clark, 315.

Bouquet, Colonel, sent to relieve Detroit, 104 — concludes a peace, 105.

Brant, Joseph, Stone's Life of, re-

viewed, 277 — secretary of Colonel Guy Johnson, 282 — at the head of numerous Indian tribes, 285 — his visit to England, *ib.*

British America, present tranquillity in, 374 — geographical situation of the provinces of, 379 — population of, 380, 414 — ignorance and errors respecting, 382 — the colonial system in, 383 — the charge of oppression in, *ib.* — policy of the British government as to, 385 — misgovernment of, considered, 386 — officials in, and their salaries, 387 — causes of dissatisfaction in, 388 — outline of the colonial government of, 389 — its operation, 391 — the finance controversy in, 393, 395 — manœuvres of the two parties, 396 — influence of the home government, 399 — the *Bureaucrats*, 401 — politico-religious feuds, 402 — clergy reserves in, 403, 407 — rectories there endowed by Sir John Colborne, 405 — the land-granting department in, 406 — roads, 410 — policy there in regard to the French inhabitants, 411 — actual state of parties, 422 — the war of the races in, 425 — administration of Sir Francis Head in, 427 — of Lord Durham, 429 — reforms proposed for, by Lord Durham, *ib.*, 500 — further remarks on, 497. See *Bureaucrats*, *Canadas*, *Lower Canada*, and *Upper Canada*.

British American Politics, general outline of the actual state of, and of the prospects, 375.

British navy, statistics of the, 462.

Brodhead, Daniel, Colonel, marches against the Mingo and Muncey tribes, 304.

Bureaucrats, controversy with the, 401 — alliance of the church with, 402 — in Newfoundland, 422 — in Nova Scotia, 423 — in Lower Canada, 424 — in Upper Canada, 426. See *British America*.

Burr, Aaron, Davis's Memoirs, and The Private Journal of, reviewed, 155 — cause of his degradation, 158 — his *misunderstanding* with his preceptor, 159 — at the masthead, 160 — his doctrine of non-submission, *ib.* — grandson of Jonathan Edwards, *ib.* — his claims to greatness considered, 162, 169 — outline of his military character, and career, 163 — his disagreements with Washington, 166, 168, 179 — contrasted with Montgomery, 170 — as a lawyer, 171 — his political career, 175 — his services as United States' senator, 179 — treatment of, by Jefferson, 180 — his Vice-Presidency, 189 — candidate for governor of New York, 191 — his duel with Hamilton, *ib.* — his enterprise at the West, 192 — his trial for treason, and the consequences, 195 — in Europe, 196 — character of his Journal, *ib.* — his claims to the right of citizenship in Great Britain, 198 — watched by Napoleon's police, 199 — his self-control, 200 — his return to America, 201 — his distrust of history, *ib.* — his moral character, 203 — his affection for his daughter, 204 — his last years, 205 — his critical and literary judgment, 206.

C.

Canadas, description of the Constitution given to the, 388 — reason for their separation, 412 — opposing interests of the two, 419 — division line of the, *ib.* — improvement feud in the, 420 — See *British America* and *Durham*.

Carlyle, Scott contrasted with, 340.

Carver, J., Travels by, reviewed, 69.

Catholicism, in the West, 329.

Celeron, Louis, deposites plates in the West, 77.

Chandler, P. W., The Law Reporter, edited by, noticed, 243.

Chateaubriand, Viscount de, Sketches of English Literature by, reviewed, 317 — its character, 327 — on the tendency of the Reformation towards doubt and incredulity, 328 — on Catholicism in America 329 — on the hostility of the Reformation to the arts and literature, 329 — his criticisms on Milton, 338 — on Sir Walter Scott, 339 — cited as to Bonaparte's burial-place, 342 — respecting William Pitt, 345 — showing

the changes in English manners and society, 346 — purpose of his work, 347 — his proposed translation of Milton into French, 347.
Cherokee Indians, war of the, in 1760–1, 99 — operations of the, in the Revolution, 286.
Cherry Valley, destruction of, 298.
Children, on writing for the capacities of, 247.
Church endowments, in Canada, 403, 415.
Church of Scotland, in Canada, 402, 405.
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, on synonymes, 468 — Otis's Translation of the Tusculan Questions of, noticed, 488.
Clark, George Rogers, the founder of Kentucky, 295 — plans an expedition against the Indians, *ib.* — his consultation with Patrick Henry, *ib.* — his expedition against Hamilton, 300, 301 — the probable consequences, 302, 310 — his expedition in 1782, 315.
Clergy reserves, in the Canadas, 403, 405 — effects of, on the land department, 407.
Clinton, George, governor of New York, opposed the adoption of the Federal Constitution, 176 — the contest between him and John Jay, *ib.*
Colborne, Sir John, endows rectories in Canada, 405. See *British America.*
Coleridge, his translation of Wallenstein, 135.
Colleges, in Kentucky, 263.
Colman, Henry, Address by, noticed, 238 — commended, 243.
Colonies, plan for the union of the, in 1754, 89.
Color, in the art of engraving, 119.
Conscience, on the power of the, 214.
Constitution, Federal, Marshall's Writings on the, 485.
Constitution, the Frigate, escape of, under Commodore Hull, 433.
Constitutional Law, Marshall's decisions in, 485.
Cooper, J. Fenimore, The History of the Navy of the United States of America by, reviewed, 432 — cited as to the escape of the Constitution, 433 — on the merits of Perry and Elliott, in Perry's victory, 438 — his Introduction, 450 — on the expense of the naval establishment, 451 — on naval rank, 453.
Cornstalk, a Shawanese Chief, treacherously taken and murdered, 287, 313.
Corporal punishment, in prisons, 36.
Cousin, qualifications of, for interpreting Kant, 46.
Coutume de Paris, retained in Lower Canada, 415.
Crawford, William, Colonel, expedition of, in 1782, 315.
Crime, how judged of, 4 — effects of prisons on, 12.
Croghan, George, sent to the West by Sir William Johnson, 106.
Crotalus, three species of, noticed, 153.
Cruises of squadrons, 459.
Cutler, Manasseh, error as to, 266.

D.

D'Alembert, on synonymes, 467.
Dante, Milton compared with, 334.
Davis, Matthew L., his Memoirs of Aaron Burr, reviewed, 155 — as a biographer, 156, 171, — his epigraph, 157 — his intimacy and sympathy with Burr, 158 — defective moral tone of his work, 159 — his ideas of Burr as a military character, 164 — as a lawyer, 171 — as a politician, 174 — his views as to the election of Jefferson, 184.
Debt, on imprisonment for, 24.
Delaware Indians, divided in councils in the American Revolution, 279, 284, 294 — White-Eyes and Pipe, chieftains among the, 284 — massacre of the Christian, 313.
Detroit, Rogers's expedition to, 100 — siege of, by Pontiac, 104 — measures for capturing, 297.
Dillinback, Captain, prowess of, at the battle of Oriskany, 293.
Drake, Benjamin, Tales and Sketches from the Queen City, by, noticed, 271.
Drake, Daniel, character of his writings, 305, *note.*
Dreams, anecdote respecting, 310.
Dumesnil, Gardin, on the Latin Synonymes of, 472.

Dunmore, Lord, did not authorize intrusions on the Western lands, 111 — his peace with the Indians, in 1774, 280.
Durham, Earl of, his Report on the Affairs of British North America, reviewed, 373, 376 — the non-publication of it in the United States, 376, 378 — its tone and character, 377 — his administration, 429 — reforms proposed by, *ib.* See *British America.*
Dwight, Rev. Louis, founder of the Prison Discipline Society, notice of, 18.

E.

Easton, first treaty of, 95 — second treaty of, 98.
Education, first important step in, 244 — statistics respecting, in Kentucky, 262.
Electors of President, to vote for two candidates, 181.
Ellet, Mrs., the Characters of Schiller by, noticed, 257.
Elliott, Commodore, services of, in the battle of Lake Erie, considered, 438
Eloquence, effect of the Reformation upon, 333.
Engraving, characteristics of the art of, 118 — color in, 119 — copying style in, 120 — on wood, *ib.* — on metal, discovered, 121 — early stage of the art, 122 — Albert Durer, *ib.* — Marc-Antonio Raimondi, 123 — account of the different modes of, 124 — line engraving, *ib.*, 136 — etching, 124 — stippling, 126 — mezzotinto, 127 — aquatinta, 129 — on steel, 130 — medallic, 131 — present state of the art, 133 — adaptation of styles to subjects in, 136 — outline engravings, 140.
Erie, Lake, Cooper's account of the battle of, criticized, 438.
Etching, in engraving, described, 124.
Everett, Edward, Beauties of, noticed, 491 — Speech of, at Barnstable, cited, 491.

F.

Fever. See *Typhoid Fever.*
Field, his Analysis of Blackstone's Commentaries, noticed, 487.
Finiguerra, discovered the art of engraving on metal, 121.
Flaxman, his peculiar merit in outline drawings, 140.
Forbes, Joseph, General, expedition of, against Fort Pitt, 94 — anecdote respecting, *ib. note.*
Fouqué, De la Motte, his Undine, noticed, 486.
French Canadians, outline of English policy in regard to the, 411 — laws and customs perpetuated among, *ib.* — measures taken therefor, 419 — at war with the other inhabitants, 425. See *British America.*
French navy, force of the, 462.
French philosophy, the school of, 53.
Fry, Joshua, his expedition to the Fork of the Ohio, 87.

G.

Gansevoort, Colonel, commander at Fort Schuyler, 291.
Gardinier, Captain, prowess of, at the battle of Oriskany, 292.
German Flats, treaty at, 106 — militia at, under General Herkimer, 292 — situation of, 298 — attack on, *ib.*
Germany, reception of Kant's system in, 49 — character of literary criticism in, 322.
Gill, C., The Mathematical Miscellany, conducted by, noticed, 484.
Gist, Christopher, settlement of, in the West, 78 — his labors, 79 — accompanies Washington, 83.
Goodall, vignette by, in Rogers's Italy, 137.
Goodrich, S. G., The Token for 1840, edited by, noticed, 490.

H.

Hale, Enoch, Observations on the Typhoid Fever of New England, by, noticed, 495.
Halliburton, The Bubbles of Canada by, 373, 375.
Hamilton, Alexander, pamphlet by, against John Adams, 183 — his opposition to Burr's election as President, 189 — as governor, 191 — his death, *ib.*

Hamilton, Henry, lieutenant-governor of Detroit, enlists savages, 294 — measures for capturing, 295, 297 — his capture of Vincennes, 299 — his surrender to Clark, 301.
Head, Sir Francis B , A Narrative by, 373, 376 — his administration, 427.
Helm, Captain, heroism of, at Vincennes, 299, 301.
Hennepin, Father, Travels of (Democratic Review, for April, 1839), noticed, 258.
Henry, Alexander, visit of, to the West, in 1761, 101.
Herkimer, General, at the battle of Oriskany, 292.
Herpetology, Holbrook on, reviewed, 145.
Holbrook, Edwards, North American Herpetology by, reviewed, 145 — commended, *ib.*, 155.
Hollow shot, use of, 463.
Howard, John, state of prisons before the time of, 5 — his peculiar merit, *ib.* — his fundamental principle, 6.
Howard, John, expedition of, into the West, in 1742, 71.
Hudson's Bay Territory, geography of, 379.
Hull, Isaac, escape of the Constitution under his command, 433.
Hume, expansion of his principles by Kant, 54.

I.

Imprisonment, on solitary, 30, 31.
Indian departments, the three, formed by Congress, in the Revolution, 283.
Indian Tales and Legends by Schoolcraft, reviewed, 354. See *Schoolcraft.*
Indians, position of the, at the commencement of the border wars of the American Revolution, 279 — Lord Dunmore's peace with the, 280 — negotiations with the, 281 — commissioners appointed to watch the, 283 — conference with, at Albany, 284 — at Pittsburg, *ib.* — comparative culpability of the British and Americans in employing, 288, 310 — union of, against the Americans, in 1778, 296 — Washington's mode of warring with, 303.
Interest, rules for casting, 253.
Iroquois. See *Six Nations.*

J.

Jay, John, the political contest between him and George Clinton, 176 — final success of, 178.
Jefferson, Thomas, Burr neglected by, 180 — his obligations to Burr, *ib.* — contest at his election as President, 184 — remarks on his administration, 187.
Johnson, Guy, Colonel, succeeds Sir William as Superintendent, 281 — his movements in the border wars, 282 — gathers a Congress at Oswego, 288 — at the siege of Fort Schuyler, 291 — his capture of the Sammons family, 306.
Johnson, John, a Tory, 281.
Johnson, Samuel, criticism on his Lives of the Poets, 318 — his style, 331, 332 — his Life of Milton condemned, 337.
Johnson, Sir William, facts in connexion with, 106 — death of, 281.

K.

Kant, Immanuel, Critick of Pure Reason, translated from the Original of, reviewed, 44 — obstacles to the easy comprehension of, *ib.* — sketch of his system in the *Biographie Universelle*, 47 — remarks on his Critick, *ib.* — reception of his system in Germany, 49 — its skeptical character, 54, 63 — his theory of the origin of knowledge, 57 — his categories, 65 — influence of his system, 67.
Kent, James, Chancellor, rule of, for casting interest, 253.
Kentucky, statistics on education in, 262 — Colleges in, 263.
Kinne, Asa, his Questions on Blackstone, noticed, 487.
Kirkland, Samuel, Reverend, message sent to, by the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, 280 — influences the Indians, 281, 282.
Knowledge, Kant's theory of the origin of, 57.

L.

Lancaster, account of the treaty at, in 1744, 73 — its confirmation, 80.
Lands, system of granting in Canada, described, 403, 406 — investment of the administration of, 409 — effects of the system, 410 — seigniorial, in Canada, 417.
Language, remarks on, 358.
Law, as a standard of guilt, 3.
Law Reporter, The, noticed, 243.
Leonard, George, Jr., A Practical Treatise on Arithmetic by, noticed, 251 — on book-keeping, 256.
Letourneur, translation of Shakspeare by, 321.
Lieber, Francis, review of the Popular Essay on Subjects of Penal Law by, 1 — of his translation of Ramshorn's Latin Synonymes, 467.
Line engraving, described, 124.
Literary criticism, by Johnson, 318 — by Roscoe and Hallam, 319 — in Spain, *ib.* — in France, 320 — by Voltaire, *ib.* — in Germany, 322 — by Schlegel, 324 — advantages for, and character of, in England, 325.
Literary history, interest and importance of, 317 — English writers of, 318.
Lizards, observations on, 148.
Logan, facts in the war of, 113.
Logstown, early English traders at, 71, 76.
Louisiana, policy of the United States on coming into possession of, and its effects, 413.
Lower Canada, summary of political changes in, 373 — geography of, 379, 388 — population of, 380 — the distribution of loans in, 396, *note* — "clergy reserves" in, 404 — discordant laws in, 415 — anti-commercial, 416 — seigniorial lands in, 417 — the English in, 421 — progress of settlement in, *ib.* — state of parties in, 424. See *British America*, *Bureaucrats*, *Canadas*, and *Upper Canada*.

M.

McIntosh, Fort, built, 296.
McIntosh, Lachlan, General, in the border war, 296, 298.
Madison, James, declines a mission to France, 179.
Madonnas, remarks on, 139.
Maine, compared with British provinces, 380, *note*.
Majority principle, remarks on the, 177.
Maritime law, importance of, 461.
Marshall, John, Writings of, upon the Contitution, noticed, 485.
Marshe, Witham, his account of the treaty with the Six Nations, in 1744, 73.
Massachusetts, Society for Promoting Agriculture in, 240 — agricultural survey of, *ib.* — its agricultural capabilities, 241 — geological and other surveys of, 242.
Mathematical Miscellany, The, by C. Gill, noticed, 484.
Mathematical periodicals, names of, 484.
Medallic engraving, object of, 131 — machine for, invented in America, *ib.*
Memory, importance of educating the, 245.
Mental Philosophy, Sawyer's, noticed, 249.
Mezzotinto engraving described, 127 — origin of, 128.
Milnes, Richard Monckton, The Poems of, reviewed, 348.
Milton, John, as a reformer, 335 — compared with Dante, 334 — contemporary regard for, 337 — criticisms on, by Addison, *ib.* — by Johnson, *ib.* — by Macaulay and Channing, 338 — Chateaubriand's proposed translation of, into French, 347.
Ministry, Christian, observations on the importance and the effects of intellectual and moral self-cultivation in the, 207 — on dismissions in the, 211.
Mississippi Company, organized, 110.
Mohawk Valley, state of affairs there in May, 1775, 282 — devastations in 1780, 305. See *Border Wars*.
Montgomery, Richard, facts respecting, 169 — his letter to James Duane, 170
Montour, Catherine, facts as to, 81.
Montreal, natural advantages of, 417 — seigniory of, 420.
Moral Teacher, The, noticed, 247.

Morality, influence of legislation on the standard of, 3.
Moravians, settlements by the, destroyed, 313.
Mortgages in Canada, 415 — *note*, 418.
Muskingum, plate found at the mouth of the, 77 — application to Congress respecting the lands on the, 266.

N.

Napoleon, criticisms on Scott's Life of, 339 — Chateaubriand on the burial-place of, 342.
National character, apparent in philosophical systems, 52.
Naval rank, 453 — academy, 455 — apprentices, 457.
Navy of England. See *British navy.*
Navy of the United States, Cooper's History of the, reviewed, 432 — expenses of the, 451 — on rank in the, 453, 465 — naval academy for the, 455 — apprentices for the, 457 — cruises of squadrons in the, 459 — construction of ships for the, 459 — on detachments from the, to suppress mobs, 460 — on laws for the officers of the, 461 — its actual state, 462 — suggestions respecting the, *ib.* — on rotation of stations, 464 — evils in the, 466. See *British navy* and *French navy.*
New Brunswick, 379 — population of, 380 — state of parties in, 423.
Newfoundland, 379 — population of, 381 — its governor, 391 — present state of parties in, 422.
New York State, the parties in, on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, 175.
Niello, the art of, 121.
Nova Scotia, 379 — population of, 380 — feature in the constitution of, 390 — state of parties in, 423. See *British America*, 423.

O.

Ohio, error in a former article on, 266.
Ohio Company, documents of the, 76, *note* — measures adopted by the, 100, 108 — merged in Walpole's, 111.
Ohio Valley, outline of the history of the, from 1744 to 1774, 69 — French jealousies and precautions respecting the, 77 — fate of the first English settlement, 79 — embassy of Washington to the, 83 — preparations against the French there, 85 — beginning of the French war, 88 — Braddock's expedition, 91 — Post's expedition, 96 — Cherokee war of 1760-1, 99 — inroads upon the savages there, 100 — Robert Rogers's expedition, *ib.* — Pontiac's war, 103 — settlements south of the, 107, 111 — Washington's interest in the, 112 — Logan's war, 113 — Moravian missions to the North of the, 115 — recapitulation respecting the, 116.
Onondago Indians, conduct of, in the border wars, 302
Oriskany, incidents in the battle of, 292.
Otis, George Alexander, Cicero's Tusculan Questions translated by, noticed, 488.
Outline engravings, the department of, 140.

P.

Paintings, remarks on engravings from, 133.
Pennsylvania, proceedings of the Assembly of, in 1754, 86.
Periodicals, names of mathematical, 484.
Perkins, improvements in engraving by, 130.
Perry, Oliver H., compared with Elliott as to his services in the battle of Lake Erie, 439.
Philosophy, national schools of, 53 — skeptical character of Kant's, 54.
Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, as a candidate for the Presidency, 182.
Pipe, a Delaware chieftain, 284, 311.
Pitt, Fort, Forbes's expedition against, 94 — besieged in 1763, 104 — relieved by Bouquet, *ib.* — commissioners to go to, in the Revolution, 294.
Pitt, William, Chateaubriand cited respecting, 345.
Pitt, William, Letters by, on the

Transylvania University, and the Necessity of a system of Education in Kentucky, noticed, 262.
Pittsburg, early French fortification at, 85 — Ensign Ward captured at, 88. See *Pitt.*
Poetry, influence of the Reformation upon, 332, 334.
Point Pleasant, battle of, 113.
Political intrigue, effects of, in the case of Burr, 188.
Pontiac, befriends Major Rogers at Detroit, 101 — his war, 103 — killed, 105 — notice of, 106.
Post, Christian Frederic, expedition of, to the valley of the Ohio, 96 — his missionary labors, 115.
President of the United States, original method of voting for, 181 — contest in the election of, in 1801, 184.
Prince Edward's Island, 379 — population of, 380 — land-granting system in, 406 — state of parties in, 422. See *British America.*
Prison Discipline, works on, reviewed, 1 — notions respecting, before the time of Howard, 3, 5 — Howard's one maxim in regard to, 6 — American, under the old system, 10, 12 — facts, *ib.* — "The Philadelphia Society for assisting Distressed Prisoners," 16 — the principles of, 17 — arrangements suggested, 24 — economy of a thorough system of, 27 — Philadelphia and Auburn systems of, 29 — solitude in, 30 — cruelties in the Sing Sing, 264. See *Prisons.*
Prison Discipline Society, facts from its Reports, 17.
Prisons, on the construction of, 2 — persons in, in 1839, 3 — character of, before the time of Howard, 5 — after his time, 6 — Walnut Street, in 1783, 7 — Charlestown, in 1826, 9. See *Prison Discipline.*

Q.

Quintilian, on synonymes, 468.

R.

Raimondi, Marc-Antonio, an early engraver, facts respecting, 123.
Ramshorn, Lewis, Dictionary of Latin Synonymes by, reviewed, 467 — notice of, 472.
Rank, naval, Cooper on, 452.
Rattlesnakes, described, 153.
Reformation, the, as tending towards doubt and incredulity, 328 — effect of, upon the arts, 329 — upon literature, 332 — upon eloquence, 333 — upon poetry, 334.
Reptiles, Holbrook's work on, reviewed, 145 — observations on, 146.
Retzsch, Moritz, the outline engravings of, 141.
Riepenhausens, their outline engravings, 141.
Robin Day, The Adventures of, reviewed, 220 — sketch of it, 222.
Rogers, Robert, account of his expedition to the West, 100.
Rogers's Italy, notice of engravings in, 136, 137.

S.

St. Leger, Colonel, siege of Fort Schuyler by, 291.
St. Vincent's. See *Vincennes.*
Sammons, adventures of the, in the border wars, 306.
Sawyer, Leicester A., A Critical Exposition of Mental Philosophy by, noticed, 249.
Schiller, The Characters of, by Mrs. Ellet, noticed, 257.
Schlegel, remarks on his "Lectures," 323 — his criticism on Shakspeare, 324.
Schoenbrunn, founded, 116.
Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe, his Algic Researches, First Series, Indian Tales and Legends, reviewed, 354 — his advantages for the work, 356 — notice of his wife, 357 — value of the Tales by, 359 — peculiarities of them, 360 — outlines of several of them, 363.
Schuyler, Fort, situation of, 282 — siege of, by Colonel St. Leger, 291.
Schuyler, Philip, General, Indian commissioner, 283.
Scott, Sir Walter, Chateaubriand's remarks on, 339 — criticism on his "Life of Napoleon," *ib.* — contrasted with Carlyle, 340 — his

Histories and Novels, 343.
Seigniorial lands in Canada, 417.
Self-control, in Burr, 200.
Seven Years' War, events in the, 88.
Shakspeare, William, his character of Mark Antony, 157 — translation of, by Letourneur, 321 — criticism on, by Voltaire, *ib.* — by Ducis, 322 — by Schlegel, 324.
Shawanese Indians, character of the, 279 — Dunmore's peace with the, 280 — in alliance with the British, 285 — their irritation and duplicity, 294
Ships, on the construction of, for the navy, 459
Shot, use of hollow, 463.
Six Nations, under English protection, 72 — confederacy of the, *ib.*, *note* — plant colonies in Ohio, 73 — treaty with, in 1744, at Lancaster, 74 — its confirmation, 80 — at Easton, 98 — at Fort Stanwix, 109 — position of the, at the commencement of the American Revolution, 279 — Lord Dunmore's peace with the, 280 — negotiations with the, 281 — alliance of, with the British, 282 — Sullivan's expedition against the, 303.
Smith, engraving by, in Rogers's Italy, 136.
Smith, G. W., on the Walnut-street prison, in 1783, 7.
Solitary imprisonment, the system of, 30, 31
Spain, literary history in, 317.
Squadrons, the cruises of, 459.
Stanwix, Fort, treaty of, 109 — its situation, 282 — congress at, *ib.*
Stearns, Samuel H., Reverend, the Life and Character of, reviewed, 206 — an illustration of the importance of self-cultivation in a Christian minister, 218 — his character, 219.
Steel-engraving, invented by an American, 130 — remarks on, *ib.*
Stippling, in engraving, described, 126.
Stone, William L., Life of Joseph Brant by, reviewed, 277 — his plan, 278 — value of his work, *ib.*, 316.
Style, remarks on, 333.
Sullivan, John, General, expedition of, against the Iroquois, 303.
Symmons, Charles, biographer of Milton, remarks on, 334.
Synonymes, Ramshorn's Latin, 467 — D'Alembert on, *ib.* — Cicero and Quintilian on, 468 — Aristotle on, 469 — different collections of, 469.

T.

Teedyuscung, facts respecting, 95.
Testudo polyphemus, habits of the, 147.
Thayendanegea. See *Brant, Joseph.*
Toads, remarks on, 149.
Token for 1840, noticed, 490.
Transcendentalism, observations on, 55.
Transylvania University, Pitt's Letters on, noticed, 262 — statistics respecting, 263.
Trigonocephalus piscivorus, habits of the, 152.
Tukes, F., invention by, in engraving, 129.
Turner, Daniel, Lieutenant, bravery of, at Perry's victory, 441.
Tusculan Questions of Cicero, Otis's Translation of the, noticed, 488.
Typhoid Fever of New England, Hale's Observations on, noticed, 495.

U.

Undine, by Fouqué, noticed, 486.
Upper Canada, geography of, 379 — population, 380 — "clergy reserves" in, 404 — state of parties in, 426 — Sir Francis Head's administration there, 427 — the insurrection in, 428. Note on the future prospects of, 497. See *British America.*

V.

Venango, fort at, finished, 86.
Vincennes, settlement of, 69 — captured by Hamilton, 299 — recapture of, by Clark, 301.
Voltaire, as a literary critic, 320 — on Shakspeare, 321.

W.

Walpole's Company, notice of, 108 — merged in the Ohio Company, 111.
Washington, George, embassy of, to Logstown, 83 — his sentiments in regard to Aaron Burr, 166, 168, 179, 203 — on the mode of defence against Indians, 303.
West, grounds of the British claims to the, considered, 71.
White-Eyes, a Delaware chieftain, 284 — death of, 311.
Wilkinson, James, General, his connexion with Burr's enterprise in the West, 193, 194.
Willett, Colonel, sortie by, during the battle of Oriskany, 293.
William-Henry, Fort, captured, 93.
Williamson, Andrew, Colonel, subdues the Cherokee Indians, 286.
Willis, N. P., A l'Abri, or the Tent Pitched, by, noticed, 264.
Winchester, Virginia, treaty at, in 1753, 83.
Wood engraving, remarks on, 120, 145.
Wyoming, the massacre at, 297.

Z.

Zeisberger, establishes a mission on the Alleghany river, 115 — founds Schoenbrunn, 116.

6961 C 1969